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IMMIGRATION AND AMERICANIZATION

SELECTED READINGS

COMPILED AND EDITED BY

PHILIP DAVIS

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AT BOSTON UNIVERSITY

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Christen Jensen

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CONTENTS

BOOK I. IMMIGRATION

INTRODUCTION

	PAGE
Immigration: A Field Neglected by the Scholar, by Jane Addams, LL. D., Hull House, Chicago	3

I. HISTORY

Colonization and Immigration, by Edward Everett	23
Immigration — A Review, by Henry Cabot Lodge, LL. D.	50
History of Immigration, by Prescott F. Hall, LL. B., Secretary, Immi- gration Restriction League, Boston	61

II. CAUSES

Causes of Emigration. United States Immigration Commission . . .	69
--	----

III. CHARACTERISTICS

A. EMIGRATION FROM NORTHWESTERN EUROPE

Emigration from the United Kingdom, by Stanley C. Johnson	95
German Immigration, by Gustavus Ohlinger	125

B. EMIGRATION FROM SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Jewish Immigration to the United States, by Samuel Joseph, Ph. D., Commercial High School, Brooklyn	136
The Coming of the Italian, by John Foster Carr, Director, Immigrant Publication Society, New York	141
The Newer Slavic Immigration, by Emily Greene Balch, formerly Pro- fessor of Political and Social Science, Wellesley College	155

C. EMIGRATION FROM ASIA

Japanese Immigration, by H. A. Millis, Professor of Economics, Uni- versity of Kansas	170
Chinese Immigration. United States Immigration Commission . . .	190
Chinese Immigration, by Kee Owyang, Former Consul at San Francisco	200

IV. THE NEW IMMIGRATION

Twenty-five Years with the New Immigrant, by Edward A. Steiner, Professor of Applied Christianity, Grinnell College	204
Immigrants in Cities, by E. A. Goldenweiser, United States Immigration Commission	216
The Immigrant Woman, by Kate Waller Barrett, M.D., Special Agent, United States Immigration Commission	224

V. EFFECTS

Racial Effects of Immigration, by Leon Marshall, Professor of Political Economy, University of Chicago	231
Economic: Immigration and the Minimum Wage, by Paul U. Kellogg, A. M., Editor of <i>The Survey</i>	242
Economic: Immigration and the Living Wage, by John Mitchell	255
Economic: Immigration and Crises, by Henry Pratt Fairchild, Professor of the Science of Society, Yale University	264
Social Problems of Recent Immigration, by Jeremiah W. Jenks, LL. D., and W. Jett Lauck, of the United States Immigration Commission	276
Social: Immigration and Health, by Alfred C. Reed, M. D., United States Public Health and Marine Hospital Service	299
Immigration and Crime, by Isaac A. Hourwich, Ph. D.	309
Political Consequences of Immigration, by Edward Alsworth Ross, Pro- fessor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin	319

VI. IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

Federal Immigration Legislation. United States Immigration Commission	326
Restriction of Immigration, by General Francis A. Walker	360
The Selection of Immigrants, by Edward T. Devine, LL. D., Director, New York School of Philanthropy	373
The Literacy Test: Three Historic Vetoes, by Grover Cleveland, William H. Taft, and Woodrow Wilson	376
The Immigration Law of 1917	381
Future Human Migrations, by F. J. Haskin	420

TO
MY WIFE

PREFACE

We are on the threshold of a new era in the history of immigration in this country. The combined effects of the European war and the new immigration law of 1917 will be so great as to render much of our antebellum literature on immigration out of tune with the new order. Hence the need of a representative volume summarizing the best thought in past and current literature on immigration and Americanization.

The book aims to cover the field of immigration and Americanization from every possible point of view, subject to the limits of a single volume. It is particularly designed to meet the needs of high schools, colleges, universities, and Chautauquas, which have been frequently at a loss in recommending to the student, investigator, official, or general public a handbook on these twin topics.

This reference book is the outgrowth of several courses on these subjects for teachers at Boston University and of similar courses for workers with immigrants under the joint auspices of the Old South Historical Association and the University Extension Division of Massachusetts Board of Education. Much of the material of the present volume was critically examined and tested by the students in the light of definite standards of choice, primarily with the idea of making available to the general reader and special student alike the best that there is in the literature to date, covering many centuries and countries and, therefore, necessarily scattered and inaccessible.

These selections have been so arranged as to present not only a chronological but a logical development of the subject matter, including the most significant recent contributions to the all-important problems of Americanization in terms of the broadest American spirit. The volume should prove a useful handbook for similar courses in immigration and Americanization which are growing in number and variety in colleges and Chautauquas, as well as

among men's and women's clubs everywhere, and equally useful for general or supplementary reading for thesis work, debates, or general information about races and peoples, conditions and issues, brought into special prominence by the World War.

As the volume goes to press, it becomes evident that our real problem is not immigration *per se*, in spite of the fact that the League of Nations Treaty may precipitate many international problems on this issue, but the Americanization of the millions of immigrants in our midst, to the end that the United States may also represent a united people.

"Many People, One Nation" is the watchword of the Americanization movement, and many of the distinguished men and women who generously contribute to the volume are themselves important factors in the movement. To all contributors and their publishers the editor desires to make grateful acknowledgment.

PHILIP DAVIS

PHEASANT HILL,
WEST MEDFORD, MASSACHUSETTS

BOOK II. AMERICANIZATION

VII. AMERICANIZATION: POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

New Americans and our Policies, by Lillian D. Wald	427
The Immigrant and the State	
A. The work of the California Commission of Immigration and Housing	440
B. The work of the Massachusetts Bureau of Immigration	474

VIII. DISTRIBUTION

Immigration and Distribution, by J. E. Milholland, Publicist	497
Distribution of Agricultural Immigrants, from <i>The Survey</i>	502
Distribution of Immigrants in the United States, by Walter F. Willcox, Professor of Economics and Statistics, Cornell University	505
Schemes to "Distribute" Immigrants, by Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor	526
Governmental Distribution of Immigrants. United States Bureau of Immigration	549

IX. EDUCATION

The Education of Immigrants, by H. H. Wheaton, Specialist in Immi- grant Education	567
Schooling of the Immigrant, by Frank V. Thompson, Superintendent, Boston Public Schools	582

X. NATURALIZATION AND CITIZENSHIP

The Naturalization of Foreigners, by R. E. Cole, Counsel on Naturaliza- tion for Committee for Immigrants in America	600
The International College for Immigrants, by Henry M. Bowden, Pro- fessor of English, American International College for Immigrants, Springfield, Massachusetts	607

XI. AMERICANISM

Address at Convention Hall, Philadelphia, May 10, 1915, by Woodrow Wilson	611
What America Means, by the Honorable Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior	615

	PAGE
Americanization, by P. P. Claxton, Commissioner of Education	621
What is Americanization? by Frances A. Kellor, LL. B.	623
True Americanism, by Louis D. Brandeis, Justice of Supreme Court . .	639
Americanism, by Theodore Roosevelt	645
What America Means to the Immigrant, by Philip Davis, Lecturer on Immigration and Americanization, Boston University	661

APPENDIX

National Americanization Conference	702
Americanization, by Richard K. Campbell, United States Commissioner of Naturalization	673
Human Documents: Polish Peasant Letters	741

BIBLIOGRAPHY	749
------------------------	-----

INDEX	767
-----------------	-----

IMMIGRATION AND AMERICANIZATION

BOOK I. IMMIGRATION

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INTRODUCTION

IMMIGRATION: A FIELD NEGLECTED BY THE SCHOLAR ¹

JANE ADDAMS, LL.D.

IT IS, perhaps, well to rid myself at once of some of the implications of this rather overwhelming title by stating that it is not the purpose of this short address to enter into a discussion concerning the restriction or non-restriction of immigration, not to attempt to analyze those astounding figures annually published from Ellis Island; neither do I wish to charge the scholar with having neglected to collect information as to the extent and growth of immigration in the United States, nor in failing to furnish statistical material as fully perhaps as the shifting character of the subject permits. Such formal studies as we have on the annual colonies of immigrants in American cities, and of the effect of immigration in districts similar to the anthracite coal regions, have been furnished by university men; indeed, almost the only accurate study into the nationalities and locations of the immigrants in Chicago has been made by a member of this University.

But in confining the subject to a scrutiny of the oft-repeated statement that we as a nation are rapidly reaching the limit of our powers of assimilation, that we receive further masses of immigrants at the risk of blurring those traits and characteristics which we are pleased to call American, with its corollary that the national standard of living is in danger of permanent debasement, a certain further demand may legitimately be made upon the scholar. I hope to be able to sustain the contention that such danger as exists arises from intellectual dearth and apathy; that we are testing our national life by a tradition too provincial

¹ Convocation Address at the University of Chicago. Printed in *The Commons*, Vol. X., No. 1, January, 1905.

and limited to meet its present motley and cosmopolitan character; that we lack mental energy, adequate knowledge, and a sense of the youth of the earth.

IDEALS NOT IN ACCORD WITH EXPERIENCE

The constant cry that American institutions are in danger betrays a spiritual waste, not due to our infidelity to national ideals, but arising from the fact that we fail to enlarge those ideals in accord with our faithful experience of life; and that our political machinery, devised for quite other conditions, has not been readjusted and adapted to the successive changes resulting from our industrial development. The clamor for the town meeting, for the colonial and early-century ideals of government is in itself significant, for we know out of our personal experience that we quote the convictions and achievements of the past as an excuse for our inaction in moments when the current of life runs low; that one of the dangers of life, one of its veritable moral pits, consists in the temptation to remain constant to a truth when we no longer wholly believe it, when its implications are not justified by our latest information. If the immigration situation contains the elements of an intellectual crisis, then to let the scholar off with the mere collecting of knowledge, or yet with its transmission, or indeed to call his account closed with that still higher function of research, would be to throw away one of our most valuable assets.

THEORY UNDER THE FACT OF MIGRATION

In a sense the enormous and unprecedented moving about over the face of the earth on the part of all nations is in itself the result of philosophic dogma, of the creed of individual liberty. The modern system of industry and commerce presupposes freedom of occupation, of travel and residence; even more, it unhappily rests in a large measure upon the assumption of a body of the unemployed and the unskilled, ready to be absorbed or dropped according to the demands of production; but back of that, or certainly preceding its later developments, lies "the natural right" doctrine of the eighteenth century. Even so

late as 1892, an official treaty of the United States referred to the "inalienable right of man to change his residence and religion." This dogma of the schoolmen, dramatized in France and penetrating under a thousand forms into the most backward European states, is still operating as an obscure force in sending emigrants to America, and in our receiving them here. But in the second century of its existence it has become too barren and chilly to induce any really zealous or beneficent activity on behalf of the immigrants after they arrive, and those things which we do believe — such convictions as we have, and which might be formulated to the immeasurable benefit of the immigrants, and to the everlasting good of our national life — have not yet been apprehended by the scholar in relation to this field. They have furnished us with no method by which to discover men, to spiritualize, to understand, to hold intercourse with aliens and to receive of what they bring.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DOGMA VERSUS EXPERIENCE OF THE NINETEENTH

A century-old abstraction breaks down before this vigorous test of concrete cases, the Italian lazzaroni, the peasants from the Carpathian foothills, and the proscribed traders from Galatia. We have no national ideality founded upon realism and tested by our growing experience, but only the platitudes of our crudest youth with which to meet the situation. The philosophers and statesmen of the eighteenth century believed that the universal franchise would cure all ills; that fraternity and equality rested only upon constitutional rights and privileges. The first political document of America opens with this philosophy and upon it the founders of a new state ventured their fortunes. We still keep to this formalization because the philosophers of this generation give us nothing newer, ignoring the fact that the world-wide problems are no longer abstractly political, but politico-industrial. If we could frankly face the proposition that the whole situation is more industrial than political, then we would realize that the officers of the government who are dealing with naturalization papers and testing the knowledge of the immigrants concerning the constitution of the United States are only

playing with counters representing the beliefs of a century ago, while the real issues are being settled by the great industrial and commercial interests which are at once the product and the masters of our contemporary life. As children who are allowed to amuse themselves with poker chips pay no attention to the real game which their elders play with the genuine cards in their hands, so we shut our eyes to the exploitation and industrial debasement of the immigrant, and say with placid contentment that he has been given the rights of an American citizen, and that, therefore, all our obligations have been fulfilled. It is as if we should undertake to cure our current political corruption which is founded upon a disregard of the interstate commerce acts by requiring the recreant citizens to repeat the constitution of the United States.

NATURALIZATION: OLD LAWS, NEW NEEDS

As yet no vigorous effort is made to discover how far our present system of naturalization, largely resting upon laws enacted in 1802, is inadequate, although it may have met the requirements of "the fathers." These processes were devised to test new citizens who had emigrated to the United States from political rather than from economic pressure, although these two have always been in a certain sense coextensive. Yet the early Irish came to America to seek an opportunity for self-government denied them at home, the Germans and Italians started to come in largest numbers after the absorption of their smaller states into the larger nations, and the immigrants from Russia are the conquered Poles, Lithuanians, Finns, and Jews. On some such obscure notion the processes of naturalization were worked out, and with a certain degree of logic these first immigrants were presented with the constitution of the United States as a type and epitome of that which they had come to seek. So far as they now come in search of political liberty, as many of them do every day, the test is still valid; but in the meantime we cannot ignore those significant figures which show emigration to rise with periods of depression in given countries, and immigration to be checked by periods of depression in America, and we refuse to see how largely the question has

become an economic one. At the present moment, as we know, the actual importing of immigrants is left largely to the energy of steamship companies and to those agents for contract labor who are keen enough to avoid the restrictive laws. The business man here is again in the saddle as he is so largely in American affairs.

EXPLOITATION OF IMMIGRANTS

From the time that they first make the acquaintance of the steamship agent in their own villages, at least until a grandchild is born on the new soil, the immigrants are subjected to various processes of exploitation from purely commercial and self-seeking interests. It begins with the representatives of the trans-Atlantic lines and their allies, who convert the peasant holdings into money and provide the prospective emigrants with needless supplies. The brokers in manufactured passports send their clients by successive stages for a thousand miles to a port suiting their purposes. On the way the emigrants' eyes are treated that they may pass the physical test, they are taught to read sufficiently well to meet the literacy test, they are lent enough money to escape the pauper test, and by the time they have reached America, they are so hopelessly in debt that it takes them months to work out all they have received, during which time they are completely under the control of the last broker in the line, who has his dingy office in an American city. The exploitation continues under the employment agency whose operations merge into those of the politician, through the naturalization henchman, the petty lawyers who foment their quarrels and grievances by the statement that in a free country everybody "goes to law," by the liquor dealers who stimulate a lively trade among them; and finally by the lodging-house keepers and the landlords who are not obliged to give them the housing which the American tenant demands. It is a long, dreary road and the immigrant is successfully exploited at every turn. At moments one looking on is driven to quote the Titanic plaint of Walt Whitman:

As I stand aloof and look there is to me something profoundly affecting in large masses of men following the lead of those who do not believe in men.

BROKERAGE IN CITIZENSHIP

The sinister aspect of this exploitation lies in the fact that it is carried on by agents whose stock in trade are the counters and terms of citizenship. It is said that at the present moment there are more of these agents in Palermo than perhaps in any other European port, and that those politicians who have found it impossible to stay even in that corrupt city are engaged in the brokerage of naturalization papers in the United States, that certainly one effect of the stringent contract-labor laws has been to make the padrones more powerful because "smuggled alien labor" has become more valuable to American corporations, and also to make simpler the delivery of commercial interests. It becomes a veritable system of poisoning the notions of decent government because the entire process is carried on in political terms, our childish red, white, and blue poker chips again!

More elaborate avoidance of restrictive legislation quickly adapts itself to changes either in legislation here or at the points of departure; for instance, a new type of broker in Russia at the present moment is making use of the war in the interests of young Russian Jews. If one of these men should leave the country ordinarily, his family would be obliged to pay three hundred rubles to the government, but if he first joins the army his family is free from this obligation for he has passed into the keeping of his sergeant. Out of four hundred Russian Jews who three months ago were drafted into the army at a given recruiting station, only ten reported, the rest having escaped through immigration. Of course the entire undertaking is much more hazardous because the man is a deserter from the army in addition to his other disabilities, but the brokers merely put up the price of their services and continue their undertakings. Do we ignore the one million false naturalization papers in the United States issued and concealed by commercialized politics, in the interests of our uneasy knowledge that commercial and governmental powers are curiously allied, although we profess that the latter has no connection with the former and no control over it?

The man who really knows immigrants and undertakes to naturalize them makes no pretense of the lack of connection between the two. The petty and often corrupt politician who

is first kind to them realizes perfectly well that the force pushing them here has been industrial need and that its recognition is legitimate. He follows the natural course of events when he promises to get the immigrant "a job," for that is certainly what he most needs in all the world. If the politician nearest to him were really interested in the immigrant and should work out a scheme of naturalization fitted to the situation, he would go on from the street-cleaning and sewer-digging in which the immigrant first engages to an understanding of the relation of those simple offices to city government, to the obligation of his alderman to secure cleanliness for the streets in which his children play and for the tenement in which he lives. The notion of representative government should be made quite clear and concrete to him. He could demand his rights and use his vote in order to secure them. His very naïve demands might easily become a restraint, a purifying check upon the alderman, instead of a source of constant corruption and exploitation. But when the politician attempts to naturalize the bewildered immigrant, he must perforce accept the doctrinaire standard imposed by men who held a theory totally unattached to experience, and he must therefore begin with the remote constitution of the United States. At the Cook County Courthouse only a few weeks ago, a candidate for naturalization who was asked the usual question as to what the constitution of the United States was replied: "The Illinois Central." His mind naturally turned to his work, to the one bit of contribution he had genuinely made to the new country, and his reply might well offer a valuable suggestion to the student of educational method. The School of Education of this University makes industrial construction and evolution a natural basis for all future acquisition of knowledge and claims that anything less vital and creative is inadequate.

NATURAL OPENINGS INTO CIVIC LIFE

It is surprising how a simple experience, if it be but genuine, affords an opening into citizenship altogether lacking to the more grandiose attempts. A Greek-American who slaughters sheep in a tenement-house yard on the basis of the Homeric tradition can be made to see the effect of the improvised shambles on his

neighbors' health and the right of the city to prohibit him only as he perceives the development of city government upon its most modern basis.

The enforcement of adequate child-labor laws offers unending opportunity for better citizenship, founded not upon theory but on action. An Italian or Bohemian parent who has worked in the fields from babyhood finds it difficult to understand that the long and monotonous work in factories in which his child engages is much more exigent than the intermittent outdoor labor required from him; that the need for education for his child is a matter of vital importance to his adopted city, which has enacted definite, well-considered legislation in regard to it. Some of the most enthusiastic supporters of child-labor legislation and compulsory education laws are those parents who sacrifice old-world tradition as well as the much needed earnings of their young children because of loyalty to the laws of their adopted country. Certainly genuine sacrifice for the nation's law is a good foundation for patriotism, and as this again is not a doctrinaire question, women are not debarred, and mothers who wash and scrub for the meager support of their children say sturdily sometimes, "It will be a year before he can go to work without breaking the law, but we came to this country to give the young ones a change and we are not going to begin by having them do what's not right."

Upon some such basis as this the Hebrew Alliance and the Charity Organization Society of New York, which are putting forth desperate energy in the enormous task of ministering to the suffering that immigration entails, are developing understanding and respect for the alien through their mutual efforts to secure more adequate tenement-house regulation, and to control the spread of tuberculosis, both of these undertakings being perfectly hopeless without the intelligent coöperation of the immigrants themselves. Through such humble doors as these perchance the immigrant may enter into his heritage in a new nation. Democratic government has always been the result of spiritual travail and moral effort; apparently even here the immigrant must pay the cost.

HOW PATRIOTISM MAY NOT BE TAUGHT

As we fail to begin with his experience in the induction of the adult immigrant into practical citizenship, so we assume in our formal attempts to teach patriotism that experience and traditions have no value, and that a new sentiment must be put into aliens by some external process. Some years ago a public-spirited organization engaged a number of speakers to go to the various city schools in order to instruct the children in the significance of Decoration Day and to foster patriotism among the foreign-born by descriptions of the Civil War. In one of the schools filled with Italian children, an old soldier, a veteran in years and experience, gave a description of a battle in Tennessee, and his personal adventures in using a pile of brush as an ambuscade and a fortification. Coming from the schoolhouse an eager young Italian broke out with characteristic vividness into a description of his father's campaigning under the leadership of Garibaldi, possibly from some obscure notion that that too was a civil war fought from principle, but more likely because the description of one battle had roused in his mind the memory of another such description. The lecturer, whose sympathies happened to be on the other side of the Garibaldian conflict, somewhat sharply told him that he must forget all that, that he was no longer an Italian, but an American. The natural growth of patriotism upon respect for the achievements of one's fathers, the bringing together of the past with the present, the pointing out of the almost world-wide effort at a higher standard of political freedom which swept over all Europe and America between 1848 and 1872 could, of course, have no place in the boy's mind, because it had none in the mind of the instructor, whose patriotism apparently tried to purify itself by the American process of elimination.

OLD GRAFTS ON THE NEW STOCK

How far a certain cosmopolitan humanitarianism ignoring national differences is either possible or desirable, it is difficult to state, but certain it is that the old type of patriotism founded upon a common national history and land occupation becomes

to many of the immigrants who bring it with them a veritable stumbling block and impedimenta. Many Greeks whom I know are fairly besotted with a consciousness of their national importance, and the achievements of their glorious past. Among them the usual effort to found a new patriotism upon American history is often an absurd undertaking; for instance, on the night of last Thanksgiving I spent some time and zeal in a description of the Pilgrim Fathers, the motives which had driven them across the sea, while the experiences of the Plymouth colony were illustrated by stereopticon slides and little dramatic scenes. The audience of Greeks listened respectfully, although I was uneasily conscious of the somewhat feeble attempt to boast of Anglo-Saxon achievement in hardihood and privation to men whose powers of admiration were absorbed in their Greek background of philosophy and beauty. At any rate after the lecture was over one of the Greeks said to me quite simply, "I wish I could describe my ancestors to you; they were different from yours." His further remarks were translated by a little Irish boy of eleven who speaks modern Greek with facility and turns many an honest penny by translating, into the somewhat pert statement: "He says if that is what your ancestors are like, that his could beat them out." It is a good illustration of our faculty for ignoring the past, and of our failure to understand the immigrant estimation of ourselves. This lack of a more cosmopolitan standard, of a consciousness of kind founded upon creative imagination and historic knowledge, is apparent in many directions, and cruelly widens the gulf between immigrant fathers and children who are "Americans in process."

A hideous story comes from New York of a young Russian Jewess who was employed as a stenographer in a down-town office, where she became engaged to be married to a young man of Jewish-American parentage. She felt keenly the difference between him and her newly immigrated parents, and on the night when he was to be presented to them she went home early to make every possible preparation for his coming. Her efforts to make the menage presentable were so discouraging, the whole situation filled her with such chagrin, that an hour before his expected arrival she ended her own life. Although the father

was a Talmud scholar of standing in his native Russian town, and the lover was a clerk of very superficial attainment, she possessed no standard by which to judge the two men. This lack of standard can be charged to the entire community, for why should we expect an untrained girl to be able to do for herself what the community so pitifully fails to accomplish?

TO HUMANIZE THE NEW SCHOLARSHIP

As scholarship in the first half of the nineteenth century saved literature from a futile romanticism and transformed its entire method by the perception that "the human is not of necessity the cultivated; the human is the wide-spread, the ancient in speech or in behavior, it is the deep, the emotional, the thing much loved by many men, the poetical, the organic, the vital, in civilization," so I would ask the scholarship of this dawning century to save its contemporaries from materialism by revealing to us the inherent charm and resource of the humblest men. Equipped as it is with the training and the "unspecialized cell" of evolutionary science, this ought not to prove an undesirable task. The scholar has already pointed out to us the sweetness and charm which inhere in primitive domestic customs and shows us the curious pivot they make for religious and tribal beliefs until the simple action of women grinding millet or corn becomes almost overlaid with penetrating reminiscence, sweeter than the chant they sing. Something of the same quality may be found among many of the immigrants; when one stumbles upon an old Italian peasant with her distaff against her withered face and her pathetic old hands patiently holding the thread, as has been done by myriads of women since children needed to be clad; or an old German potter, misshapen by years, but his sensitive hands fairly alive with the artist's prerogative of direct creation, one wishes that the scholar might be induced to go man hunting into these curious human groups called newly arrived immigrants! Could he take these primitive habits as they are to be found in American cities every day, and give them their significance and place, they would be a wonderful factor for poesy in cities frankly given over to industrialism, and candidly refusing to read poetry which has no connection with its aims and activities. As a

McAndrews' hymn may express the frantic rush of the industrial river, so these could give us something of the mysticism and charm of the industrial springs, a suggestion of source, a touch of the refinement which adheres to simple things. This study of origins, of survivals, of paths of least resistance refining an industrial age through the people and experiences which really belong to it and do not need to be brought in from the outside, surely affords an opening for scholarship.

IMMIGRANT LIFE LARGER THAN OUR LOGIC

The present lack of understanding, the dearth of the illumination which knowledge gives can be traced not only in the social and political maladjustment of the immigrant, but is felt in so-called "practical affairs" of national magnitude. Regret is many times expressed that, notwithstanding the fact that nine out of every ten immigrants are of rural birth, they all tend to congregate in cities where their inherited and elaborate knowledge of agricultural processes is unutilized, although they are fitted to undertake the painstaking method which American farmers despise. But it is characteristic of American complacency that when any assisted removal to agricultural regions is contemplated, we utterly ignore their past experiences and always assume that each family will be content to live in the middle of its own piece of ground, although there are few peoples on the face of the earth who have ever tried isolating a family on a hundred and sixty acres or eighty, or even on forty, but this is the American way, a survival of our pioneer days, and we refuse to modify it, notwithstanding the fact that the South Italians from the day of medieval incursions have lived in compact villages with an intense and elaborate social life, so much of it out-of-doors and interdependent that it has affected almost every domestic habit. Italian women knead their own bread but depend on the village oven for its baking, and the men would rather walk for miles to their fields each day than to face an evening of companionship limited to the family. Nothing could afford a better check to the constant removal to the cities of the farming population all over the United States than to be able to combine community life with agricultural occupation,

affording that development of civilization which curiously enough density alone brings and for which even a free system of rural delivery is not an adequate substitute. Much of the significance and charm of rural life in South Italy lies in its village companionship quite as the dreariness of the American farm life inheres in its unnecessary solitude. But we totally disregard the solution which the old agricultural community offers, and our utter lack of adaptability has something to do with the fact that the South Italian remains in the city where he soon forgets his cunning in regard to silk worms and olive trees, but continues his old social habits to the extent of filling an entire tenement house with the people from one village.

LAND TENURE, OLDEST AND NEWEST

We also exhibit all the Anglo-Saxon distrust of any experiment with land tenure or method of taxation, although the single tax advocates in our midst do not fail to tell us daily of the stupidity of the present arrangement, and it might be well to make a few experiments upon a historic basis before their enthusiasm converts us all. The Slavic village, the *mir* system of land occupation, has been in successful operation for centuries in Russia, training men within its narrow limits to community administration; and yet when a persecuted sect from Russia wishes to find refuge in America — and naturally seven thousand people cannot give up all at once even if it were desirable a system of land ownership in which they are expert and which is singularly like that in Palestine during its period of highest prosperity — we cannot receive them in the United States because our laws have no way of dealing with such a case. And in Canada, where they are finally settled, the unimaginative Dominion officials are driven to the verge of distraction concerning registration of deeds and the collection of taxes from men who do not claim acres in their own names but in the name of the village. The official distraction is reflected and intensified among the people themselves to the point of driving them into the medieval “marching mania,” in the hope of finding a land in the south where they may carry out their inoffensive *mir* system. The entire situation might prove that an unbending

theory of individualism may become as fixed as status itself. There are certainly other factors in the Doukhobor situation of religious bigotry and of the self-seeking of leadership, but in spite of the fact that the Canadian officials have in other matters exhibited much of the adaptability which distinguishes the British colonial policy, they are completely stranded on the rock of Anglo-Saxon individualistic ownership, and assume that any other system of land tenure is subversive of government, although Russia manages to exert a fair amount of governmental control over thousands of acres held under the system which they detest.

THE SALON OF THE GHETTO

In our eagerness to reproach the immigrant for not going upon the land, we almost overlook the contributions to city life which those of them who were adapted to it in Europe are making to our cities here. From dingy little eating houses in lower New York, performing a function somewhat between the eighteenth century coffeehouse and the Parisian café, is issuing at the present moment perhaps the sturdiest realistic drama that is being produced on American soil. Late into the night speculation is carried forward not on the nice questions of the Talmud and quibbles of logic, but minds long trained on these seriously discuss the need of a readjustment of the industrial machine that the primitive sense of justice and righteousness may secure larger play in our social organization. And yet a Russian in Chicago who used to believe that Americans cared first and foremost for political liberty and would certainly admire those who had suffered in its cause finds no one interested in his story of six years' banishment beyond the Antarctic circle, and is really listened to only when he tells to a sportsman the tale of the fish he caught during the six weeks of summer when the rivers were open. "Lively work then, but plenty of time to eat them dried and frozen through the rest of the year," is the most sympathetic comment he has yet received upon an experience which at least to him held the bitter-sweet of martyrdom.

SPIRITUALIZING OUR MATERIALISM

Among the colonies of the most recently immigrated Jews who still carry out their orthodox customs and a ritual preserved through centuries in the Ghetto, one constantly feels during a season of religious observance a refreshing insistence upon the reality of the inner life, and the dignity of its expression in inherited form. Perhaps the most striking approach to the materialism of Chicago is the sight of a Chicago River bridge lined with men and women on one day in the year oblivious of the noisy traffic and sordid surroundings, casting their sins upon the waters that they may be carried far from them. That obsession which the materialism of Chicago sometimes makes upon one's brain so that one is almost driven to go out upon the street fairly shouting that after all life does not consist in wealth, in learning, in enterprise, in energy, in success, not even in that modern fetish culture, but upon an inner equilibrium, "the agreement of soul," is here for once plainly stated, and is a relief even in its exaggeration and grotesqueness.

The charge that recent immigration threatens to debase the American standard of living is certainly a grave one, but I would invite the scholar even into that sterner region which we are accustomed to regard as purely industrial. At first glance nothing seems further from an intellectual proposition than this question of tin cups and plates stored in a bunk versus a white cloth and a cottage table, and yet, curiously enough, an English writer has recently cited "standards of life" as an illustration of the fact that it is ideas which mold the lives of men, and states that around the deeply significant idea of the standard of life center our industrial problems of to-day, and that this idea forms the base of all the forward movements of the working class. The significance of the standard of life lies, not so much in the fact that for each of us it is different, but that for all of us it is progressive, constantly invading new realms. To imagine that all goes well if sewing machines and cottage organs reach the first generation of immigrants, fashionable dressmakers and pianos the second, is of course the most untutored interpretation of it. And yet it is a question of food and shelter, and further of the maintenance of industrial efficiency and of life itself to

thousands of men, and this gigantic task of standardizing successive nations of immigrants falls upon workmen who lose all if they fail.

POLITICAL NATURE OF THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION

Curiously enough, however, as soon as the immigrant situation is frankly regarded as an industrial one, the really political nature of the essentially industrial situation is revealed in the fact that trade organizations which openly concern themselves with the immigration problem on its industrial side quickly take on the paraphernalia and machinery which have hitherto associated themselves with governmental life and control. The trades-unions have worked out all over again local autonomy with central councils and national representative bodies and the use of the referendum vote. They also exhibit many features of political corruption and manipulation but they still contain the purifying power of reality, for the trades-unions are engaged in a desperate struggle to maintain a standard wage against the constant arrival of unskilled immigrants at the rate of three quarters of a million a year, at the very period when the elaboration of machinery permits the largest use of unskilled men. The first real lesson in self-government to many immigrants has come through the organization of labor unions, and it could come in no other way, for the union alone has appealed to their necessities. And out of these primal necessities one sees the first indication of an idealism of which one at moments dares to hope that it may be sturdy enough and sufficiently founded upon experience to make some impression upon the tremendous immigration situation.

SUBSTITUTION OF RACES AT STOCKYARDS

To illustrate from the Stockyards strike of last summer, may I quote from a study made from the University of Wisconsin — and mindful of my audience all I say of trades-unions shall be quoted from Ph.D.'s :

Perhaps the fact of greatest social significance is that the strike of 1904 was not merely a strike of skilled labor for the unskilled, but

was a strike of Americanized Irish, Germans, and Bohemians in behalf of Slovaks, Poles, and Lithuanians. . . . This substitution of races in the Stockyards has been a continuing process for twenty years. The older nationalities have already disappeared from the unskilled occupations and the substitution has evidently run along the line of lower standard of living. The latest arrivals, the Lithuanians and Slovaks, are probably the most oppressed of the peasants of Europe.

Those who attended the crowded meetings of last summer and heard the same address successively translated by interpreters into six or eight languages, who saw the respect shown to the most uncouth of the speakers by the skilled American men who represented a distinctly superior standard of life and thought, could never doubt the power of the labor organizations for amalgamation, whatever opinion they might hold concerning their other values. This may be said in spite of the fact that great industrial disturbances have arisen from the undercutting of wages by the lowering of racial standard. Certainly the most notable of these have taken place in these industries and at those places in which the importation of immigrants has been deliberately fostered as a wage-lowering weapon, and even in those disturbances and under the shock and strain of a long strike disintegration did not come along the line of race cleavage.

HOW UNIONS BLEND THE RACES

It may further be contended that this remarkable coming together has been the result of economic pressure and is without merit or idealism, that the trades-union record on Chinese exclusion and negro discrimination has been damaging, and yet I would quote from a study of the anthracite coal fields made from the University of Pennsylvania :

The United Mine Workers of America is taking men of a score of nationalities — English-speaking and Slavmen of widely different creeds, languages, and customs, and of varying powers of industrial competition, and is welding them into an industrial brotherhood, each part of which can at least understand of the others that they are working for one great and common end. This bond of unionism is stronger than one can readily imagine who has not seen its mysterious workings or who has not been a victim of its members' newly found

enthusiasm. It is to-day the strongest tie that can bind together 147,000 mine workers and the thousands dependent upon them. It is more than religion, more than the social ties which hold together members of the same community.

This is from a careful study by Mr. Warne, which doubtless many of you know, called "The Slav Invasion."

HUMAN PROBLEMS OF THE STRIKE COMMISSION

It was during a remarkable struggle on the part of this amalgamation of men from all countries, that the United States government in spite of itself was driven to take a hand in an industrial situation, owing to the long strain and the intolerable suffering entailed upon the whole country, but even then public opinion was too aroused, too moralized to be patient with an investigation of the mere commercial questions of tonnage and freight rates with their political implications, and insisted that the national commission should consider the human aspects of the case. Columns of newspapers and days of investigation were given to the discussion of the deeds of violence, having nothing to do with the original demands of the strikers, and entering only into the value set upon human life by each of the contesting parties; did the union encourage violence against non-union men, or did it really do everything to suppress it, living up to its creed, which was to maintain a standard of living that families might be properly housed and fed and protected from debilitating toil and disease, that children might be nurtured into American citizenship; did the operators protect their men as far as possible from mine damp, from length of hours proven by experience to be exhausting; did they pay a sufficient wage to the mine laborer to allow him to send his children to school; questions such as these, a study of the human problem, invaded the commission day after day during its sitting. One felt for the moment the first wave of a rising tide of humanitarianism, until the normal ideals of the laborer to secure food and shelter for his family and security for his old age, and a larger opportunity for his children, become the ideals of democratic government.

NEW IDEALISM OF SIMPLE FOLK

It may be owing to the fact that the working man is brought in direct contact with the situation as a desperate problem of living wage or starvation, it may be that wisdom is at her old trick of residing in the hearts of the simple, or that this new idealism which is that of a reasonable life and labor must from the very nature of things proceed from those who labor, or possibly because amelioration arises whence it is so sorely needed, but certainly it is true, that while the rest of the country talks of assimilation as if we were a huge digestive apparatus, the man with whom the immigrant has come most sharply into competition has been forced into fraternal relations with him.

All the peoples of the world have become part of our tribunal, and their sense of pity, their clamor for personal kindness, their insistence upon the right to join in our progress, cannot be disregarded. The burdens and sorrows of men have unexpectedly become intelligible and urgent to this nation, and it is only by accepting them with some magnanimity that we can develop the larger sense of justice which is becoming world-wide and is lying in ambush, as it were, to manifest itself in governmental relations. Men of all nations are determining upon the abolition of degrading poverty, disease, and intellectual weakness with their resulting industrial inefficiency. This manifests itself in labor legislation in England, in the Imperial Sick and Old-Age Insurance Acts of Germany, in the enormous system of public education in the United States.

CONTEMPORANEOUS PATRIOTISM

To be afraid of it is to lose what we have. A government has always received feeble support from its constituents as soon as its demands appeared childish or remote. Citizens inevitably neglect or abandon civic duty when it no longer embodies their genuine desires. It is useless to hypnotize ourselves by unreal talk of colonial ideals and patriotic duty toward immigrants as if it were a question of passing a set of resolutions. The nation must be saved by its lovers, by the patriots who possess adequate and contemporaneous knowledge. A commingling of racial

habits and national characteristics in the end must rest upon the voluntary balance and concord of many forces.

We may with justice demand from the scholar the philosophic statement, the reconstruction and reorganization of the knowledge which he possesses, only if we agree to make it over into healthy and direct expressions of free living.

I. HISTORY

COLONIZATION AND IMMIGRATION ¹

EDWARD EVERETT

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Although I appear before you at the season at which the various religious, moral, and philanthropic societies usually hold their annual meetings to discuss the stirring and controverted topics of the day, I need not say to you that the proprieties of this occasion require me to abstain from such subjects; and to select a theme falling, to some extent at least, within the province of an historical society. I propose, accordingly, this evening, to attempt a sketch of the history of the discovery and colonization of America and of immigration to the United States. I can of course offer you, within the limits of a single address, but a most superficial view of so vast a subject; but I have thought that even a sketch of a subject, which concerns us so directly and in so many ways, would suggest important trains of reflection to thoughtful minds. Words written or spoken are at best but a kind of shorthand, to be filled up by the reader or hearer. I shall be gratified if, after honoring my hasty sketch with your kind attention, you shall deem it worth filling up from your own stores of knowledge and thought. You will forgive me, if, in the attempt to give a certain completeness to the narrative, I shall be led to glance at a few facts, which, however interesting, may seem to you too familiar for repetition.

In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, an Italian mariner, a citizen of the little republic of Genoa, who had hitherto gained his livelihood as a pilot in the commercial marine of different countries, made his appearance successively at various

¹ A lecture delivered before the New York Historical Society, in Metropolitan Hall, on the first of June, 1853.

courts in the South and West of Europe, soliciting patronage and aid for a bold and novel project in navigation. The state of the times was in some degree favorable to the adventure. The Portuguese had for half a century been pushing their discoveries southward upon the coast of Africa, and they had ventured into the Atlantic as far as the Azores. Several conspiring causes, and especially the invention of the art of printing, had produced a general revival of intelligence. Still, however, the state of things in this respect was at that time very different from what we witness in the middle of the nineteenth century. On the part of the great mass of mankind, there was but little improvement over the darkness of the Middle Ages. The new culture centered in the convent, the court, and the university, places essentially distrustful of bold novelties.

The idea of reaching the East by a voyage around the African continent had begun to assume consistency; but the vastly more significant idea, that the earth is a globe and capable of being circumnavigated, had by no means become incorporated into the general intelligence of the age. The Portuguese navigators felt themselves safe as they crept along the African coast, venturing each voyage a few leagues farther, doubling a new headland, ascending some before unexplored river, holding a palaver with some new tribe of the native races. But to turn the prows of their vessels boldly to the west, to embark upon an ocean, not believed, in the popular geography of the day, to have an outer shore, to pass that bourne from which no traveler had ever returned, and from which experience had not taught that any traveler could return, and thus to reach the East by sailing in a western direction, — this was a conception which no human being is known to have formed before Columbus, and which he proposed to the governments of Italy, of Spain, of Portugal, and for a long time without success. The state of science was not such as to enable men to discriminate between the improbable and untried on the one hand, and the impossible and absurd on the other. They looked upon Columbus as we did thirty years ago upon Captain Symmes.

But the illustrious adventurer persevered. Sorrow and disappointment clouded his spirits, but did not shake his faith nor

subdue his will. His well-instructed imagination had taken firm hold of the idea that the earth is a sphere. What seemed to the multitude even of the educated of that day a doubtful and somewhat mystical theory; what appeared to the uninformed mass a monstrous paradox, contradicted by every step we take upon the broad, flat earth which we daily tread beneath our feet; — that great and fruitful truth revealed itself to the serene intelligence of Columbus as a practical fact, on which he was willing to stake all he had, — character and life. And it deserves ever to be borne in mind, as the most illustrious example of the connection of scientific theory with great practical results, that the discovery of America, with all its momentous consequences to mankind, is owing to the distinct conception in the mind of Columbus of this single scientific proposition, — the terraqueous earth is a sphere.

After years of fruitless and heart-sick solicitation, after offering in effect to this monarch and to that monarch the gift of a hemisphere, the great discoverer touches upon a partial success. He succeeds, not in enlisting the sympathy of his countrymen at Genoa and Venice for a brave brother sailor; not in giving a new direction to the spirit of maritime adventure which had so long prevailed in Portugal; not in stimulating the commercial thrift of Henry the Seventh, or the pious ambition of the Catholic King. His sorrowful perseverance touched the heart of a noble princess, — worthy the throne which she adorned. The New World, which was just escaping the subtle kingcraft of Ferdinand, was saved to Spain by the womanly compassion of Isabella.

It is truly melancholy, however, to contemplate the wretched equipment, for which the most powerful princess in Christendom was ready to pledge her jewels. Floating castles will soon be fitted out to convey the miserable natives of Africa to the golden shores of America, and towering galleons will be dispatched to bring home the guilty treasures to Spain; but three small vessels, two of which were without a deck, and neither of them probably exceeding the capacity of a pilot-boat, and even these impressed into the public service, composed the expedition, fitted out under royal patronage, to realize that magnificent conception in which the creative mind of Columbus had planted the germs of a new world.

No chapter of romance equals the interest of this expedition. The most fascinating of the works of fiction which have issued from the modern press have, to my taste, no attraction compared with the pages in which the first voyage of Columbus is described by Robertson, and especially by our own Irving and Prescott, the last two enjoying the advantage over the great Scottish historian of possessing the lately discovered journals and letters of Columbus himself. The departure from Palos, where a few years before he had begged a morsel of bread and a cup of water for his wayworn child; his final farewell to the Old World at the Canaries; his entrance upon the trade winds, which then, for the first time, filled a European sail; the portentous variation of the needle, never before observed; the fearful course westward and westward, day after day and night after night, over the unknown ocean; the mutinous and ill-appeased crew; — at length, when hope had turned to despair in every heart but one, the tokens of land; the cloud-banks on the western horizon; the logs of driftwood; the fresh shrub floating with its leaves and berries; the flocks of land-birds; the shoals of fish that inhabit shallow water; the indescribable smell of the shore; the mysterious presentiment that ever goes before a great event; — and, finally, on that ever memorable night of the 12th of October, 1492, the moving light seen by the sleepless eye of the great discoverer himself from the deck of the *Santa Maria*, and in the morning the real, undoubted land, swelling up from the bosom of the deep, with its plains, and hills, and forests, and rocks, and streams, and strange, new races of men; — these are incidents in which the authentic history of the discovery of our continent excels the specious wonders of romance, as much as gold excels tinsel, or the sun in the heavens outshines that flickering taper.

But it is no part of my purpose to dwell upon this interesting narrative, or to follow out this most wonderful of histories, sinking as it soon did into a tale of sorrow for Columbus himself, and before long ending in one of the most frightful tragedies in the annals of the world. Such seems to be the law of humanity, that events the most desirable and achievements the most important should, either in their inception or

progress, be mixed up with disasters, crimes, and sorrows which it makes the heart sick to record.

The discovery of America, I need hardly say, produced a vast extension of the territory of the power under whose auspices the discovery was made. In contemplating this point, we encounter one of the most terrible mysteries in the history of our race. "Extension of territory!" you are ready to exclaim; "how could Spain acquire any territory by the fact that a navigator, sailing under her patronage, had landed upon one or two islands near the continent of America, and coasted for a few hundred miles along its shores? These shores and islands are not a desert on which Columbus, like a Robinson Crusoe of a higher order, has landed and taken possession. They are occupied and settled, — crowded, even, with inhabitants, — subject to the government of their native chiefs; and neither by inheritance, colonization, nor as yet by conquest, has any human being in Europe a right to rule over them or to possess a square foot of their territory." Such are the facts of the case, and such, one would say, ought to be the law of equity of the case. But alas for the native chiefs and the native races! Before he sailed from Spain, Columbus was furnished with a piece of parchment a foot and a half square, by Ferdinand and Isabella, creating him their Viceroy and High Admiral in all the seas, islands, and continents which he should discover, his heirs forever to enjoy the same offices. The Viceroy of the absolute monarchs of Aragon and Castile!

Thus was America conquered before it was discovered. By the law of nations as then understood, (and I fear there is less change in its doctrine at the present day than we should be ready to think,) a sovereign right to the territory and government of all newly discovered regions inhabited by heathen tribes we believed to vest in the Christian prince under whose auspices the discovery was made, subject to the ratification of the Pope, as the ultimate disposer of the kingdoms of the earth. Such was the law of nations, as then understood, in virtue of which, from the moment Columbus, on that memorable night to which I have alluded, caught, from the quarter-deck of the *Santa Maria*, the twinkling beams of a taper from

the shores of San Salvador, all the territorial and political rights of its simple inhabitants were extinguished forever. When on the following morning the keel of his vessel grated upon the much longed for strand, it completed, with more than electric speed, that terrible circuit which connected the islands and the continent to the footstool of the Spanish throne. As he landed upon the virgin shore, its native inhabitants, could they have foreseen the future, would have felt, if I may presume thus to apply the words, that virtue had gone out of it forever. With some of them the process was sharp and instantaneous, with others more gradual, but not less sure; with some, even after nearly four centuries, it is still going on; but with all it was an irrevocable doom. The wild and warlike, the indolent and semicivilized, the bloody Aztec, the inoffensive Peruvian, the fierce Araucanian, — all fared alike; a foreign rule and an iron yoke settled or is settling down upon their necks forever.

Such was the law of nations of that day, not enacted, however, by Spain. It was in reality the old principle of the right of the strongest, disguised by a pretext; a colossal iron falsehood gilded over with the thin foil of a seeming truth. It was the same principle which prompted the eternal wars of the Greeks and Romans. Aristotle asserts, without qualification, that the Greeks had a perpetual right of war and conquest against the barbarians, — that is, all the rest of the world; and the pupil of Aristotle proclaimed this doctrine at the head of the Macedonian phalanx on the banks of the Indus. The irruption of the barbarous races into Europe, during the centuries that preceded and followed Christianity, rested on as good a principle, — rather better, — the pretext only was varied; although the Gauls and Goths did not probably trouble themselves much about pretexts. They adopted rather the simple philosophy of the robber chieftain of the Scottish Highlands:

Pent in this fortress of the North,
Think'st thou we will not sally forth,
To spoil the spoiler as we may,
And from the robber rend the prey?

When the Mohammedan races rose to power, they claimed dominion over all who disbelieved the Koran. Conversion or

extermination was the alternative which they offered to the world, and which was announced in letters of fire and blood from Spain to the Ganges. The states of Christian Europe did but retort the principle and the practice, when, in a series of crusades, kept up for more than three hundred years, they poured desolation over the west of Asia, in order to rescue the sepulcher of the Prince of Peace from the possession of unbelievers.

Such were the principles of the public law and the practice under them, as they existed when the great discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries took place. When the Portuguese began to push their adventures far to the south on the coast of Africa, in order to give to those principles the highest sanction, they procured of Pope Nicholas the Fifth, in 1454, the grant of the right of sovereignty over all the heathen tribes, nations, and countries discovered or to be discovered by them, from Africa to India, and the exclusive title thus conferred was recognized by all the other nations of Christendom.

On the return of Columbus from his first voyage, the king of Spain, not to fall behind his neighbors in the strength of his title, lost no time in obtaining from Pope Alexander the Sixth a similar grant of all the heathen lands discovered by Columbus, or which might hereafter be discovered, in the west. To preclude as far as possible all conflict with Portugal, the famous line of demarcation was projected from the north to the south, a hundred leagues west of the Azores, cutting the earth into halves, like an apple, and, as far as the new discoveries were concerned, giving to the Spaniards all west of the line, and confirming all east of it to the Portuguese, in virtue of the grant already mentioned of Pope Nicholas the Fifth.

I regret that want of time will not allow me to dwell upon the curious history of this line of demarcation, for the benefit of all states having boundary controversies, and especially our sister republics of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. It is sufficient to say, that, having had its origin in the papal bull just referred to of 1454, it remained a subject of dispute and collision for three hundred and sixty-one years, and was finally settled at the Congress of Vienna in 1815!

The territorial extension of Portugal and Spain, which resulted from the discovery of America, was followed by the most extraordinary effects upon the commerce, the finances, and the politics generally, of those two countries, and through them of the world. The overland trade to the East, the great commercial interest of the Middle Ages, was abandoned. The whole of South America, and a considerable part of North America, were, in the course of the sixteenth century, settled by those governments; who organized in their Transatlantic possessions a colonial system of the most rigid and despotic character, reflecting as far as was practicable in distant provinces beyond the sea the stern features of the mother country. The precious metals, and a monopoly of the trade to the East, were the great objects to be secured. Aliens were forbidden to enter the American viceroyalties; none but a contraband trade was carried on by foreigners at the seaports. To prevent this trade, a severe right of search was instituted along the entire extent of the coasts, on either ocean. I have recently had an opportunity, in another place, to advert to the effects of this system upon the international relations of Europe.¹ Native subjects could emigrate to these vast colonial possessions only with the permission of the government. Liberty of speech and of the press was unknown. Instead of affording an asylum to persons dissenting from the religion of the state, conformity of belief was, if possible, enforced more rigidly in the colonies than in the mother country. No relaxation in this respect has, I believe, taken place in the remaining colonies of Spain even to the present day. As for the aboriginal tribes, after the first work of extermination was over a remnant was saved from destruction by being reduced to a state of predial servitude. The dejected and spiritless posterity of the warlike tribes that offered no mean resistance to Cortés and Pizarro are now the hewers of wood and the drawers of water to Mexico and Peru. In a word, from the extreme southern point of Patagonia to the northernmost limit of New Mexico, I am not aware that anything hopeful was

¹ Speech on the affairs of Central America, in the Senate of the United States, 21st of March, 1853.

done for human improvement by either of the European crowns which added these vast domains to their territories.

If this great territorial extension was fruitless of beneficial consequences to America, it was not less so to the mother countries. For Spain it was the commencement of a period, not of prosperity, but of decline. The rapid influx of the precious metals, in the absence of civil liberty and of just principles and institutions of intercourse and industry, was productive of manifold evils; and from the reign of Philip the Second, if not of Charles the Fifth, the Spanish monarchy began to sink from its haughty position at the head of the European family. I do not ascribe this downfall exclusively to the cause mentioned; but the possession of the two Indies, with all their treasures, did nothing to arrest, accelerated even, the progress of degeneracy. Active causes of decline no doubt existed at home; and of these the Inquisition was the chief.

There was the weight that pulled her down.

The spirit of intolerance and persecution, the reproach and scandal of all countries and all churches, Protestant as well as Catholic (not excepting the Pilgrim Fathers of New England), found an instrument in the Holy Office in Spain, in the sixteenth century, such as it never possessed in any other age or country. It was not merely Jews and heretics whom it bound to the stake; it kindled a slow, unquenchable fire in the heart of Castile and Leon. The horrid atrocities practiced at home and abroad, not only in the Netherlands, but in every city of the mother country, cried to Heaven for vengeance upon Spain; nor could she escape it. She intrenched herself behind the eternal Cordilleras; she took to herself the wings of the morning, and dwelt in the uttermost parts of the sea; but even there the arm of retribution laid hold of her, and the wrongs of both hemispheres were avenged in her degeneracy and fall.

But let us pass on to the next century, during which events of the utmost consequence followed each other in rapid succession, and the foundations of institutions destined to influence the fortunes of Christendom were laid by humble men,

who little comprehended their own work. In the course of the seventeenth century, the French and English took possession of all that part of North America which was not pre-occupied by the Spaniards. The French entered by the St. Lawrence; followed that noble artery to the heart of the continent; traced the great lakes to their parent rivulets and weeping fountains; descended the Mississippi. Miracles of humble and unavailing heroism were performed by their gallant adventurers and pious missionaries in the depths of our Western wilderness. The English stretched along the coast. The geographer would have pronounced that the French, in appropriating to themselves the mighty basins of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, had got possession of the better part of the continent. But it was an attempt to compose the second volume of the "Fortunes of America," in advance of the first. This it was ordained should be written at Jamestown and Plymouth. The French, though excelling all other nations of the world in the art of communicating for temporary purposes with savage tribes, seem, still more than the Spaniards, to be destitute of the august skill required to found new states.¹ I do not know that there is such a thing in the world as a colony of France growing up into a prosperous commonwealth. Half a million of French peasants in Lower Canada, tenaciously adhering to the manners and customs which their fathers brought from Normandy two centuries ago, and a third part of that number of planters of French descent in Louisiana, are all that is left to bear living witness to the amazing fact, that in the middle of the last century France was the mistress of the better half of North America.

It was on the Atlantic coast, and in the colonies originally planted or soon acquired by England, that the great work of the seventeenth century was performed, — slowly, toilsomely, effectively. A mighty work for America and mankind, of which even we, fond and proud of it as we are, do but faintly guess the magnitude! It could hardly be said, at the time, to prosper in any of its parts. It yielded no return to the pecuniary capital invested. The political relations of the colonies from the first were those of encroachment and resistance; and even the moral

¹ "La France saura mal coloniser et n'y réussira qu'avec peine." — VICTOR HUGO, "Le Rhin," Tom. II, p. 280.

principle, as far as there was one, on which they were founded, was not consistently carried out. There was conflict with the savages, war with the French and Spaniards, jarring and feud between neighboring colonies, persecution of dissenting individuals and sects, perpetual discord with the crown and the proprietaries. Yet, in the main and on the whole, the WORK was done. Things that did not work singly worked together; or if they did not work together, they worked by reaction and collision. Feeble germs of settlement grew to the consistency of powerful colonies; habits of civil government rooted themselves in a soil that was continually stirred by political agitation; the frame of future republics knit itself, as it were in embryo, under a monarchical system of colonial rule; till in the middle of the eighteenth century the approach of mighty changes began to be dimly foreseen by gifted spirits. A faint streak of purple light blushed along the eastern sky.

Two things worth mentioning contributed to the result. One was the absence of the precious metals. The British colonies were rich in the want of gold. As the abundance of gold and silver in Mexico and Peru contributed, in various ways, to obstruct the prosperity of the Spanish colonies, the want of them acted not less favorably here. In the first settlement of a savage wilderness the golden attraction is too powerful for the ordinary routine of life. It produces a feverish excitement unfavorable to the healthy growth and calm action of the body politic. Although California has from the first had the advantage of being incorporated into a stable political system, of which, as a sister State, she forms an integral part, it is quite doubtful whether, looking to her permanent well-being, the gold is to be a blessing to her. It will hasten her settlement; but that would at any rate have advanced with great rapidity. One of the most intellectual men in this country, the author of one of the most admirable works in our language, I mean "Two Years before the Mast," once remarked to me, that "California would be one of the finest countries in the world to live in, if it were not for the gold."

The other circumstance which operated in the most favorable manner upon the growth of the Anglo-American colonies was the fact, that they were called into existence less by the

government than the people; that they were mainly settled, not by bodies of colonists, but by individual immigrants. The crown gave charters of government and grants of land, and a considerable expenditure was made by some of the companies and proprietors who received these grants; but upon the whole, the United States were settled by individuals, — the adventurous, resolute, high-spirited, and in many cases persecuted men and women, who sought a home and a refuge beyond the sea; and such was the state of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that it furnished a succession of victims of a long series of political and religious disasters and persecutions, who found, one after another, a safe and a congenial retreat in some one of the American colonies.

This noble theme has been treated with a beauty and a power, by one whom I need not name in this presence (the historian of the United States), which, without impairing their authenticity, have converted the severe pages of our history into a magnificent Odyssey of national adventure. I can but glance at the dates. The first settlement, that of Virginia, was commenced in the spirit of worldly enterprise, with no slight dash, however, of chivalry and romance on the part of its leader. In the next generation this colony became the favorite resort of the loyal cavaliers and gentlemen who were disgusted by the austerities of the English Commonwealth, or fell under its suspicion. In the meantime, New England was founded by those who suffered the penalties of nonconformity. The mighty change of 1640 stopped the tide of emigration to New England, but recruited Virginia with those who were disaffected to Cromwell. In 1624 the island of Manhattan, of which you have perhaps heard, and if not, you will find its history related with learning, judgment, and good taste, by a loyal descendant of its early settlers (Mr. Brodhead), was purchased of the Indians for twenty-four dollars; a sum of money, by the way, which seems rather low for twenty-two thousand acres of land, including the site of this great metropolis, but which would, if put out at compound interest at 7 per cent in 1624, not perhaps fall so very much below even its present value; though I admit that a dollar for a thousand acres is quite cheap for choice spots on the Fifth Avenue. Maryland

next attracted those who adhered to the ancient faith of the Christian world. New Jersey and Pennsylvania were mainly settled by persecuted Quakers; but the latter offered an asylum to the Germans whom the sword of Louis the Fourteenth drove from the Palatinate. The French Huguenots, driven out by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, scattered themselves from Massachusetts to Carolina. The Dutch and Swedish settlements on the Hudson and the Delaware provided a kindred home for such of their countrymen as desired to try the fortune of the New World. The Whigs of England who rebelled against James the Second, in 1685, and were sent to the Transatlantic colonies, lived long enough to meet in exile the adherents of his son, who rebelled against George the First, in 1715. The oppressed Protestants of Salzburg came with General Oglethorpe to Georgia; and the Highlanders who fought for Charles Edward, in 1745, were deported by hundreds to North Carolina. They were punished by being sent from their bleak hills and sterile moors to a land of abundance and liberty; they were banished from oatmeal porridge to meat twice a day. The Gaelic language is still spoken by their descendants, and thousands of their kindred at the present day would no doubt gladly share their exile.

There is no doubt that the hardships which awaited the emigrant at that early day were neither few nor slight, though greatly exaggerated for want of information. Goldsmith, in "The Deserted Village," published in 1769, gives us a somewhat amusing picture of the state of things as he supposed it to exist beyond the ocean at that time. As his local allusion is to Georgia, it is probable that he formed his impressions from the accounts which were published at London about the middle of the last century by some of the discontented settlers of that colony. Goldsmith, being well acquainted with General Oglethorpe, was likely enough to have had his attention called to the subject. Perhaps you will allow me to enliven my dull prose with a few lines of his beautiful poetry. After describing the sufferings of the poor in London at that time, reverting to the condition of the inhabitants of his imaginary Auburn, and asking whether they probably shared the woes he had just painted, he thus answers his question :

Ah, no ! To distant climes, a dreary scene,
Where half the convex world intrudes between,
Through torrid tracts with fainting steps they go,
Where wild Altama murmurs to their woe.
Far different there from all that charmed before,
The various terrors of that horrid shore :
Those blazing suns that dart a downward ray,
And fiercely shed intolerable day ;
Those matted woods, where birds forgot to sing,
But silent bats in drowsy clusters cling ;
Those poisonous fields with rank luxuriance crowned,
Where the dark scorpion gathers death around, —
Where, at each step, the stranger fears to wake
The rattling terrors of the vengeful snake, —
Where crouching tigers wait their hapless prey,
And savage men more murderous still than they ;
While oft in whirls the mad tornado flies,
Mingling the ravaged landscape with the skies.

In this rather uninviting sketch, it must be confessed that it is not easy to recognize the natural features of that thriving State, which possesses at the present day a thousand miles of railroad, and which, by her rapidly increasing population, her liberal endowment of colleges, schools, and churches, and all the other social institutions of a highly improved community, is fast earning the name of the "Empire State" of the South.

After repeating these lines, it is scarcely necessary to say that there was much ignorance and exaggeration prevailing in Europe as to the state of things in America. But a few years after Goldsmith's poem appeared, an event occurred which aroused and fixed the attention of the world. The revolt of the Colonies in 1775, the Declaration of Independence in 1776, the battles of the Revolutionary War, the alliance with France, the acknowledgment of American Independence by the treaty of 1783, the establishment of a great federative republic, the illustrious career of Lafayette, the European reputation of Franklin, and, above all, the character of Washington, gave to the United States a great and brilliant name in the family of nations. Thousands in every part of Europe

then probably heard of America, with any distinct impressions, for the first time; and they now heard of it as a region realizing the wildest visions. Hundreds in every walk of life began to resort to America, and especially ardent young men, who were dissatisfied with the political condition of Europe. Among these was your late venerable President, Albert Gallatin, one of the most eminent men of the last generation, who came to this country before he attained his majority; and the late celebrated Sir Isambert Brunel, the architect of the Thames Tunnel. He informed me that he became a citizen of the State of New York before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and that he made some surveys to ascertain the practicability of the great work which afterwards united the waters of Lake Erie with the waters of the Atlantic, and gave immortality to the name of your Clinton.^{ena}

Before the Revolution, the great West was shut even to the subjects of England. A royal proclamation of 1763 forbade the extension of the settlements in North America beyond the Ohio. But without such a prohibition, the still unbroken power of the Indian tribes would have prevented any such extension. The successful result of the Revolutionary War did not materially alter the state of things in this respect. The native tribes were still formidable, and the British posts in the Northwestern Territory were retained. So little confidence was placed in the value of a title to land, even within the limits of the State of New York, that the enterprising citizens of Massachusetts, Messrs. Gorham and Phelps, who bought six millions of acres of land on the Genesee River, shortly after the Peace, for a few cents the acre, were obliged to abandon the greater part of the purchase from the difficulty of finding under purchasers enough to enable them to meet the first installments.

On one occasion, when Judge Gorham was musing in a state of mental depression on the failure of this magnificent speculation he was visited by a friend and townsman, who had returned from a journey to Canandaigua, then just laid out. This friend tried to cheer the Judge with a bright vision of the future growth of western New York. Kindling with his theme, he pointed to a son of Judge Gorham, who was in the room, and added, "You and I shall not live to see the day, but that lad, if he reaches three

score years and ten, will see a daily stage-coach running as far west as Canandaigua!" That lad is still living. What he has seen in the shape of travel and conveyance in the State of New York, it is not necessary before this audience to say.

It was the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, in 1789, which gave stability to the Union and confidence to the people. This was the Promethean fire, which kindled the body politic into vital action. It created a national force. The Indians on the southwest were pacified. On the north-western frontier the troops of the general government were at first defeated; but after the victory of Wayne, and the peace of Greeneville, in 1795, the British posts were surrendered, and the tide of emigration began to pour in. It was rather, however, from the older States than from foreign countries. The extensive region northwest of the Ohio had already received its political organization as a territory of the United States by the ever memorable Ordinance of 1787.

While Providence was thus opening on this continent the broadest region that ever was made accessible to human progress, want, or adventure, it happened that the kingdoms of Europe were shaken by the terrible convulsions incident to the French Revolution. France herself first, and afterwards the countries overrun by her revolutionary armies, poured forth their children by thousands. I believe there are no official returns of the number of immigrants to the United States at the time, but it was very large. Among them was M. de Talleyrand, the celebrated minister of every government in France, from that of the Directory, in 1797, to that of Louis Philippe, in whose reign he died. I saw at Peale's Museum, in Philadelphia, the original oath of allegiance, subscribed by him in 1794.¹ Louis Philippe himself emigrated to this country,

¹ Since this lecture was delivered, I have been favored with a copy of this paper by Edward D. Ingraham, Esq., of Philadelphia. It is in the following words:

I, Charles Maurice Talleyrand Perigord, formerly Administrator of the Department of Paris, son of Joseph Daniel de Talleyrand Perigord, a General of the Armies of France, born at Paris and arrived at Philadelphia from London, do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and to the United States of America, and that I will not at any time willfully and knowingly do any matter or thing prejudicial to the freedom and independence thereof.

where he passed three years, and is well remembered by many persons still living. He habitually spoke with gratitude of the kindness which he experienced in every part of the Union.

As yet, no acquisition of territory had been made by the United States beyond the limits of the British colonies; but in 1803 a most important step was taken in the purchase of Louisiana, by which our possessions were extended, though with an unsettled boundary both on the south and the north, to the Pacific Ocean. The War of 1812 reduced the Indian tribes in the Northwestern States; and the campaigns of General Jackson a few years later produced the same effect on the southern frontier. Florida was acquired by treaty from Spain in 1819; and the Indians in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi were removed to the west of the river Mississippi ten or twelve years later. Black Hawk's war in Wisconsin took place in 1833, and a series of Indian treaties, both before and after that event, extinguished the Indian title to all the land east of the Mississippi, and to considerable tracts west of that river. Texas was annexed to the Union in 1845, and in 1848 New Mexico and California came into our possession.

I have, as you perceive, run rapidly over these dates, compressing into one paragraph the starting points in the history of future commonwealths, simply in their bearing on the subject of immigration. These acquisitions, not inferior in extent to all that there was solid in the Roman conquests, have resulted in our possession of a zone of territory of the width of twenty degrees of latitude, stretching from ocean to ocean, and nearly equal in extent to the whole of Europe.¹ It is all subject to the power of the United States; a portion of it has attained the civilization of the Old World, while other portions shade off through all degrees of culture, to the log-house of the frontier settler, the cabin of the trapper, and the wigwam of the savage. Within this vast domain there are millions of acres of fertile land, to be purchased at moderate prices, according to its position and its state of improvement, and there are hundreds of millions of acres in a state of nature, and gradually selling at the government price of a dollar and a quarter per acre.

¹ Square miles in the United States, 3,260,073; in Europe, 3,700, 971. — *American Almanac* for 1853, pp. 315 and 316.

It is this which most strikes the European imagination. The Old World is nearly all appropriated by individuals. There are public domains in most foreign countries, but of comparatively small amount, and mostly forests. With this exception, every acre of land in Europe is private property, and in such countries as England, the Netherlands, France, Germany, and Italy, what little changes hands is sold only at a high price. I presume the number of landholders in England is far less than in the State of New York. In the course of the French Revolution the land has been greatly divided and subdivided in France and in Germany, and is now held in small farms; but owing to the limited quantity of purchasable land, these farms, when sold, are sold only at high prices. Generally speaking, the mass of the inhabitants of Europe regard the ability to hold and occupy a considerable landed property as the summit of human fortune. The suggestion that there is a country beyond the ocean, where fertile land is to be purchased, in any quantity, at a dollar and a quarter per acre, and that dollar and a quarter to be earned in many parts of the country by the labor of a single day, strikes them as the tales of Aladdin's lamp or Ali Baba's cave would strike us, if we thought they were true. They forget the costs and sacrifices of leaving home, the ocean to be traversed, the weary pilgrimage in the land of strangers after their arrival. They see nothing with the mind's eye but the "*land of promise*"; they reflect upon nothing but the fact, that there is a region on the earth's surface where a few days' unskilled labor will purchase the fee simple of an ample farm.

Such an attraction would be irresistible under any circumstances to the population of an old country, where, as I have just said, the land is all appropriated, and to be purchased, in any considerable quantity, only at prices which put its acquisition beyond the thought of the masses. But this is but half the tale. It must not be forgotten that in this ancient and venerable Europe, whose civilization is the growth of two thousand years, where some of the luxurious refinements of life are carried to a perfection of which we have scarcely an idea in this country, a considerable part of the population, even in the most prosperous regions, pass their lives in a state but one remove from starvation, — poorly fed, poorly clothed, poorly

housed, without education, without political privileges, without moral culture. The average wages of the agricultural laborer in England were estimated a year ago at 9s. 6d. sterling — about \$2.37½ — per week. The condition of the working population on the continent of Europe is in no degree better, if as good. They eat but little animal food either in England or on the Continent. We form romantic notions at a distance of countries that abound in wine and oil; but in the best governed states of Italy, — in Tuscany, for instance, — the peasantry, though they pass their lives in the vineyard and the olive orchard, consume the fruit of neither. I have seen the Tuscan peasants, unable to bear the cost of the most ordinary wine from the vineyards in which their cottages are embowered, and which can be bought at retail for a cent a flask, pouring water over the grape skins as they come from the press, and making that their beverage.

Even for persons in comparatively easy circumstances in Europe, there are strong inducements to emigrate to America. Most of the governments are arbitrary, the taxes are oppressive, the exactions of military service onerous in the extreme. Add to all this the harassing insecurity of life. For sixty or seventy years the Continent has been one wide theater of scarcely intermitted convulsion. Every country in it has been involved in war; there is scarcely one that has not passed through a revolution. We read of events like these in the newspapers, we look upon them with curiosity as articles of mere intelligence, or they awaken images of our own revolution, which we regard only with joyous associations. Far different the state of things in crowded Europe, of which the fairest fields are trampled in every generation by mighty armies into bloody mire! Dazzled by the brilliancy of the military exploits of which we read at a safe distance, we forget the anxieties of those who grow up within the sound of the cannon's roar, whose prospects in life are ruined, their business broken up, their little accumulations swept away by the bankruptcy of governments or the general paralysis of the industry of the country, their sons torn from them by ruthless conscriptions, the means of educating and bringing up their families consumed in a day by disastrous emergencies. Terrified by

the recent experience or the tradition of these miseries, thousands emigrate to the land of promise, flying before, not merely the presence, but the "rumor of war," which the Great Teacher places on a level with the reality.

Ever and anon some sharp specific catastrophe gives an intense activity to emigration. When France, in the lowest depth of her Revolution, plunged to a lower depth of suffering and crime, when the Reign of Terror was enthroned, and when everything in any way conspicuous, whether for station, wealth, talent, or service, of every age and of either sex, from the crowned monarch to the gray-haired magistrate and the timid maiden, was brought to the guillotine, hundreds of thousands escaped at once from the devoted kingdom. The convulsions of San Domingo drove most of the European population of that island to the United States. But beyond everything else which has been witnessed in modern times, the famine which prevailed a few years since in Ireland gave a terrific impulse to emigration. Not less, probably, than one million of her inhabitants left her shores within five years. The population of this island, as highly favored in the gifts of nature as any spot on the face of the earth, has actually diminished more than 1,800,000 since the famine year;¹ the only example, perhaps, in history, of a similar result in a country not visited by foreign war or civil convulsion. The population ought, in the course of nature, to have increased within ten years by at least that amount; and in point of fact, between 1840 and 1850, our own population increased by more than six millions.

This prodigious increase of the population of the United States is partly owing to the emigration from foreign countries, which has taken place under the influence of the causes general and specific, to which I have alluded. Of late years, from three to four hundred thousand immigrants are registered at the several customhouses, as arriving in this country in the course of a year. It is probable that a third as many more enter by the Canadian frontier. Not much less than two millions of immigrants are supposed to have entered the United States in the last ten years; and it is calculated that there are

¹ *London Quarterly Review* for December, 1851, p. 191.

living at the present day in the United States five millions of persons, foreigners who have immigrated since 1790, and their descendants.

There is nothing in the annals of mankind to be compared to this; but there is a series of great movements which may be contrasted with it. In the period of a thousand years, which began about three or four hundred years before our Saviour, the Roman republic and empire were from time to time invaded by warlike races from the North and East, who burst with overwhelming force upon the South and West of Europe, and repeatedly carried desolation to the gates of Rome. These multitudinous invaders were not armies of men, they were in reality nations of hostile emigrants. They came with their wives, with their "young barbarians," with their Scythian cavalry, and their herds of cattle; and they came with no purpose of going away. The *animus manendi* was made up before they abandoned their ice-clad homes; they left their Arctic allegiance behind them. They found the sunny banks of the Arno and the Rhone more pleasant than those of the Don and the Volga. Unaccustomed to the sight of any tree more inviting than the melancholy fir and the stunted birch, its branches glittering with snowy crystals, — brought up under a climate where the generous fruits are unknown, — these children of the North were not so much fascinated as bewildered "in the land of the citron and myrtle"; they gazed with delighted astonishment at the spreading elm, festooned with Falernian clusters; they clutched, with a kind of frantic joy, at the fruit of the fig tree and the olive; — at the melting peach, the luscious plum, the golden orange, and the pomegranate, whose tinted cheek outblushes everything but the living carnation of youthful love.

With grim delight the brood of winter view
A brighter day and heavens of azure hue,
Scent the new fragrance of the breathing rose,
And quaff the pendent vintage as it grows.

By the fortune of war, single detachments and even mighty armies frequently suffered defeat; but their place was immediately taken by new hordes, which fell upon declining Rome

as the famished wolves in one of Catlin's pictures fall upon an aged buffalo in our Western prairies. The imperial monster, powerful even in his decrepitude, would often scatter their undisciplined array with his iron tusks, and trample them by thousands under his brazen feet; but when he turned back, torn and bleeding, to his seven hills, tens of thousands came howling from the Northern forests, who sprang on his throat and buried their fangs in his lacerated side. Wherever they conquered, and in the end they conquered everywhere, they established themselves on the soil, invited newcomers, and from their union with the former inhabitants, the nations of the South and West of Europe, at the present day, for the most part, trace their descent.

We know but little of the numbers thus thrown in upon the Roman republic and empire in the course of eight or ten centuries. They were, no doubt, greatly exaggerated by the panic fear of the inhabitants; and the pride of the Roman historians would lead them to magnify the power before which their own legions had so often quailed. But when we consider the difficulty of subsisting a large number of persons in a march through an unfriendly country, and this at a time when much of the now cultivated portion of Europe was covered with forest and swamp, I am disposed to think that the hosts which for a succession of centuries overran the Roman empire did not in the aggregate exceed in numbers the immigrants that have arrived in the United States since 1790. In other words, I am inclined to believe, that within the last sixty years the Old World has poured in upon the United States a number of persons as great, with their natural increase, as Asia sent into Europe in these armed migrations of barbarous races.

Here, of course, the parallel ends. The races that invaded Europe came to lay waste and to subjugate; the hosts that cross the Atlantic are peaceful immigrants. The former burst upon the Roman empire, and by oft-repeated strokes beat it to the ground. The immigrants to America from all countries come to cast in their lot with the native citizens, and to share with us this great inheritance of civil and religious liberty. The former were ferocious barbarians, half clad in skins, speaking strange tongues, worshipping strange gods with

bloody rites. The latter are the children of the countries from which the first European settlers of this continent proceeded, and belong, with us, to the great common family of Christendom. The former destroyed the culture of the ancient world, and it was only after a thousand years that a better civilization grew up from its ruins. The millions who have established themselves in America within sixty years are, from the moment of their arrival, gradually absorbed into the mass of the population, conforming to the laws and molding themselves to the manners of the country, and contributing their share to its prosperity and strength.

It is a curious coincidence, that, as the first mighty wave of the hostile migration that burst upon Europe before the time of our Saviour consisted of tribes belonging to the great Celtic race, the remains of which, identified by their original dialect, are still found in Brittany, in Wales, in the Highlands of Scotland, and especially in Ireland, so by far the greater portion of the new and friendly immigration to the United States consists of persons belonging to the same ardent, true-hearted, and too often oppressed race. I have heard, in the villages of Wales and the Highlands of Scotland, the Gospel preached in substantially the same language in which Brennus uttered his haughty summons to Rome, and in which the mystic songs of the Druids were chanted in the depths of the primeval forests of France and England, in the time of Julius Cæsar. It is still spoken by thousands of Scotch, Welsh, and Irish immigrants, in all parts of the United States.¹

¹ A learned and friendly correspondent, of Welsh origin, is of opinion that I have fallen into a "gross error, in classing the Irish, Welsh, and Scotch as one race of people, or Celts, whose language is the same. The slightest acquaintance," he adds, "with the Welsh and Irish languages would convince you that they were totally different. A Welshman cannot understand one word of Irish, neither can the latter understand one word of Welsh."

In a popular view of the subject this may be correct, in like manner as the Anglo-Saxon, the Teutonic, and Scandinavian races would, in a popular use of the terms, be considered as distinct races, speaking languages mutually unintelligible. But the etymologist regards their languages as substantially the same; and ethnographically these nations belong to one and the same stock.

There are certainly many points, in reference to the ancient history of the Celts, on which learned men greatly differ, and at which it was impossible that I should ever glance in the superficial allusions which my limits admitted. But there is no point on which ethnographers are better agreed, than that the Bretons, Welsh, Irish,

This great Celtic race is one of the most remarkable that has appeared in history. Whether it belongs to that extensive Indo-European family of nations, which, in ages before the dawn of history, took up a line of march in two columns from Lower India, and, moving westward by both a northern and a southern route, finally diffused itself over Western Asia, Northern Africa, and the greater part of Europe; or whether, as others suppose, the Celtic race belongs to a still older stock, and was itself driven down upon the South and into the West of Europe by the overwhelming force of the Indo-Europeans, is a question which we have no time at present to discuss. However it may be decided, it would seem that for the first time, as far as we are acquainted with the fortunes of this interesting race, they have found themselves in a really prosperous condition in this country. Driven from the soil in the West of Europe, to which their fathers clung for two thousand years, they have at length, and for the first time in their entire history, found a real home in a land of strangers. Having been told, in the frightful language of political economy, that at the daily table which Nature spreads for the human family there is no cover laid for them in Ireland, they have crossed the ocean, to find occupation, shelter, and bread on a foreign but friendly soil.

This "Celtic Exodus," as it has been aptly called, is to all the parties immediately connected with it one of the most important events of the day. To the emigrants themselves it may be regarded as a passing from death to life. It will benefit Ireland by reducing a surplus population, and restoring a sounder and juster relation of capital and labor. It will benefit the laboring classes in England, where wages have been kept down to the starvation point by the struggle between the native population and the inhabitants of the sister island for that employment and food of which there is not enough for

and Highland Scotch belong to the Celtic race, representing, no doubt, different national families, which acquired each its distinctive dialect at a very early period.

Dr. Prichard (the leading authority on questions of this kind), after comparing the remains of the ancient Celtic language, as far as they can now be traced in proper names, says, "We must hence conclude that the dialect of the ancient Gauls was nearly allied to the Welsh, and much more remotely related to the Erse and Gaelic." — "Researches into the Physical History of Mankind," Vol. III, p. 135. See also Latham's "English Language," p. 74.

both. This benefit will extend from England to ourselves, and will lessen the pressure of the competition which our labor is obliged to sustain, with the ill-paid labor of Europe. In addition to all this, the constant influx into America of stout and efficient hands supplies the greatest want in a new country, which is that of labor, gives value to land, and facilitates the execution of every species of private enterprise and public work.

I am not insensible to the temporary inconveniences which are to be offset against these advantages, on both sides of the water. Much suffering attends the emigrant there, on his passage, and after his arrival. It is possible that the value of our native labor may have been depressed by too sudden and extensive a supply from abroad; and it is certain that our asylums and almshouses are crowded with foreign inmates, and that the resources of public and private benevolence have been heavily drawn upon. These are considerable evils, but they have perhaps been exaggerated.

It must be remembered, in the first place, that the immigration daily pouring in from Europe is by no means a pauper immigration. On the contrary, it is already regarded with apprehension abroad, as occasioning a great abstraction of capital. How the case may be in Great Britain and Ireland, I have seen no precise statement; but it is asserted, on apparently good grounds, that the consumption and abstraction of capital caused by immigration from Germany amounts annually to twenty millions of rix-dollars, or fifteen millions of our currency.¹

No doubt, foreign immigration is attended with an influx of foreign pauperism. In reference to this, I believe your system of public relief is better here in New York than ours in Massachusetts, in which, however, we are making important changes. It is said, that, owing to some defect in our system, or its administration, we support more than our share of needy foreigners. They are sent in upon us from other

¹ In an instructive article relative to the German emigration in Otto Hübner's "Jahrbuch für Volkswirtschaft und Statistik," the numbers who emigrated from Germany, from 1846 to 1851 inclusive, are estimated to have amounted to an annual average of 96,676, and the amount of capital abstracted by them from the country to an average of 19,370,333 rix-dollars (about fifteen million Spanish dollars) per annum.

States. New York, as the greatest seaport, must be exposed also to more than her proportionate share of the burden. However the evil arises, it may no doubt be mitigated by judicious legislation; and in the meantime Massachusetts and New York might do a worse thing with a portion of their surplus means than feed the hungry, clothe the naked, give a home to the stranger, and kindle the spark of reason in the mind of the poor foreign lunatic, even though that lunatic may have been (as I am ashamed, for the credit of humanity, to say has happened) set on shore in the night from a coasting vessel, and found in the morning in the fields, half dead with cold, and hunger, and fright.

But you say, "They are foreigners." Well, do we owe no duties to foreigners? What was the founder of Virginia, when a poor Indian girl threw herself between him and the war-club of her father, and saved his life at the risk of her own? What were the Pilgrim Fathers, when the friendly savage, if we must call him so, met them with his little vocabulary of kindness, learned among the fishermen on the Grand Bank, — "Welcome, Englishmen"? "They are foreigners." And suppose they are? Was not the country all but ready, a year or two ago, to plunge into a conflict with the military despotisms of the East of Europe, in order to redress the wrongs of the oppressed races who feed their flocks on the slopes of the Carpathians, and pasture their herds upon the tributaries of the Danube, and do we talk of the hardship of relieving destitute foreigners, whom the hand of God has guided across the ocean and conducted to our doors?

Must we learn a lesson of benevolence from the ancient heathen? Let us then learn it. The whole theater at Rome stood up and shouted their sympathetic applause, when the actor in one of Terence's plays exclaimed, "I am a man; nothing that is human is foreign to me."

I am not indifferent to the increase of the public burdens; but the time has been when I have felt a little proud of the vast sums paid in the United States for the relief of poor immigrants from Europe. It is an annual sum, I have no doubt, equal to the interest on the foreign debt of the States which have repudiated their obligations. When I was in London, a few years ago, I received a letter from one of the interior counties of England, telling me that they had in their

house of correction an American seaman, (or a person who pretended to be,) who from their account seemed to be both pauper and rogue. They were desirous of being rid of him, and kindly offered to place him at my disposal. Although he did not bid fair to be a very valuable acquisition, I wrote back that he might be sent to London, where, if he was a sailor, he could be shipped by the American Consul to the United States, if not, to be disposed of in some other way. I ventured to add the suggestion, that if her Majesty's Minister at Washington were applied to in a similar way by the overseers of the poor and wardens of the prisons in the United States, he would be pretty busily occupied. But I really felt pleased, at a time when my own little State of Massachusetts was assisting from ten to twelve thousand destitute British subjects annually, to be able to relieve the British empire, on which the sun never sets, of the only American pauper quartered upon it.

IMMIGRATION — A REVIEW¹

HENRY CABOT LODGE, LL.D.

THERE is nothing so dry as statistics, nothing which falls so dully on the listening ear as the recitation of many figures, not figures of speech but of enumeration. It is also very difficult to grasp the important statistics by merely hearing them read, and yet it is impossible to deal with the question of immigration without them. To comprehend the subject at all the very first step is to realize what the number of immigrants to this country has been, and, further, to trace by the figures the changes which have occurred in the character and origin of the immigration. I have here a table which shows the number of immigrants to this country during the past forty years, that is, since the close of the Civil War, and I also have tables showing the countries from which the immigrants come and which reveal the changes of nationality, or rather the change in the proportion of the nationalities of which our immigration has been composed. I will not read to you these long lists of figures because it would simply be confusing and they can really only be properly studied in detail when printed, as I hope they may be. I shall confine myself to an analysis of them by which you will be enabled to understand what they signify. In the first place, the number of foreign immigrants to this country during the past forty years reaches the enormous total of 19,001,195. Since the formation of the Government, twenty-four millions of people, speaking in round numbers, have come into the United States as immigrants, and of that number, still speaking in round numbers, twenty-two millions have come from Europe. Of the twenty-two millions from Europe, seven and a half millions were from the United Kingdom, over four millions of these being from Ireland, and nearly three millions from England; over five millions were from Germany, and nearly a million and a half were from Norway

¹ Reprinted from address delivered at Boston City Club, March 20, 1900.

and Sweden, two and one half millions each from Austria-Hungary and Italy, and two millions from Russia, including Poland.

During the decade 1880-1890 there was for the first time large immigration from Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia.

In the decade 1890-1900 there was a marked reduction in arrivals from Germany, Ireland, England, Scotland, and Norway and Sweden, and great increase from Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia.

Immigration from France, never large (average about five thousand a year), decreased in the decade 1890-1900, but has since increased.

The first point to be observed here is the size of this huge total of nineteen millions. It is safe to say that there has never been in the history of the world such a movement of peoples as these figures represent. Neither ancient nor modern history discloses any such migration as this. The great influx of barbarians into Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire, so far as we can determine from all extant accounts, was small compared to the immigration to this country within the lifetime of a single generation. Moreover, the largest movements, numerically speaking, at the time of the dissolution of the Roman Empire, were flung back by the forcible resistance of the people of Europe, where Romans and Teutons united to arrest the advance of Huns, Tartars, and Scythians. These were all, like our own, voluntary migrations, although, unlike ours, they were armed invaders instead of peaceful citizens. On the other hand, there is certainly no record of any forced migration which can compare for a moment in numbers with the voluntary immigration to this country. Probably the largest forced immigration which the world has ever seen was that which brought negroes from Africa to the two Americas, and yet in all the two centuries or more of the African slave trade, the total numbers of negroes actually brought to the Americas would fall far short of the millions who have come to the United States in the last forty years. Such a displacement of population, and such a movement of peoples as this is in itself a historic event of great magnitude deserving the most careful consideration; but what we are concerned with is its effect upon, and its meaning to, the people of the United States


and the future of our country. The problem which confronts us is whether we are going to be able to assimilate this vast body of people, to indoctrinate them with our ideals of government, and with our political habits, and also whether we can maintain the wages and the standards of living among our workingmen in the presence of such a vast and rapid increase of population. In what I am about to say I have no reflections to cast upon the people of any race or any nationality, and I say this because it is the practice of the demagogue who neither knows nor cares anything about the seriousness of this question to endeavor to make political capital among voters of foreign birth by proclaiming that any effort to deal intelligently with the question is directed against them individually. The question is just as important to the citizen of foreign birth who took out his naturalization papers yesterday and thus cast in his lot and the future hopes of his children with the fortunes of the United States, as it is to the man whose ancestors settled here two or three hundred years ago. To all true Americans, no matter what their race or birthplace, this question is of vast moment in the presence of such a vast and rapid increase of population. I am not here to-night to make arguments or appeals, still less to reflect upon any people or any race either here or elsewhere. I shall deal simply with the conditions of the problem and the facts of the case, and leave it to you to draw your own inferences and determine what in your opinion ought to be done.

The thirteen colonies which asserted their independence and compelled England after a long war to recognize it, were chiefly populated by men of the English race, immigrants from England and from the Lowlands of Scotland. These people were in an overwhelming majority in all the colonies, and especially in New England. In New York there were the Dutch who had founded the colony. They were not very numerous compared with the entire population of all the colonies and were practically confined to their original settlement. Of kindred race with the predominant English they were a strong, vigorous people and furnished an element of great importance and value in the colonial population.

In the eighteenth century there was an immigration of Huguenot Frenchmen which was scattered all through the various

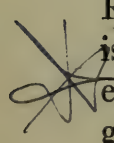
colonies, and which, although comparatively small in numbers,) was of a most admirable quality. There was also a considerable immigration of Germans from the Palatinate, and of people from the North of Ireland known generally as Scotch-Irish. These Germans and Scotch-Irish settled chiefly in Western Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina. They were good robust stocks and added to the strength as well as the number of the population. Immigration to the colonies from other sources than those which I have mentioned was trifling, and, speaking broadly, the thirteen colonies, at the time of the Revolution, had an overwhelming majority of inhabitants who were English speaking and who came from Great Britain and Ireland. It was this population which fought the Revolution and adopted the Constitution of the United States. Our political institutions and our governments, both State and National, were founded by and for these people, and in accord with their ideals and their traditions. They were a homogeneous people, and the institutions which they thus established were essentially their own, were thoroughly understood by them, and suited them in every respect. The soundness of our political system has been demonstrated by more than a hundred years of existence and by the manner in which it has surmounted great strains and perils. But the population of the country, in the meantime, has changed, largely by the processes of immigration, and one of the great problems, both in the present and in the future, is to determine whether these political institutions, founded more than a century ago, can be adapted to, and adopted by, the population of the United States as it is to-day constituted.

Let me now review very briefly the changes in our immigration. The first great immigration was that from Ireland, which began in the forties after the Great Famine, and which has continued, although in diminishing numbers, to the present time. This Irish immigration came from all parts of the island and was no longer confined principally to the North as it had been in the Colonial days. The Irish spoke the same language as the people of the United States, they had the same traditions of government and they had for centuries associated and intermarried with the people of Great Britain. Without dwelling on their proved value as an element of the population, it is enough



to say that they presented no difficulties of assimilation, and they adopted and sustained our system of government as easily as the people of the earlier settlement. At a slightly later period began the great German immigration to the United States, followed in time by the Scandinavian. There could not be a better addition to any population than was furnished by both these people. They spoke, it is true, a different language, but they were of the same race as the people who had made themselves masters of Great Britain, so they assimilated at once with the people of the United States, for the process was merely a reblending of kindred stocks. But the German and the Scandinavian immigration has diminished of late years, and, relatively to the other races which have recently begun to come, has diminished very greatly. Later than any of these was the immigration of French Canadians, but which has assumed large proportions and has become a strong and most valuable element of our population. But the French of Canada scarcely come within the subject we are considering because they are hardly to be classed as immigrants in the accepted sense. They represent one of the oldest settlements on this continent. They have been, in the broad sense, Americans for generations, and their coming to the United States is merely a movement of Americans across an imaginary line from one part of America to another.

Within the last twenty years, however, there has been a great change in the proportion of the various nationalities immigrating from Europe to the United States. The immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland, and from Germany and Scandinavia have gone down in numbers as compared with immigrants from countries which, until very recent years, sent no immigrants to America. We have never received, and do not now receive, any immigration from Spain, or any considerable immigration from France and Belgium. The great growth in recent years in our immigration has been from Italy, from Poland, Hungary, and Russia, from Eastern Europe, from subjects of the Sultan, and is now extending to the inhabitants of Asia Minor. With the exception of the Italians these people have never been amalgamated with, or brought in contact with, the English-speaking people, or with those of France, Germany, Holland, and Scandinavia who have built up the United States. I except the Italians



not merely because their noble literature and splendid art are a part of our inheritance but because they are conspicuously one of the countries which belong to what is known as Western civilization. They, like ourselves, are the heirs of the civilization of Ancient Rome, and until one has traveled in Eastern Europe and studied the people one does not realize how much this signifies.

I am not concerned here with whether the civilization of Rome was better than that of Byzantium, or of the Orient, or of China. I merely state the fact that the civilization of Rome was a widely different civilization from the others, and that it was the civilization whose ideas we have inherited. In Eastern Europe the people fell heirs, not to the civilization of Rome, but to that of Byzantium, of the Greeks of the Lower Empire. As an example of what I mean, the idea of patriotism, that is, of devotion to one's country, is Roman, while the idea of devotion to the Emperor, the head of the State, is Byzantine. I point out these differences merely as conditions of the problem of assimilation which we have presented to us.

I wish next to call your attention to the manner in which this question of immigration has been dealt with by the successive laws passed by Congress. Let me begin by making clear one point which I think is sometimes overlooked. Every independent nation has, and must have, an absolute right to determine who shall come into the country; and, secondly, who shall become a part of its citizenship, and on what terms. We cannot, in fact, conceive of an independent nation which does not possess this power, for if one nation can compel another to admit its people, the nation thus compelled is a subject and dependent nation. The power of the American people to determine who shall come into this country, and on what terms, is absolute, and by the American people I mean its citizens at any given moment, whether native born or naturalized, whose votes control the Government. I state this explicitly, because there seems to be a hazy idea in some minds that the inhabitants of other countries have a right, an inalienable right, to come into the United States. No one has a right to come into the United States, or become part of its citizenship, except by permission of the people of the United States. The power, therefore, of Congress as representing

all the people, is absolute, and they can make any laws they deem wise, from complete prohibition down, in regard to immigration.

The laws regulating immigration are of two kinds, — restrictive and selective. The only restrictive legislation in regard to immigration into the United States is that which is to be found in the Chinese Exclusion Acts. All the rest of our immigration legislation, although it has a somewhat restrictive effect very often, is purely selective in character. We have determined by law that the criminal and the diseased, that women imported for immoral purposes and laborers brought here under contract, shall be excluded, and we also undertake to exclude what are known as “assisted immigrants,” those whose expenses are paid for them by others, whether individuals, corporations, or governments, because it is believed that such immigrants are paupers and likely to become a public charge. I will give you the figures which show the results of these provisions of our statutes, and which are as follows :

IMMIGRANTS DEBARRED

YEARS	PAUPERS	CONTRACT LABORERS	DISEASED AND OTHER CAUSES	TOTAL
1896	2,010	776	13	2,799
1897	1,277	328	12	1,617
1898	2,261	417	352	3,030
1899	2,599	741	458	3,798
1900	2,974	833	439	4,246
1901	2,798	327	391	3,516
1902	3,944	275	755	4,974
1903	5,812	1,086	1,871	8,769
1904	4,798	1,501	1,695	7,994
1905	7,898	1,164	2,418	11,480
1906	7,069	2,314	3,049	12,432
1907	6,866	1,434	4,764	13,064
	50,306	11,196	16,217	77,719

In considering these statistics, it must be remembered that these laws are largely preventive and that the number of diseased, pauper, and criminal immigrants actually excluded and deported are only a very small part of these classes who would come if there were no such laws, but who never leave Europe for the United States because these laws exist.

Of the wisdom of all these measures which shut out the undesirable immigrants just described, I do not think there is much question anywhere; but there is great resistance to their enforcement, especially from interested parties, like steamship companies and large employers, who desire an unlimited supply of cheap labor. So far as the diseased immigrants go, the laws are pretty thoroughly enforced, although there is a continual pressure, for sentimental reasons, to set the law aside and admit the physically unfit in special cases, which constantly recur. To those who resist our immigration laws and who strive to make political capital by opposing them, as well as to all law-abiding and liberty-loving Americans, I would, in this connection, point out some of the results of our still inadequate statutes and of our inefficient enforcement of those which exist. Within the past few weeks we have seen a beloved priest devoted to good works brutally murdered, while in the performance of his sacred functions, by an alien immigrant. We have seen a murderous assault by an alien immigrant upon the Chief of Police of a great city, not to avenge any personal wrong, but because he represented law and order. Every day we read in the newspapers of savage murders by members of secret societies composed of alien immigrants. Can we doubt, in the presence of such horrible facts as these, the need of stringent laws and rigid enforcement, to exclude the criminals and the anarchists of foreign countries from the United States? The exclusion of criminals is now very imperfect, and one of the efforts of the Immigration Commission is to get sufficient information to enable us to make laws on this all-important point which shall be effective. The laws against contract labor are constantly evaded, but the immigration act passed last year provided an annual appropriation of \$50,000 which is to be used in the enforcement of the clause excluding contract laborers, the importance of which cannot be overestimated. The laws against assisted immigrants are also, I am sorry to say, in a great measure ineffective, owing to the ease of evasion; and here again, we hope, by the investigations of the Immigration Commission, to secure information which shall enable us to make decided improvements in this direction.

The question of immigration is emphatically one of a permanent character. There can be no finality in our legislation,

which must, in the nature of the case, be constantly open to improvement in its provisions and in administrative arrangements. There is also a growing and constantly active demand for more restrictive legislation. This demand rests on two grounds, both equally important. One is the effect upon the quality of our citizenship caused by the rapid introduction of this vast and practically unrestricted immigration, and the other, the effect of this immigration upon rates of wages and the standard of living among our working people. The first ground is too large and too complex to be discussed in a brief address; but the second is so obvious that it is easy to make it understood in a few words. I have always regarded high wages and high standards of living for our working people as absolutely necessary to the success of our form of government, which is a representative democracy. It is idle to suppose that those rates of wages can be maintained, and those standards of living be held up to the point where they ought to be kept, if we throw our labor market open to countless hordes of cheaper labor from all parts of the globe. This incompatibility between American standards of living and unrestricted immigration became apparent to the great mass of our people in the case of the Chinese, and the result was the Chinese Exclusion Acts. But what applies to the Chinese applies equally to all Asiatic labor. We have heard a great deal lately about Japanese immigration, but it is not a subject which ought to lead, or which will lead, to any ill-feeling between the two countries. Japan, now, by Imperial edicts, excludes workingmen of all nations, except under strict restrictions in a few of what are known as Treaty Ports, and she excludes the Chinese altogether. Japan does not expect, and no nation can expect, that she should have the right to force her people on another nation, and there is no more cause for offense in the desire of our people in the Western States to exclude Japanese immigrants than there is in the Japanese edicts which now exclude our working people from Japan. Moreover, the sentiment of our people is not peculiar to the United States. It is, if anything, more fervent in British Columbia than in California. The people of Australia exclude the Chinese just as we do, and it may as well be frankly stated that the white race will not admit Asiatic labor to compete with their own in their own countries. Nothing

is more fatal, in this connection, than to make trite economic arguments and talk about the survival of the fittest. The white race of Western America, whether in Canada or in the United States, will not suffer the introduction of Asiatic labor, and as for the saying "the survival of the fittest," the people who use that phrase never complete it. The whole statement is "the survival of the fittest to survive," which is something very different from the survival of what is abstractly the best. If I may use an illustration employed by Mr. Speaker Reed, I can make my point clear to your minds. The bull of Bashan is always spoken of as a singularly noble animal, and the little minnow, or shiner, which you can see in shallow water anywhere on our coast, is a much lower form of life: but if you cast the bull of Bashan and the minnow together into the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, the bull will drown and the minnow will survive in that environment. Yet is the bull of Bashan none the less the nobler animal. In the environment of Chinese labor, our labor could not long survive as we desire it to exist, and, therefore, by an overmastering instinct, our people of the West are determined not to admit Asiatic labor to this country, whether it is Chinese, Japanese, or Hindoo. I think that by and by our working people of the Eastern States will begin to question whether they desire to have Arabs, who I see are planning to come in large numbers, and other people from Asia Minor and the west of Asia, pour into this country. I am not here to argue this question, but merely to call attention to some facts for your consideration, and this ominous fact which I have just mentioned is one.

Many people believe that we should also go a step further in our general legislation, and add ignorance to poverty, disease, and criminality as a valid ground for exclusion. Congress passed a bill containing a provision of this sort, which was vetoed by Mr. Cleveland. The same provision has come up again and again, and has passed the Senate more than once. Those who advocate it maintain that it excludes in practice, and with few exceptions, only undesirable immigrants. Here, again, I shall not attempt to argue the question with you, but will merely point out the number of persons who would have been excluded since 1896 if the illiterates over fourteen years of age had been thrown out. During that period, as shown by the table which I shall give,

the illiterates who, by their own admission, could neither read nor write in any language, numbered 1,829,320. The figures in detail are as follows:

1896	. . . . .	83,196
1897	. . . . .	44,580
1898	. . . . .	44,773
1899	. . . . .	61,468
1900	. . . . .	95,673
1901	. . . . .	120,645
1902	. . . . .	165,105
1903	. . . . .	189,008
1904	. . . . .	172,856
1905	. . . . .	239,091
1906	. . . . .	269,823
1907	. . . . .	<u>343,402</u>
		1,829,320

The only thing I desire to say on this point is, that nothing is more unfounded than the statement that this exclusion is aimed at any race or any class. It is aimed at no one but the ignorant, just as the provision in regard to the diseased immigrants is aimed only at the diseased; but it is unquestionably restrictive, and it therefore meets with the bitter resistance of the steamship companies, from whom, directly or indirectly, come nine tenths of all the agitation and opposition to laws affecting immigration.

I have tried in all I have said to lay before you the statistics, the conditions, the facts, and the past results involved in this great question. As I have already said more than once, I shall make no argument and draw no conclusion. I leave it to you to make your own inferences and reach your own decisions. I say only this, — that to every workingman and to every citizen of the United States, whether native born or naturalized, to whom the quality of our citizenship and the future of our country are dear, there is no question before the American people which can be compared with this in importance; none to which they should give such attention or upon which they should seek to express themselves and to guide their representatives more explicitly and more earnestly.

HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION ¹

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A. IMMIGRATION PRIOR TO 1820

IN POPULAR discussions of the immigration question it is often said that all who have come to this continent since its discovery should be considered equally as immigrants, and that only the aboriginal inhabitants can be properly called natives. In a certain sense this is of course true, but in another it is entirely misleading; for one cannot speak of immigration to a country until that country has entered upon a career of national existence. Accordingly a distinction has been made, and with reason, between those who took part in building the political framework of the thirteen colonies and of the Federal Union, and those who have arrived to find the United States Government and its social and political institutions in working operation. The former class have been called colonists, the latter are immigrants proper. In discussing the immigration question, this distinction is important; for it does not follow that because, as against the native Indians, all comers might be considered as intruders and equally without claim of right, those who have built up a complicated framework of nationality have no rights as against others who seek to enjoy the benefits of national life without having contributed to its creation.

The number of persons in the country at the date of the Revolutionary War is not accurately known. The population of New England was produced out of an immigration of about 20,000 persons who arrived before 1640, and it overflowed into the other colonies without receiving any corresponding additions from them. Franklin stated in 1751 that the population then in the colonies, amounting to about one million, had been produced

¹ "Immigration and its Effects upon the United States." Chapter I. Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1906.

from an original immigration of less than 80,000. The first census of the United States, in 1790, gave the total population as 3,929,214; but, as has been pointed out by Professor F. B. Dexter, this number does not include Vermont or the territory northwest of the Ohio River, which, he says, would make the total over 4,000,000. The first records of immigration begin with the year 1820, and, although the number of immigrants who arrived in the United States from the close of the Revolutionary War to 1820 is not certain, it is estimated by good authorities at 250,000.

It is difficult to ascertain the number of immigrants from the various countries in the early part of the nineteenth century. The number from Great Britain increased from 2081 in 1815, to 34,787 in 1819, after which it diminished to 14,805 in 1824. In the year 1820, out of a total immigration of 8385, the United Kingdom furnished 6024. Germany was second, with 968; France third, with 371; and Spain fourth, with 139. The total immigration from the other parts of North and South America was 387.

The original settlers of this country were, in the main, of Teutonic and Keltic stock. In the thirteen original States the pioneers were practically all British, Irish, Dutch, and German, with a few French, Portuguese, and Swedes; and, in this connection, it should be remembered that a large proportion of the French people is Teutonic in origin. The Germans were Protestants from the Palatinate, and were pretty generally scattered, having colonized in New York, Western Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The Swedes settled upon the Delaware River. The French were Huguenots driven from home by Louis XIV; and, though not numerous, were a valuable addition to the colonies. The Irish were descendants of Cromwell's army, and came from the north of Ireland. [All the settlers had been subjects of nations which entertained a high degree of civilization, and were at that time the colonizing and commercial nations of the world.] At a later period, the annexation of Florida and Louisiana brought in elements of Mediterranean races, so called; but, owing to various considerations into which it is not necessary to enter here, the civilization and customs of the British overspread these regions, as well as those colonized originally by the

Dutch and French, and produced a substantial uniformity in institutions, habits, and traditions throughout the land.

This process of solidification and assimilation of the different colonies under British influence reached its consummation with the establishing of the Federal Government. After the birth of the United States as a separate nation, colonization in the earlier sense ceased entirely. European nations could no longer send out their own citizens and form communities directly dependent upon themselves and subject to their own jurisdiction. The immigration of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, therefore, differs widely in character from the colonization of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

B. IMMIGRATION FROM 1820 TO 1869

With the year 1820 the official history of immigration to the United States begins; for it was then that collectors of customs at our ports were first obliged to record the arrival of passengers by sea from foreign countries. The record included numbers, ages, sexes, and occupations. Before 1856 no distinction at all was made between travelers intending to return and immigrants intending to remain.

Although still comparatively small, immigration increased from 8385 in 1820 to 22,633 in 1831. The first marked rise took place in 1827 and 1828, following the commercial depression in England in those and in the previous year. From 1831, with the exception of the period 1843-1844, numbers continued steadily to advance until they reached totals of 104,565 in 1842, and 310,004 in 1850. The most striking annual increases were from 114,371 in 1845 to 154,416 in 1846, and 234,968 in 1847. These sudden movements of population were chiefly due to hard times in Europe, and especially in Ireland, a cause which, with the Revolution of 1848, in Germany, continued to operate until 1854, when a total of 427,853 was reached — a figure not again attained until nearly twenty years later. With the year 1854 the tide began to beat less fiercely; immigration decreased steadily until, during the first two years of the Civil War, it was below 100,000. But in 1863, a gradual increase once more set in, and in 1869 352,768 persons landed. During the whole of

this period the only immigration of importance came from Europe and from other parts of America. Immigration from Asia, which began in 1853, consisted in the largest year, 1854, of 13,100 persons.

In 1869 the ethnic composition of immigration commenced in a marked way to change, and considerations which apply to the earlier years do not necessarily hold for those from 1870 to the present time. For this reason the period is made to end with 1869.

C. IMMIGRATION FROM 1870 TO 1905

In this period from 1870 to 1905, immigration increased more than twofold. In 1870 the total immigration was 387,203; in 1903 it had reached the enormous number of 857,046, and, in 1905, the still more significant figure of 1,026,499. Directly after 1870 a time of industrial and commercial depression began, culminating in the panic of 1873. The barometer of immigration, always sensitive to such changes in the industrial atmosphere, began to fall, though there was no rapid movement until the panic was well under way. In fact, immigration increased to 459,803 in 1873; but it fell in the following year to 313,339 and then steadily diminished to 138,469 in 1878. After this it very suddenly increased again, and in 1882 it reached 788,992 — the largest immigration of any year except 1903, 1904, and 1905.

A part of this sudden increase in 1882 and the two subsequent years must be ascribed to the promulgation of the "May Laws" by Russia, which caused large numbers of Hebrews to emigrate. Thus, immigration from Russia, exclusive of Poland and Finland, was nearly four times as great in 1882 as in 1881, and by 1890 was more than seven times as great. But, in addition to these special causes, there seems to have been a general advance all along the line of nations. One reason for this may have been the enactment by Congress of the first general immigration act of August 3, 1882, and the fear that this might be the forerunner of further restrictive legislation, a fear which has undoubtedly operated during the last two or three years.

After 1882 numbers again diminished, making another low point of 334,203 in 1886. Then an increase took place until the

total reached 579,663 in 1892. In 1893 came the epidemic of cholera in the East and quarantine regulations at various ports, followed by a period of commercial depression lasting from 1894 to 1898. As a result of these causes, immigration fell off largely, touching a minimum of 229,299 in 1898. From that year it rose by rapid strides to 648,743 in 1902; to 857,046 in 1903; to 812,870 in 1904; and to 1,026,499 in 1905.

The total for 1905 was an increase of 26 per cent over that of 1904; 58 per cent over that of 1902; and 349 per cent over that of 1898. The record for a single day seems to have been reached on May 7, 1905, when 12,000 immigrants entered New York inside of twelve hours.

D. SUMMARY

It appears that the total immigration to the United States from the close of the Revolutionary War to 1905 was not far from twenty-three millions, a movement of population unprecedented in history. This was divided by decades as follows:

1821 to 1830	143,439
1831 to 1840	599,125
1841 to 1850	1,713,251
1851 to 1860	2,598,214
1861 to 1870	2,314,824
1871 to 1880	2,812,101
1881 to 1890	5,246,613
1891 to 1900	3,687,564
1901 to 1905 (five years)	<u>3,833,076</u>
Total, 1821-1905	22,948,297

If the average holds to the end of the present decade, the number for 1901-1910 will be nearly eight millions of souls, much the largest contribution on record for the same period. It need surprise no one, however, if the total for the decade should be twice as large as this, for the increase in the last few years is enormous, and the general tendency during the past century has been toward a steady and rapid growth of the immigration movement.

Another way of viewing the annual immigration is with reference to the volume of population into which it flows. This has

the advantage of showing how relatively small the annual additions are, though they are enormous compared with the additions to the population of other countries. But it has also a disadvantage in that it takes account merely of numbers, and does not reckon with the character of racial composition either of the annual additions or the people with whom they are to be mixed.

The following table shows the number of immigrants arriving in each year, from 1839 to 1901, and the number of immigrants to 10,000 population :

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31	NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS	NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS TO 10,000 POPULATION	YEAR ENDING	NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS	NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS TO 10,000 POPULATION
1839 . .	68,069	41	June 30		
1840 . .	84,066	49	1871 . .	321,350	81
1841 . .	80,289	45	1872 . .	404,806	99
1842 . .	104,565	57	1873 . .	459,803	110
Sept. 30	"		1874 . .	313,339	73
1844 . .	78,615	40	1875 . .	227,498	51
1845 . .	114,371	57	1876 . .	169,986	37
1846 . .	154,416	75	1877 . .	141,857	30
1847 . .	234,968	111	1878 . .	138,469	29
1848 . .	226,527	103	1879 . .	177,826	36
1849 . .	297,024	132	1880 . .	457,257	91
1850 . .	369,980	134	1881 . .	669,431	128
1851 . .	379,466	158	1882 . .	788,992	150
1852 . .	371,603	149	1883 . .	603,322	112
1853 . .	368,645	143	1884 . .	518,592	94
1854 . .	427,833	162	1885 . .	395,346	70
1855 . .	200,827	73	1886 . .	334,203	58
1856 . .	195,587	69	1887 . .	490,109	85
1857 . .	246,945	85	1888 . .	546,889	91
1858 . .	119,501	40	1889 . .	444,427	72
1859 . .	118,616	35	1890 . .	455,302	72
1860 . .	150,237	47	1891 . .	560,319	88
1861 . .	89,724	28	1892 . .	579,663	88
1862 . .	89,007	27	1893 . .	439,730	64
1863 . .	174,524	52	1894 . .	285,631	42
1864 . .	193,195	57	1895 . .	258,536	37
1865 . .	247,453	71	1896 . .	343,267	48
1866 . .	314,917	88	1897 . .	230,832	32
1867 . .	310,965	86	1898 . .	229,299	30
June 30			1899 . .	311,715	40
1869 . .	352,768	93	1900 . .	448,572	58
1870 . .	387,203	100	1901 . .	487,918	61

It will be noticed that while in such a table it would be natural for the index numbers to grow smaller as the population grew larger, in general they are as high during the past twenty years as during the periods from 1839 to 1846, from 1855 to 1865, and from 1875 to 1880.

The only times when immigration exceeded one per cent of the receiving population were the period 1847-1854, the years 1870, 1873, the period 1881-1883, and the years 1903-1905.

E. EMIGRATION

It is unfortunate that no accurate records are available of emigration from this country. The Immigration Bureau has repeatedly made recommendations for supplying this defect, but Congress has not seen fit to act, and consequently the only figures available are those of the transportation companies, supplemented by such guesswork conclusions as can be drawn from the census. The census obviously cannot furnish very accurate data for estimating emigration, because persons who have been in the country more than once may figure at a certain date in the census and a year or two later in the immigrant arrivals.

The same facilities for cheap and rapid transit which operate so powerfully to encourage immigration are available also for passage in the other direction. Passage from New York to European ports is from two to ten dollars less than the rate to this country; and the number of domestic servants, for example, taking advantage of these rates to pass a summer or winter abroad has become so large as to cause comment. In 1903, eastbound steerage passengers, according to figures obtained by the Department of Commerce and Labor, numbered 251,500; and for the decade 1891 to 1900, excepting the years 1896 and 1897, for which no figures are available, the number was 1,229,909; or a probable total for the decade of 1,529,909. At certain times the exodus is larger than the influx. Thus, during the period from November 1 to December 8, 1894, the number of emigrants was 25,544, while immigrant arrivals for the month of November numbered 12,886.

The hard times of 1893 caused large numbers of Italians to return home. The total of steerage passengers sailing from New

York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, and Montreal in that year was 268,037; in 1894, it was 311,760. The Italian Commissioner-General of Emigration states that, in 1903, 214,157 Italians went to the United States and 78,233 returned.

Naturally, many of those who return home come again to the United States when conditions here are more favorable, or they have spent the money accumulated while in this country. In 1898, 18 per cent of immigrants had been in this country before; in 1901, 12 per cent; in 1903, 9 per cent; in 1905, 17.1 per cent. These figures do not, of course, show how often the immigrants represented have been in the United States; for although this information appears to some extent upon the manifests, it is not tabulated in the official reports. From a personal examination of the manifests of several thousand Italians at Ellis Island, New York, the writer can state that large numbers have been here two, three, four, and in some cases six or more times. In view of this the inaccuracy of estimates based on the census becomes even more apparent. Poles, Slovaks, and other mining laborers are frequent birds of passage; and in the case of Canadians working in the United States, there is a large exodus of persons returning home, some in the winter and some in the summer, according to the nature of their occupation.

II. CAUSES

CAUSES OF EMIGRATION

UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION COMMISSION

THE present movement of population from Europe to the United States is, with few exceptions, almost entirely attributable to economic causes. Emigration due to political reasons and, to a less extent, religious oppression, undoubtedly exists, but even in countries where these incentives prevail the more important cause is very largely an economic one. This does not mean, however, that emigration from Europe is now an economic necessity. At times in the past, notably during the famine years in Ireland, actual want forced a choice between emigration and literal starvation, but the present movement results in the main from a widespread desire for better economic conditions rather than from the necessity of escaping intolerable ones. In other words, the emigrant of to-day comes to the United States not merely to make a living, but to make a better living than is possible at home.

With comparatively few exceptions, the emigrant of to-day is essentially a seller of labor seeking a more favorable market. To a considerable extent this incentive is accompanied by a certain spirit of unrest and adventure and a more or less definite ambition for general social betterment, but primarily the movement is accounted for by the fact that the reward of labor is much greater in the United States than in Europe.

The desire to escape military service is also a primary cause of emigration from some countries, but on the whole it is relatively unimportant. It is true, moreover, that some emigrate to escape punishment for crime, or the stigma which follows such punishment, while others of the criminal class deliberately seek supposedly more advantageous fields for criminal activity.

The emigration of criminals of this class is a natural movement not altogether peculiar to European countries, and, although vastly important because dangerous, numerically it affects but little the tide of European emigration to the United States.

In order that the chief cause of emigration from Europe may be better understood, the commission has given considerable attention to economic conditions in the countries visited, with particular reference to the status of emigrating classes in this regard. It was impossible for the commissioners personally to make more than a general survey of this subject, but because an understanding of the economic situation in the chief immigrant-furnishing countries is essential to an intelligent discussion of the immigration question, the results of the commission's investigation have been supplemented by official data or well-authenticated material from other sources.

The purely economic condition of the wageworker is generally very much lower in Europe than in the United States. This is especially true of the unskilled laborer class from which so great a proportion of the emigration to the United States is drawn. Skilled labor also is poorly paid when compared with returns for like service in the United States, but the opportunity for continual employment in this field is usually good and the wages sufficiently high to lessen the incentive to emigration. A large proportion of the emigration from southern and eastern Europe may be traced directly to the inability of the peasantry to gain an adequate livelihood in agricultural pursuits either as laborers or proprietors. Agricultural labor is paid extremely low wages, and employment is quite likely to be seasonal rather than continuous. In cases where peasant proprietorship is possible, the land holdings are usually so small, the methods of cultivation so primitive, and the taxes so high, that even in productive years the struggle for existence is a hard one, while a crop failure means practical disaster for the small farmer and farm laborer alike. In agrarian Russia, where the people have not learned to emigrate, a crop failure results in a famine, while in other sections of southern and eastern Europe it results in emigration, usually to the United States. Periods of industrial depression as well as crop failures stimulate emigration, but the effect of the former is not so pronounced, for the reason that disturbed

financial and industrial conditions in Europe are usually coincidental with like conditions in the United States, and at such times the emigration movement is always relatively smaller.

The fragmentary nature of available data relative to wages in many European countries makes a satisfactory comparison with wages in the United States impossible. It is well known, however, that even in England, Germany, France, and other countries of western Europe wages are below the United States standard, while in southern and eastern Europe the difference is very great. The commission found this to be true in its investigations in parts of Italy, Austria-Hungary, Greece, Turkey, Russia, and the Balkan States. In fact, it may safely be stated that in these countries the average wage of men engaged in common and agricultural labor is less than 50 cents per day, while in some sections it is even much lower. It is true that in some countries agricultural laborers receive from employers certain concessions in the way of fuel, food, etc., but in cases of this nature which came to the attention of the commission the value of the concessions was insufficient to materially affect the low wage scale.

It is a common but erroneous belief that peasants and artisans in the European countries from which the new immigrant comes can live so very cheaply that the low wages have practically as great a purchasing power as the higher wages in the United States. The low cost of living among the working people, especially of southern and eastern Europe, is due to a low standard of living rather than to the cheapness of food and other commodities. As a matter of fact, meat and other costly articles of food, which are considered as almost essential to the everyday table of the American workingman, cannot be afforded among laborers in like occupations in southern and eastern Europe. The same is true of the American standard of housing, clothing, and other things which enter into the cost of living.

Notwithstanding the bad economic conditions surrounding the classes which furnish so great a part of the emigration from southern and eastern Europe, the commission believes that a laudable ambition for better things than they possess rather than a need for actual necessities is the chief motive behind the movement to the United States. Knowledge of conditions in

America, promulgated through letters from friends or by emigrants who have returned for a visit to their native villages, creates and fosters among the people a desire for improved conditions which, it is believed, can be attained only through emigration.

It is the opinion of the commission that, with the exception of some Russian and Roumanian Hebrews, relatively few Europeans emigrate at the present time because of political or religious conditions. It is doubtless true that political discontent still influences the emigration movement from Ireland, but to a less degree than in earlier years. The survival of the Polish national spirit undoubtedly is a determining factor in the emigration from Prussia, Russia, and Austria of some of that race, while dissatisfaction with Russian domination is to a degree responsible for Finnish emigration. In all probability some part of the emigration from Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia, as well as from the Balkan States, is also attributable to political conditions in those countries. There is, of course, a small movement from nearly every European country of political idealists who prefer a democracy to a monarchical government, but these, and in fact all, with the exception of the Hebrew peoples referred to, whose emigration is in part due to political or religious causes, form a very small portion of the present European emigration to the United States.

✓ Contributory or immediate causes of emigration were given due consideration by the commission. Chief of these is clearly the advice and assistance of relatives or friends who have previously emigrated. Through the medium of letters from those already in the United States and the visits of former emigrants, the emigrating classes of Europe are kept constantly if not always reliably informed as to labor conditions here, and these agencies are by far the most potent promoters of the present movement of population.

The commission found ample evidence of this fact in every country of southern and eastern Europe. Of the two agencies mentioned, however, letters are by far the more important. In fact, it is entirely safe to assert that letters to friends at home from persons who have emigrated have been the immediate cause of by far the greater part of the remarkable movement

from southern and eastern Europe to the United States during the past twenty-five years. There is hardly a village or community in southern Italy and Sicily that has not contributed a portion of its population to swell the tide of emigration to the United States, and the same is true of large areas of Austria, Hungary, Greece, Turkey, and the Balkan States. There is a tendency on the part of emigrants from these countries to retain an interest in the homeland, and in consequence a great amount of correspondence passes back and forth. It was frequently stated to members of the Commission that letters from persons who have emigrated to America were passed from hand to hand until most of the emigrants' friends and neighbors were acquainted with the contents. In periods of industrial activity, as a rule, the letters so circulated contain optimistic references to wages and opportunities for employment in the United States, and when comparison in this regard is made with conditions at home it is inevitable that whole communities should be inoculated with a desire to emigrate. The reverse is true during seasons of industrial depression in the United States. At such times intending emigrants are quickly informed by their friends in the United States relative to conditions of employment, and a great falling off in the tide of emigration is the immediate result.

Emigrants who have returned for a visit to their native land are also great promoters of emigration. This is particularly true of southern and eastern European emigrants, who as a class make more or less frequent visits to their old homes. Among the returning emigrants are always some who have failed to achieve success in America, and some who through changed conditions of life and employment return in broken health. It is but natural that these should have a slightly deterrent effect on emigration; but, on the whole, this is relatively unimportant, for the returning emigrant, as a rule, is one who has succeeded. In times of industrial inactivity in the United States the large number of emigrants who return to their native lands of course serve as a temporary check to emigration, but it is certain that in the long run such returning emigrants actually promote rather than retard the movement to the United States.

The importance of the advice of friends as an immediate cause of emigration from Europe is also indicated by the fact

that nearly all European immigrants admitted to the United States are, according to their own statements, going to join relatives or friends. The United States immigration law provides that information upon this point be secured relative to every alien coming to the United States by water, and the record shows that in the fiscal years 1908 and 1909, 94.7 per cent of all European and Syrian immigrants admitted were destined to relatives or friends. It is worthy of note that the percentage was higher in the new immigration than in the old, being 97 per cent in the former and 89.4 per cent in the latter.

The foregoing not only indicates a very general relationship between admitted immigrants and those who follow, but it suggests forcibly that emigration from Europe proceeds according to well-defined individual plans rather than in a haphazard way.

Actual contracts involving promises of employment between employers in the United States and laborers in Europe are not responsible for any very considerable part of the present emigration movement. It will be understood, however, that this statement refers only to cases where actual bona fide contracts between employers and laborers exist rather than to so-called contract labor cases as defined in the sweeping terms of the United States immigration law, which classifies as such all persons

. . . who have been induced or solicited to migrate to this country by offers or promises of employment or in consequence of agreements, oral, written, or printed, express or implied, to perform labor in this country of any kind, skilled or unskilled.

Under a strict interpretation of the law above quoted, it would seem that in order to escape being classified as contract laborers immigrants coming to the United States must be entirely without assurance that employment will be available here. Indeed, it is certain that European immigrants, and particularly those from southern and eastern Europe, are, under a literal construction of the law, for the most part contract laborers, for it is unlikely that many emigrants embark for the United States without a pretty definite knowledge of where they will go and what they will do if admitted.

It should not be understood, however, that the commission believes that contract labor in its more serious form does not

exist. Undoubtedly many immigrants come to the United States from southern and eastern Europe as the result of definite if not open agreements with employers of labor here, but, as previously stated, actual and direct contract labor agreements cannot be considered as the direct or immediate cause of any considerable proportion of the European emigration movement to the United States. As before stated emigrants as a rule are practically assured that employment awaits them in America before they leave their homes for ports of embarkation, and doubtless in a majority of cases they know just where and what the employment will be. This is another result of letters from former emigrants in the United States. In fact it may be said that immigrants, or at least newly arrived immigrants, are substantially the agencies which keep the American labor market supplied with unskilled laborers from Europe. Some of them operate consciously and on a large scale, but as a rule each immigrant simply informs his nearest friends that employment can be had and advises them to come. It is these personal appeals which, more than all other agencies, promote and regulate the tide of European emigration to America.

Moreover, the immigrant in the United States in a large measure assists, as well as advises, his friends in the Old World to emigrate. It is difficult, and in many cases impossible, for the southern and eastern European to save a sufficient amount of money to purchase a steerage ticket to the United States. No matter how strong the desire to emigrate may be, its accomplishment on the part of the ordinary laborer, dependent upon his own resources, can be realized only after a long struggle. To immigrants in the United States, however, the price of steerage transportation to or from Europe is relatively a small matter, and by giving or advancing the necessary money they make possible the emigration of many. It is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy what proportion of the large amount of money annually sent abroad by immigrants is sent for the purpose of assisting relatives or friends to emigrate, but it is certain that the aggregate is large. The immediate families of immigrants are the largest beneficiaries in this regard, but the assistance referred to is extended to many others.

Next to the advice and assistance of friends and relatives who have already emigrated, the propaganda conducted by steamship ticket agents is undoubtedly the most important immediate cause of emigration from Europe to the United States. This propaganda flourishes in every emigrant-furnishing country of Europe, notwithstanding the fact that the promotion of emigration is forbidden by the laws of many such countries as well as by the United States immigration law.

It is, of course, difficult if not impossible to secure a really effective enforcement of this provision of the United States law, but undoubtedly it does supplement the emigration laws of various European countries in compelling steamship ticket agents to solicit emigration in a secret manner rather than openly. It does not appear that steamship companies as a rule openly or directly violate the United States law, but through local agents and subagents of such companies it is violated persistently and continuously. Selling steerage tickets to America is the sole or chief occupation of large numbers of persons in southern and eastern Europe, and from the observations of the commission it is clear that these local agents as a rule solicit business by every possible means and consequently encourage emigration.

No data are available to show even approximately the total number of such agents and subagents engaged in the steerage ticket business. One authority stated to the commission that two of the leading steamship lines had five or six thousand ticket agents in Galicia alone, and that there was "a great hunt for emigrants" there. The total number of such agents is undoubtedly very large, for the steerage business is vastly important to all the lines operating passenger ships, and all compete for a share of it. The great majority of emigrants from southern and eastern European countries sail under foreign flags, Italian emigrants, a large proportion of whom sail under the flag of Italy, being the only conspicuous exception. Many Greek, Russian, and Austrian emigrants sail on ships of those nations, but the bulk of the emigrant business originating in eastern and southern European countries, excepting Italy, is handled by the British, German, Dutch, French, and Belgian lines. There is at present an agreement among the larger steamship companies which in a measure regulates the distribution of this traffic and prevents

unrestricted competition between the lines, but this does not affect the vigorous and widespread hunt for steerage passengers which is carried on throughout the chief emigrant-furnishing countries.

The commission's inquiry and information from other sources indicate that the attempted promotion of emigration by steamship ticket agents is carried on to a greater extent in Austria, Hungary, Greece, and Russia than in other countries. The Russian law, as elsewhere stated, does not recognize the right of the people to emigrate permanently, and while the large and continued movement of population from the Empire to over-seas countries is proof that the law is to a large degree inoperative, it nevertheless seems to restrict somewhat the activities of steamship agents. Moreover, there were at the time of the commission's visit two Russian steamship lines carrying emigrants directly from Libau to the United States, and the Government's interest in the success of these lines resulted in a rather strict surveillance of the agents of foreign companies doing business in the Empire. Because of this, much of the work of agents of foreign lines was carried on surreptitiously; in fact, they were commonly described to the commission as "secret agents." Emigration from Russia is, or at least is made to appear to be, a difficult matter, and the work of the secret agents consists not only of selling steamship transportation, but also in procuring passports, and in smuggling across the frontier emigrants who for military or other reasons cannot procure passports, or who because of their excessive cost elect to leave Russia without them. This was frequently stated to the commission. A Russian official at St. Petersburg complained to the commission that Jewish secret agents of British lines had been employed in Russia to induce Christians, instead of Jews, to emigrate. It was learned that some letters had been received by prospective emigrants containing more information than the dates of sailing, terms, etc. (as allowed by section 7 of the United States Immigration Act), and also that on market days in some places steamship agents would mingle with the people and endeavor to incite them to emigrate.

The Hungarian law strictly forbids the promotion of emigration and the Government has prosecuted violations so vigorously

that at the time of the commission's visit the emigration authorities expressed the belief that the practice had been checked. It was stated to the commission that foreign steamship lines had constantly acted in contravention of the Hungarian regulations by employing secret agents to solicit business, or through agents writing personal letters to prospective emigrants, advising them how to leave Hungary without the consent of the government. Letters of this nature were presented to the commission. Some of them are accompanied by crudely drawn maps indicating the location of all the Hungarian control stations on the Austrian border, and the routes of travel by which such stations can be avoided. The commission was shown the records in hundreds of cases where the secret agents of foreign steamship companies had been convicted and fined or imprisoned for violating the Hungarian law by soliciting emigration. It was reported to the commission that in one year at Kassa, a Hungarian city on the Austrian border, eight secret agents of the German lines were punished for violations of the emigration law.

In Austria, at the time of the commission's visit, there was comparatively little agitation relative to emigration. Attempts had been made to enact an emigration law similar to that of Hungary, but these were not successful. The solicitation of emigration is forbidden by law, but it appeared that steamship ticket agents were not subjected to strict regulation, as they are in Hungary. Government officials and others interested in the emigration situation expressed the belief that the solicitations of agents had little effect on the emigration movement, which was influenced almost entirely by economic conditions. It was not denied, however, that steamship agents do solicit emigration.

The Italian law strictly forbids the solicitation of emigration by steamship agents, and complaints relative to violation of the law were not nearly so numerous as in some countries visited. Nevertheless there are many persons engaged in the business of selling steerage tickets in that country, and the commission was informed that considerable soliciting is done.

The commission found that steamship agents were very active in Greece and that the highly colored posters and other advertising matter of the steamship companies were to be found everywhere. According to its population Greece furnishes more

emigrants to the United States than any other country, and the spirit of emigration is so intense among the people that solicitation by steamship companies probably plays relatively a small part even as a contributory cause of the movement.

ASSISTED EMIGRATION

Emigration from Europe to the United States through public assistance is so small as to be of little or no importance. It is probable and easily conceivable that local authorities sometimes assist in the emigration of public charges and criminals, but such instances are believed to be rare. As a matter of fact, European nations look with regret on the emigration of their young and able-bodied men and women, and the comity of nations would prevent the deportation of criminals and paupers to a country whose laws denied admission to such classes, however desirable their emigration might be. Besides, the assisted emigration to the United States of the aged or physically or mentally defective would be sure to result in failure because of the stringent provisions of the United States immigration law. It is well known that in the earlier days of unrestricted immigration large numbers of paupers and other undesirables were assisted to emigrate, or were practically deported, from the British Isles and other countries to the United States. Even at the present time, as shown in the commission's report on the immigration situation in Canada, there is a large assisted emigration from England to Canada and other British colonies, but it does not appear that there is any movement of this nature to the United States.

On the other hand various nations of the Western Hemisphere make systematic efforts in Europe to induce immigration. The Canadian government maintains agencies in all the countries of northern and western Europe where the solicitation of emigration is permitted, and pays a bonus to thousands of booking agents for directing emigrants to the dominion. Canada, however, expends no money in the transportation of emigrants. Several South American countries, including Brazil and Argentine Republic, also systematically solicit immigration in Europe.

Several American states have attempted to attract immigrants by the distribution in Europe of literature advertising the

attractions of such states. A few States have sent commissioners to various countries for the purpose of inducing immigration, but although some measure of success has attended such efforts the propaganda has had little effect on the immigration movement as a whole.

EMIGRATION OF CRIMINALS

That former convicts and professional criminals from all countries come to the United States practically at will cannot and need not be denied, although it seems probable that in the popular belief the number is greatly exaggerated. This class emigrates and is admitted to this country, and, in the opinion of the commission, the blame cannot equitably be placed elsewhere than on the United States. The commission is convinced that no European government encourages the emigration of its criminals to this country. Some, it is true, take no measures to prevent such emigration, especially after criminals have paid the legal penalties demanded, but others, and particularly Italy, seek to restrain the departure of former convicts in common with other classes debarred by the United States immigration law. The accomplishment of this purpose on the part of Italy is attempted by specific regulations forbidding the issuance of passports to intended emigrants who have been convicted of a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude within the meaning of the United States law. Under the Italian system local officials furnish the record upon which is determined the intending emigrant's right to receive a passport, and it is not denied that some officials at times violate the injunctions of the Government in this regard, but as a whole the commission believes the effort is honestly made and in the main successfully accomplished. The weakness and inefficiency of the system, however, lie in the fact that passports are not demanded by the United States as a requisite of admission, and although subjects of Italy may not leave Italian ports without them, there is little or nothing to prevent those unprovided from leaving the country overland without passports or with passports to other countries and then embarking for the United States from foreign ports. Thus it is readily seen that the precaution of Italy,

however effective, is practically worthless without coöperation on the part of the United States.

EXAMINATION OF EMIGRANTS ABROAD

The practice of examining into the physical condition of emigrants at the time of embarkation is one of long standing at some European ports. In the earlier days, and in fact until quite recently, the purpose of the inspection was merely to protect the health of steerage passengers during the ocean voyage. The Belgian law of 1843 provided that in case the presence of infectious disease among passengers was suspected there should be an examination by a naval surgeon in order to prevent the embarkation of afflicted persons. The British steerage law of 1848, the enactment of which followed the experiences of 1847 when thousands of emigrants driven from Ireland by the famine died of ship fever, provided that passengers should be examined by a physician and those whose condition was likely to endanger the health of other passengers should not be permitted to proceed. Similar laws or regulations became general among the maritime nations and are still in effect.

The situation is also affected somewhat by provisions of the United States quarantine law, which requires American consular officers to satisfy themselves of the sanitary condition of ships and passengers sailing for United States ports. The laws above referred to are intended to prevent the embarkation of persons afflicted with diseases of a quarantinable nature, and the only real and effective protection this country has against the coming of the otherwise physically or mentally defective is the United States immigration law which, through rejections and penalties at United States ports, has made the transportation of diseased emigrants unprofitable to the steamship companies. This law is responsible for the elaborate system of emigrant inspection which prevails at ports of embarkation and elsewhere in Europe at the present time.

A systematic medical inspection of immigrants at United States ports was first established under the immigration act of March 3, 1891. Under that law steamship companies were required to return free of charge excluded aliens, and the number

of rejections soon compelled the companies to exercise some degree of care in the selection of steerage passengers at foreign ports of embarkation. The necessity of a careful inspection abroad was increased when in 1897 trachoma was classed as a "dangerous contagious" disease, within the meaning of the United States immigration law, and again when the immigration law of 1903 imposed a fine of \$100 upon steamship companies for bringing to a United States port an alien afflicted with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, when the presence of such disease might have been detected by a competent medical examination at the foreign port of embarkation.

The immigration law of 1907, at present in force, increased the causes for which a fine of \$100 may be imposed on steamship companies to include the bringing of idiots, imbeciles, epileptics, and persons afflicted with tuberculosis whose condition might have been detected at the foreign port of embarkation.

How to prevent the embarkation at foreign ports of emigrants who under the immigration law cannot be admitted at United States ports is a serious problem, in which the welfare of the emigrant is the chief consideration. In a purely practical sense, except for the danger of contagion on shipboard the United States is not seriously affected by the arrival of diseased persons at ports of entry, because the law does not permit them to enter the country.

From a humanitarian standpoint, however, it is obviously of the greatest importance that emigrants of the classes debarred by law from entering the United States be not allowed to embark at foreign ports. This is accomplished in a large measure under the present system of inspection abroad, for in ordinary years at least four intending emigrants are turned back by the steamship companies before leaving a European port to one debarred at United States ports of arrival.

In view of the importance of the subject the Commission made careful investigation of examination systems prevailing at the ports of Amsterdam, Antwerp, Bremen, Cherbourg, Christiania, Copenhagen, Fiume, Genoa, Glasgow, Hamburg, Havre, Libau, Liverpool, Londonderry, Marseille, Messina, Naples, Palermo, Patras, Piræus, Queenstown, Rotterdam, and Southampton, from which ports practically all emigrants for the United States embark.

There is little uniformity in the systems of examination in force at these ports. At Naples, Palermo, and Messina, under authority of the United States quarantine law and by agreement with the Italian Government and the steamship companies, the medical examination of steerage passengers is made by officers of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, who exercise practically absolute control in this regard. These officers examine for defects contemplated by the United States immigration law every intended emigrant holding a steerage ticket and advise the rejection of those whose physical condition would make their admission to the United States improbable. While acting unofficially, these officers have the support of both government and steamship officials, and their suggestions relative to rejection are always complied with.

The other extreme, so far as United States control is concerned, exists at Antwerp, where the Belgian Government is unwilling to yield even partial control of the situation, this attitude being due in part to a former disagreement incidental to the administration of the United States quarantine law at that port. At Antwerp not even American consular officers are permitted to interfere in the examination of emigrants. Between these extremes there exists a variety of systems, in which, for the most part, American consular officials perform more or less important functions, as outlined in the United States quarantine law previously referred to. As a practical illustration of the value of examinations at the various European ports in preventing the embarkation of diseased or otherwise undesirable emigrants, the Commission, as will appear later, has made a comparative study showing rejections, by cause, at United States ports of emigrants from different ports of Europe.

The examination of intending emigrants, however, is not confined entirely to ports of embarkation, but in several instances is required when application for steamship ticket is made or before the emigrant has proceeded to a port of embarkation. The most conspicuous existence of such preliminary examinations is the control-station system which the German Government compels the steamship companies to maintain on the German-Russian and German-Austrian frontiers. There are thirteen of these stations on the frontier and one near Berlin. Germany, as a

matter of self-protection, requires that all emigrants from eastern Europe intending to cross German territory to ports of embarkation be examined at such stations, and those who do not comply with the German law governing the emigrant traffic through the Empire or who obviously would be debarred at United States ports are rejected. During the year ending June 30, 1907, out of 455,916 intended emigrants inspected 11,814 were turned back at these stations.

In some countries an effort is made to prevent intending emigrants from leaving home unless it is evident that they will meet the requirements of examinations at control stations and ports of embarkation, or of the United States immigration law. This is particularly true of Hungary, where at several points there is local supervision of the departure of emigrants for seaports. While this supervision is due largely to Hungary's purpose of controlling emigration, particularly where emigrants are liable to military service, the system prevents many from leaving home who would be rejected at ports of embarkation on account of disease.

Medical examinations, with a view to determining the admissibility of emigrants under the United States law, are not uncommon in connection with the sale of steamship tickets. The most conspicuous example of examinations of this nature was found in Greece, and this resulted from a most forcible illustration of the rigidity of the United States law. In 1906 the Austro-Americano Company, which was then new in the emigrant-carrying business, had over 300 emigrants refused admission to the United States and returned on a single voyage. On arrival at Trieste these returned emigrants mobbed the steamship company's office, and the experience resulted in the establishment by the Austro-Americano Company of a systematic scheme of examining intended emigrants in Greece. Agents of the company in that country sent their head physician to study the medical examination of immigrants at United States ports, and physicians were provided for the 40 subagencies of the company in different parts of Greece. Under the system in force in Greece, before any document is given to an intended emigrant he is examined by the physician attached to the subagency. If that physician accepts him he receives a medical certificate, makes a deposit

toward the price of his ticket, and space is reserved for him on a steamer. When he goes to the port of embarkation the emigrant is examined by the company's head physician and, if accepted, is permitted to complete his purchase of a ticket.

In Italy it is the policy of the Government to examine the records of intended emigrants at the time application is made for a passport, and unless the applicant can comply with the Italian and United States laws the passport is refused. But this refers particularly to the cases of criminals and convicts rather than to the physically defective, and usually Italian emigrants are given their first medical examination at ports of embarkation.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907, a total of 13,064 immigrants were rejected at United States ports, and for the three fiscal years ending June 30, 1909, the total number of immigrants from all sources rejected was 34,377, or 5304 less than were turned back at the European ports and control stations above mentioned in a period of thirteen months.

The large number of rejections at United States ports is not essentially an unfavorable reflection on the medical examinations conducted in Europe for the reason that the latter are in the main confined to the physical condition of emigrants, while at the United States ports the examination is much broader. But this is not all, for in addition to the requirements of the United States law relative to the return of rejected immigrants to ports of embarkation, European laws, as a rule, require that steamship companies forward those returned to their homes, or home countries, which, in many cases, are at a considerable distance from the ports at which the rejected ones embarked. The Italian law relative to emigrants returned from foreign ports imposes even greater burdens on the carriers. Under that law the returned emigrant is entitled to damages from the carrier if he can prove that the carrier was aware before his departure from Italy that he could not be admitted under the law of the country to which he emigrated. A tribunal known as the arbitration commission has been established in each province of Italy to examine cases of this nature, and the emigrant who has been returned may make a claim before that commission without expense to himself. In many cases, besides returning the passage money, the carrier is compelled to pay the returned emigrant for

loss of wages incurred by reason of his journey across the sea. For these reasons the transportation of emigrants who cannot be admitted to the United States is usually unprofitable, but notwithstanding this fact some companies are willing to assume considerable risk for the sake of increasing their steerage business. In the main, however, the examinations conducted at the various ports are good and effective, so far as concerns the physical condition of emigrants; and as a safeguard against the transportation of the diseased, who are certain to be rejected at United States ports, they are of the greatest importance, a fact which the commission believes is not always fully realized by students of the immigration problem in the United States.

In the complete report of the commission upon this subject a detailed description is given of the inspection of emigrants at each port considered, but for the purpose of this abstract it is necessary only to note the real and final authority in determining rejections at the different ports under consideration for causes contemplated by the United States immigration law. In some instances this is difficult on account of apparently divided authority, but the following summary, it is believed, fairly represents the situation of each port:

Antwerp: Physician employed by steamship company.

Bremen: Physicians employed by American consul, but paid by steamship companies.

Cherbourg: Ship's doctor.

Christiania: Physician of the board of health.

Copenhagen: Municipal physician.

Fiume: Physician employed by steamship company, who also acts for the American consul.

Genoa: Ship's doctor.

Glasgow: Ship's doctor.

Hamburg: Physicians (including eye specialists) employed by steamship company.

Havre: Physician (including an eye specialist) employed by steamship companies.

Libau: Physician employed by steamship company.

Liverpool: Physicians employed by steamship companies.

Londonderry: Ship's doctor.

Marseille: Physicians (including an eye specialist) employed by steamship company, and the ship's doctor.

Messina: Acting assistant surgeon of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service.

Naples: Officers of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service.

Palermo: Acting assistant surgeon of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service.

Patras: Physicians employed by steamship companies.

Piræus: Ship's doctor.

Queenstown: Ship's doctor.

Rotterdam: Physicians (including eye specialists) employed by the steamship company, a physician employed by the American consulate general, and the ship's doctor.

Southampton: Ship's doctor.

Trieste: Physicians employed by steamship company, the ship's doctor, and police officers. The American consul exercises unusual authority.

From the foregoing it is clear that the steamship companies are in the main responsible for the medical examination of emigrants at European ports of embarkation, and they are the chief beneficiaries of the system. A study of the situation also shows that the real controlling factor in the situation at every port is the United States immigration law, for without it there would be no examination worthy of the name.

Methods of conducting the inspection differ at the various ports. At some the examination, as a rule, extends over several days, and specialists are employed to detect trachoma, which disease is the chief factor in making a competent examination necessary. At others, and particularly at some ports of call, the inspection is conducted hurriedly and under seemingly unfavorable circumstances. In some instances American officials have absolutely no part in the work and exercise no authority; in others American consuls participate actively; and in the case of some of the Italian ports American medical officers absolutely control the situation.

Because of the absence of records the commission was unable to ascertain for any stated period the total number of rejections made at all European ports included in the inquiry. In the case of some ports information was not available for all of the steamship lines embarking emigrants there, and in other cases the number of persons rejected was found, but the cause of rejections

could not be ascertained. Consequently the material at hand is incomplete, but it is sufficient to illustrate the great sifting process that goes on at control stations and ports before emigrants are finally allowed to embark for the United States.

As previously explained, it is impossible to state the exact number of intended emigrants who are refused passage to the United States from European ports during any given period. From the records available it may be seen that of the ports included within the commission's inquiry no data relative to rejections were available for Antwerp, Cherbourg, Christiania, Copenhagen, Londonderry, Marseille, Piræus, and Southampton, while for Genoa, Liverpool, Libau, and Patras the record is incomplete. This is particularly unfortunate in the case of Liverpool, which is one of the four great emigration ports of Europe. Moreover, the inquiry did not include the minor ports of Barcelona, Bordeaux, Boulogne, Cadiz, Calais, Dover, Gibraltar, Hull, Leghorn, Plymouth, and Stettin, at all of which some emigrants embarked for the United States during the year 1907. No data whatever could be secured relative to the number of applicants who, on account of their physical condition, were refused transportation by agents of the various lines requiring a medical examination in connection with the sale of tickets. It is believed, however, that the number rejected in this way is relatively small.

From the foregoing it is clear that while the number of rejections, 39,681, shown in the preceding table in all probability represents the greater part of all rejections at ports of embarkation and elsewhere in Europe, the number would be considerably increased were complete data available. Of course any estimate of the total number rejected would of necessity be largely speculative, but it seems safe to assume that during the period of the thirteen months — December 1, 1906, to December 31, 1907 — covered by the commission's inquiry at least 50,000 intended emigrants were refused transportation from European ports to the United States because of the probability that they would be debarred at United States ports under the provision of the immigration law.

It is worthy of note that practically all of the rejections under discussion were for some physical or mental disability. This is, perhaps, only natural, in view of the fact that the inspection at

practically every port is conducted purely from a medical standpoint. In much of the data secured by the commission the causes of rejection were not given in great detail, the classification "other causes" including a considerable proportion of the rejections at several ports. So far as shown by the data, however, all of the rejections under consideration were for physical or mental causes except in the following instances: Liverpool, 4 "arrested"; Trieste, 2 "without means," 117 "rejected by police"; Queens-town, 1 "refused examination."

It does not appear, however, that the police inspection at Trieste is an attempt to prevent embarkation of persons likely to be excluded from the United States, and consequently it can hardly be considered as a means of protecting the United States against the coming of undesirable classes.

It is, of course, possible that among emigrants rejected for "other causes" there may be some criminals, prostitutes, procurers, paupers, contract laborers, or other classes specifically debarred by the United States immigration law; but, if so, the number is too small to be worthy of consideration.

At the German control stations on the Russian and Austrian boundaries the amount of money possessed by intended emigrants is taken into consideration, and according to the records 755 persons were rejected there during the year 1907 for "want of means."

On the whole, however, the examination abroad as conducted at the time of the commission's visit and at the present time affords practically no protection from any of the classes debarred by the United States law except the physically or mentally defective, and this notwithstanding the fact that at several ports American consular officers actively participate in the inspection and are accorded the privilege of rejecting emigrants who are undesirable within the meaning of the United States immigration law.

The system of emigrant inspection in force at Naples, Messina, and Palermo is of particular interest because of the somewhat prevalent belief that an examination by United States officers at ports of embarkation would prevent the sailing of persons who could not be admitted to the United States under the provisions of the immigration law. In his annual report for the

fiscal year 1900 Honorable T. V. Powderly, Commissioner-General of Immigration, reiterated a recommendation that had been made in the two preceding reports of the bureau, as follows :

That physicians representing the government be stationed at the foreign ports of embarkation for the purpose of examining into the physical condition of aliens who are about to embark for the United States. Experience of the ability and energy of the surgeons of the United States Marine-Hospital Service leaves no room for doubt that, should they be assigned to such duty, but few cases of this dangerous disease would be permitted to embark, and that, besides accomplishing the most important object of preventing the introduction of trachoma (or other contagious diseases of the non-quarantinable class), the delay and trouble and uncertainty incident to examination at the ports of the United States, where limited accommodations and an ever increasing and continuous flow of arrivals necessitates a degree of expedition not always consistent with thoroughness, would be avoided.

The late Frank P. Sargent, for many years Commissioner-General of Immigration, was an advocate of this policy, and in annual reports of the bureau repeatedly urged that it be adopted. In 1906 Commissioner-General Sargent, in referring to the examination of immigrants, said :

The ideal plan for controlling this situation, however, is the one that has been urged by the bureau for years, *i.e.*, the stationing of United States medical officers abroad, with the requirement that all prospective passengers shall be examined and passed by them as physically and mentally fit for landing in this country. This would prevent the emigration not only of those afflicted with contagious disease, but also of those afflicted with idiocy and insanity.

Fortunately the plan so long and urgently advocated by Messrs. Powderly and Sargent has been in operation at Italian ports long enough to demonstrate its usefulness and to make possible a comparison of results between the inspection as conducted there and at other European ports.

Since the only purpose of the medical inspection of emigrants at European ports of embarkation as here considered is to avoid rejections and penalties at United States ports, the only fair and adequate test of the efficiency of such examinations is the record of rejections by the United States Immigration Service.

In order to apply this test, the commission secured from unpublished records of the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization data showing the number of alien immigrants arriving at United States ports from the various ports of Europe and the number of such arrivals who were refused admission to the United States for purely medical reasons. This record covers six months of the year 1907, when the method of conducting medical examinations at the various European ports was as previously described. Thus the results are perfectly comparable.

In the first place, it is of interest to note that the number debarred is remarkably small when compared with the total number carried. This alone clearly illustrates the fact that as a whole the medical inspection of emigrants prior to embarkation at European ports is thoroughly effective. Only 0.36 per cent of the persons carried were debarred at United States ports for medical reasons, which is a much smaller proportion than were rejected at Italian ports and German control stations for the same causes.

For the purpose of this study, however, figures would be chiefly interesting as illustrating the relative effectiveness of the examination at the various European ports under consideration. In the beginning it may be well to state that the class of emigrants carried from the various ports may and doubtless does affect the situation somewhat. For instance, practically all emigrants from Christiania are Scandinavians, and trachoma and favus, which are the principal causes of medical rejection at United States ports, do not prevail in Scandinavian countries. Every other port, however, is to a greater or less extent affected by one or both of these diseases. Copenhagen is perhaps only slightly affected, through emigration from Finland where trachoma is prevalent, and Glasgow, because relatively few continental emigrants sail from that port. Trachoma is not unknown in Ireland, but it does not exist to such an extent as in southern and eastern Europe, and consequently Queenstown and Londonderry cannot perhaps be fairly classified with other ports with regard to the particular kinds of loathsome, contagious diseases which cause the rejection of so many aliens at United States ports.

Liverpool, Southampton, and the continental ports, with the exception of Christiania and Copenhagen, all draw the greater part of their emigrant traffic from southern and eastern Europe,

and while, of course, the degree to which the diseases under consideration prevail differs in various sections, nevertheless such diseases are sufficiently widespread to require a careful medical inspection of emigrants coming from those sections. Because of this fact the results of the inspections at these ports are fairly comparable, which makes possible a reasonable test of the relative effectiveness of the different inspections.

It will be noted from the preceding table that the percentage of rejections was smallest among emigrants embarking at Cherbourg, only 3 rejections out of 2016 emigrants carried being recorded. This result is particularly noteworthy because Cherbourg draws emigrant traffic from the Levantine countries where trachoma and favus are widespread, as well as from other southern and eastern European countries. Moreover, it is only a port of call and no elaborate system of medical inspection prevails there, the ship's doctor being the determining factor in the matter of rejections.

The largest percentage of rejections occurs among emigrants embarking at Marseille, which is not surprising because of the fact that steerage passengers sailing from that port are largely drawn from Syria and countries of southern Europe where trachoma is particularly prevalent.

A rather curious situation is found in comparing rejections among emigrants from the four ports of Antwerp, Bremen, Hamburg, and Rotterdam. The steerage business of these four ports is very largely recruited in eastern Europe, and the class of emigrants embarking is much the same at each port. It is true also that the great majority of all emigrants embarking at the German ports, and a large part of those sailing from Antwerp and Rotterdam, are subjected to an inspection at the German control stations. Notwithstanding these facts, however, there is a wide difference in the proportion of persons embarking at the four ports who are debarred at United States ports for medical causes. These proportions are as follows :

Bremen	1 to 165	Hamburg	1 to 312
Rotterdam	1 to 279	Antwerp	1 to 565

It is necessary to note in this connection that the three ports having the largest proportions rejected have excellent emigrant

stations, superior facilities for handling emigrants, and elaborate and apparently thorough systems of inspection. At Bremen, which port makes by far the worst showing in the matter of debarments at United States ports, it will be remembered that the determining factor in the matter of rejections is a physician in the employ of the American consulate, while at Antwerp, which shows relatively a very small proportion of emigrants rejected at United States ports, American consular or other officials have absolutely no part in the inspection.

Most interesting of all, however, is a comparison between Antwerp and Naples, for it will be recalled that the emigrant-inspection systems in force at these ports represent extremes, so far as American control is concerned, the inspection at Naples being entirely in the hands of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital surgeons. Measured by debarments at United States ports, however, the inspection at Antwerp is considerably more effective, for while the proportion refused admission to the United States is only 1 to 565 among emigrants embarking at that port, the proportion among emigrants sailing from Naples is 1 to 305. In the case of other Italian ports where American medical officers were in charge the proportion of emigrants debarred at the United States ports is as follows: Palermo, 1 to 215; Messina, 1 to 293; and Genoa, where during the period under consideration the medical inspection was made by ship's doctors, 1 to 421. It may be said, however, that the particular diseases for which emigrants are debarred at United States ports are not so prevalent among classes embarking at Genoa as at the more southern ports of Italy.

A comparison between the Adriatic ports of Trieste and Fiume is interesting. At the latter port the medical inspection is made by a steamship company doctor and a physician employed by the American consul, but the Commission was informed that the examination by the former was so rigid that it had not been necessary for the consulate physician to reject any emigrants for some time previously. The American consul attends the examinations, but does not exercise unusual authority. At Trieste the medical inspection is made by resident physicians of the steamship company and the ship's doctor, while the American consul, at the time under consideration, exercised a greater degree of authority

than was exercised by such consular officers at any other European port. The consul informed the commission that he insisted on rejections not only for trachoma and favus, but for less conspicuous physical defects as well. Experience at United States ports with emigrants from Fiume and Trieste indicates that, notwithstanding the great degree of authority exercised by the consul at the latter port, the inspection at Fiume is much more effective. In fact, the proportion debarred at United States ports among emigrants from Fiume is only 1 to 597, while the proportion debarred among emigrants sailing from Trieste is 1 to 318. The proportion debarred among emigrants embarking at the Greek ports of Patras and Piræus is large, being 1 to 175 in the case of the former, and 1 to 163 in the case of the latter.

III. CHARACTERISTICS

A. EMIGRATION FROM NORTHWESTERN EUROPE

EMIGRATION FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM

STANLEY C. JOHNSON

PRELIMINARY SURVEY (1763-1815)

BY THE Treaty of Peace, which was signed at Paris on February 10th, 1763, Great Britain gained possession of the whole of North America situated east of the Mississippi River, with the exception of the town of New Orleans and the neighboring district. She thus retained the original thirteen states, and added to her dominions the territory of Canada with all its dependencies, and the island of Cape Breton.

For some few years prior to these diplomatic arrangements, the original British Colonies had been welcoming a steady inflow of immigrants from the Mother Country, and, as these maritime states suffered little or no change of administration following on the terms of peace, the human stream continued to find its way into them unaffected by the redistribution of political power between France and England. No authoritative data concerning the statistics of this migratory movement were preserved or even collected, but it is safe to say that its strength was by no means insignificant. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*¹ of 1774 gave figures to show that in the five years 1769-1774 no less than 43,720 people sailed from the five Irish ports of Londonderry, Belfast, Newry, Larne, and Portrush to various settlements on the Atlantic seaboard. These points of departure were thus responsible for an annual outgoing of at least 8740

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 332, Vol. XLIV.

souls. Scotland was contributing even more,¹ at this time, to the exodus than was Ireland, whilst England was also furnishing colonists, but to a lesser degree. From these facts it seems fair to assume that the home emigration to the English states across the Atlantic resulted in a displacement of quite twenty thousand souls per annum.

The majority of the settlers within this area were drawn from the Highlands of Scotland and from Ireland generally. The *Scots Magazine* for the years 1771-1775 contains a number of references to the emigration of these early times.

We are informed [runs one paragraph],² that upwards of five hundred souls from Islay and the adjacent islands prepare to migrate next summer to America under the conduct of a gentleman of wealth and merit whose predecessors resided in Islay for many centuries past, and that there is a large colony of the most wealthy and substantial people in Sky making ready to follow the example of the Argathelians in going to the fertile and cheap lands on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.

Another quotation³ says :

In the beginning of June, 1772, about forty-eight families of poor people from Sutherland arrived at Edinburgh on their way to Greenock in order to embark⁴ for North America. Since that time, we have heard of two other companies, one of a hundred, another of ninety, being on their journey with the same intention. The cause of this emigration they assign to be want of the means of livelihood at home through the opulent grasiers ingrossing the farms and turning them into pasture.

Perhaps a still more interesting quotation is the following :⁵

In the beginning of September, the Lord Advocate represented to the commissioners of the customs, the impropriety of clearing out any vessels from Scotland with emigrants for America : in consequence of which, orders were sent to the several custom-houses injoining⁶ them to grant no clearances to any ship for America which had more than the common complement of hands on board.

¹ Vide *Annual Register*, *Scots Magazine*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, etc., of a contemporary date.

² Vol. XXXIII, p. 325, year 1771.

³ Vol. XXXIV, p. 395, year 1772.

⁴ The original spelling is preserved.

⁵ *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XXXVII, 1775, p. 523.

⁶ Original spelling.

Summarizing the substance of these and other passages of a contemporary date, we may state that, between 1763 and 1775, emigration to the old British Colonies in North America was regularly and constantly practiced, that those who joined in the exodus were sometimes in possession of considerable sums of money,¹ that changes in agricultural economy were usually the cause of the unrest, and that the local authorities feared, but with little reason, that the outward streams might eventually depopulate the country.

When Canada and its dependencies were placed under British rule, it became an obvious advantage for a proportion of our colonists to settle within this newly acquired territory. We find, therefore, that the Royal proclamation of 1763 authorized the free granting of land, within this area, to officers and soldiers who had served in the war; it also encouraged British settlers, generally, by providing a General Assembly.

The first to take up military settlements were the Frasers and Montgomeries, who chose Murray Bay as the site of their new homes; this they did in 1763. Farming was their chief occupation, but in 1775 they formed the first battalion of the Royal Highland Emigrants. Speaking of this regiment, the *Scots Magazine* for 1775² said :

A ship sailed lately from Greenock for America with shoes, stockings, plaids, belts, etc., for a regiment of emigrants now raising by Government in America to be called the Royal Highland Emigrants. Mr. Murdoch Maclean of Edinburgh is appointed captain in them.

Quickly following on the settlement of the Frasers and Montgomeries was that of a party of British colonists who had previously made their home in the New England states; they encamped at Maugerville, on the banks of the St. John River.³ A third group of colonists came from Belfast and Londonderry, where they had been engaged in the wool trade. In 1767, the whole of Prince Edward Island was allotted to sixty-seven proprietors, chiefly Scotch, on condition that they should settle European Protestants or British Americans on their domains,

¹ "People sailed from Maryburgh and took at least £6000 with them." — *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XXXV, p. 557.

² Vol. XXXVII, p. 690.

³ J. D. Rogers, "Historical Geography of the British Colonies" (Lucas), Vol. V, part 3, p. 81.

a condition which they fulfilled by stocking the land exclusively with Highlanders, most of whom were of Roman Catholic faith, and with Dumfries men.¹ In 1772-1774, a number of Yorkshire Methodists settled at Sackville, New Brunswick, and Amherst, Nova Scotia.² Many other records of colonization in Canada may be mentioned, but it has been shown, with sufficient insistence, that the inflow from England, Ireland, and especially Scotland, during this period, was of an important nature.

Though Canada had received great numbers of emigrants from the United Kingdom, these were few in comparison with the crowds of men and women who entered this territory after the war broke out. The extent of this complex movement is but imperfectly understood. It is known, however, that the Loyalist migration into British territory flowed in two great streams, one by sea to Nova Scotia and the other overland to Canada. In this second stream were many Highland families which had only recently settled in the Colony of New York — Macdonells, Chisholms, Grants, Camerons, M'Intyres and Fergusons. Prominent among these Highland families were the Macdonells, who were Roman Catholics from Glengarry in Inverness. In 1773, they had settled in the Mohawk Valley, but, when hostilities began, had flocked to the Loyalist banner; they afterwards went to Ontario and made their new homes in a country to which they gave the name of Glengarry.³ This site was probably chosen because it bordered on the edge of Lower Canada, and so enabled the Highland Catholics to enter into a bond of religious sympathy with the adjacent French Catholics.

Treating the movement in greater detail, it may be said that the Loyalists first entered the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1783, and in the following year mustered 28,347 souls. The older settlers of British descent in this area, it may be mentioned in parenthesis, only totaled fourteen thousand. Cape Breton Island attracted, roughly, three thousand settlers, whilst other streams of exiled humanity poured into the peninsula of Gaspé and the seignory of Sorel. In Upper Canada and the present province of Ontario, the refugees numbered some thirty

¹ J. D. Rogers, "Historical Geography of the British Colonies" (Lucas), Vol. V, part 3, p. 54.

² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³ J. Murray Gibbon, "Scots in Canada," pp. 63-65.

thousand, but it is probable that this estimate includes at least a small proportion of reëmigrated Loyalists from the maritime provinces, as the total movement was not supposed to exceed forty thousand in all.¹

The Loyalists were drawn from almost all the original states, but Virginia and New York, their stronghold, provided the main body; Connecticut also furnished an important element; whilst Pennsylvania sent a slightly lesser number than Connecticut. From the town of Philadelphia, alone, three thousand people fled when the British Army withdrew.

As a body, the United Loyalists fared badly in the early years of their settlement. Some drifted away, many complained of the long winters, and, had it not been for Government gifts of land, seed, food, clothing, and money, their plight would have been disastrous. Later, the more determined ones attained success and "made of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia sound and thriving provinces of the British Empire."²

The actual settlement of the Loyalists forms in itself an important chapter of colonial history, but the welcoming of these refugees from the south to the sparsely populated lands of Canada is to be remembered most for its effect on succeeding generations of emigrants. We must remember that, until the arrival of the Loyalists, most of the lands situated more than a few miles from the chief waterways were uninhabited, uncultivated, and more or less forbidding. But the Loyalists went in of sheer necessity and formed, as it were, the nucleus for later settlers. Thus, it is not too much to say that they laid the foundation for the westward extension of Canada as we know it to-day.

In 1785, the men of Glengarry, Canada, induced a party of five hundred Scotch Glengarries to come and join them. In the *Gazette* of Quebec, under the date of September 7th, 1785, their coming was heralded as follows:

Arrived, ship *McDonald*, Captain Robert Stevenson, from Greenock with emigrants, nearly the whole of a parish in the north of Scotland, who emigrated with their priest (the Reverend Alexander Macdonell Scotus) and nineteen cabin passengers, together with five hundred and twenty steerage passengers, to better their case.

¹ Cf. Sir Charles Lucas, "History of Canada," 1763-1812, pp. 225-226.

² Sir Charles Lucas, "History of Canada," 1763-1812, p. 224.

The success of these men of Glengarry induced others to follow. Apparently, Alexander Macdonell conducted a second party to Canada in the year 1791. In 1793, Captain Alexander M'Leod took out forty families of M'Leods, M'Guaigs, M'Gillwrays and M'Intoshes from Glenelg and placed them on land at Kirkhill, whilst a large party of Camerons from Lochiel, Scotland, settled in 1799 at Lochiel, Canada.¹ Other Highlanders went to Cape Breton Island, to the Niagara district, and to the shores of Lake Erie.

In 1803, Lord Hobart, Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote from Downing Street to Lieutenant-General Hunter, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, the following letter :²

A body of Highlanders, mostly Macdonells, and partly disbanded soldiers of the Glengarry Fencible Regiment, with their families and immediate connections, are upon the point of quitting their present place of abode, with the design of following into Upper Canada some of their relatives who have already established themselves in that Province.

The merit and services of the Regiment, in which a proportion of these people have served, give them strong claims to any mark of favor and consideration which can consistently be extended to them : and with the encouragement usually afforded in the Province, they would no doubt prove as valuable settlers as their connections now residing in the District of Glengarry of whose industry and general good conduct very favorable representations have been received here.

Government has been apprised of the situation and disposition of the families before described by Mr. Macdonell, one of the Ministers of their Church, and formerly Chaplain to the Glengarry Regiment, who possesses considerable influence with the whole body.

He has undertaken, in the event of their absolute determination to carry into execution their plan of departure, to embark with them and direct their course to Canada.

In case of their arrival within your Government, I am commanded by His Majesty to authorize you to grant in the usual manner a tract of the unappropriated Crown lands in any part of the Province where they may wish to fix, in the proportion of 1200 acres to Mr. Macdonell, and two hundred acres to every family he may introduce into the Colony.

The Highlanders in question arrived in due course, and were settled close to the lands taken by their kinsmen in 1783 and 1785.

¹ J. Murray Gibbon, "Scots in Canada," p. 70.

² Reprinted in "Scots in Canada," p. 70.

Among the earliest organizers of colonization schemes in the nineteenth century may be placed Lord Selkirk. This Scotchman banded together a number of thrifty farmers of his own race who had given up their highland territories, and escorted them to Prince Edward Island, where they were comfortably located on a settlement vacated by the French. The Government freely placed tracts of land at their disposal, but proffered no financial support. What money was necessary came either from Lord Selkirk or was derived from sales, held in the Old Country, of the settlers' stock.¹

Three vessels were chartered to carry the eight hundred odd colonists across the Atlantic, and these reached their destination on the 7th, 9th, and 27th of August, 1803. Selkirk took passage in one of the regular liners, and arrived in the island shortly after the first party had landed. The following account,² written by himself, is interesting in that it gives a capital insight into the early life of his settlers :

I lost no time in proceeding to the spot, where I found that the people had already lodged themselves in temporary wigwams, constructed after the fashion of the Indians, by setting up a number of poles in a conical fashion, tied together at top, and covered with boughs of trees.

The settlers had spread themselves along the shore for the distance of about half a mile, upon the site of an old French village, which had been destroyed and abandoned after the capture of the island by the British forces in 1758. The land, which had formerly been cleared of wood, was overgrown again with thickets of young trees, interspersed with grassy glades. I arrived at the place late in the evening, and it had then a very striking appearance. Each family had kindled a large fire near their wigwams, and round these were assembled groups of figures, whose peculiar national dress added to the singularity of the scene.

Provisions, adequate to the whole demand, were purchased by an agent; he procured some cattle for beef in distant parts of the island, and also a large quantity of potatoes, which were brought by water carriage into the center of the settlement, and each family received their share within a short distance of their own residence.

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. VII, pp. 180-190.

² Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, 1805. The passage has been reprinted recently in "Scots in Canada," p. 51, etc.

To obviate the terrors which the woods were calculated to inspire, the settlement was not dispersed, as those of the Americans usually are, over a large tract of country, but concentrated within a moderate space. The lots were laid out in such a manner that there were generally four or five families and sometimes more, who built their houses in a little knot together; the distance between the adjacent hamlets seldom exceeded a mile. Each of them was inhabited by persons nearly related, who sometimes carried on their work in common, or, at least, were always at hand to come to each other's assistance.

The settlers had every inducement to vigorous exertion from the nature of their tenures. They were allowed to purchase in fee simple, and to a certain extent on credit; from fifty to one hundred acres were allotted to each family at a very moderate price, but none was given gratuitously. To accommodate those who had no superfluity of capital, they were not required to pay the price in full till the third or fourth year of their possession.

Selkirk remained in the colony for a month, and then set himself the task of exploring the inland tracts of Upper Canada. Twelve months later he returned and made the following report: ¹

I found the settlers engaged in securing the harvest which their industry had procured. They had a small proportion of grain of various kinds, but potatoes were the principal crop; these were of excellent quality and would have been alone sufficient for the entire support of the settlement. . . . The extent of land in cultivation at the different hamlets I found to be in the general proportion of two acres or thereabouts to each able working hand; in many cases from three to four. Several boats had also been built, by means of which a considerable supply of fish had been obtained, and formed no trifling addition to the stock of provisions. Thus, in little more than a year, one year from the date of their landing on the island, had these people made themselves independent of any supply that did not arise from their own labor.

So great was the success of Selkirk's first attempt at colonization that he made plans for a second scheme in 1811. In this year he leased lands from the Hudson's Bay Company, some two thousand square miles in extent, and stretching from Manitoba to Minnesota. To this colony many shiploads of dispossessed Scotch farmers were sent, but neither he nor his officers fully appreciated the difficulties which were to confront them.

¹ Quoted from "Scots in Canada," pp. 54, 55.

Selkirk did not seem to realize that the establishment of a colony in the then unknown West was quite a different matter to organizing an encampment on the accessible shores of Prince Edward Island. From the very outset, the second expedition proved disastrous. Not only were the colonists improperly equipped for carrying on agricultural pursuits in such remote parts, but the position of their settlement brought them into conflict with the Northwest traders. The newly acquired farm lands, it must be explained, lay across the trading routes leading into the interior and, therefore, constituted a menace to the hunting expeditions of the half-breeds. As a consequence, these latter determined to rid the locality of the newcomers, which they did in 1815 by pillaging and burning the farms belonging to Selkirk's tenantry. More than a half of the sufferers, however, took up settlements in other parts of the country, chiefly around St. Thomas and London in Ontario, but their ultimate fate is uncertain.

Closely following the schemes of Selkirk came that of Colonel Talbot, a member of the Lieutenant-Governor's staff in Canada. From various parts of the United Kingdom, but specially from Scotland, he collected some two thousand men, women, and children, probably during the year 1813, and settled them at Port Talbot on Lake Erie. To this nucleus of settlers he annually added other emigrants, until in 1823 it was reported that he had under his control no less than twelve thousand souls. The financial burden of his undertaking was probably borne jointly by the British Government and the Canadian Legislature, the former finding the passage money, and the latter providing the food supplies. On this matter, however, some uncertainty exists, but it is recognized that his followers were too poor to provide for themselves, whilst Colonel Talbot, we know, received payment for his services. As to the success of the scheme, the Report says that the people who emigrated were of the poorest description, but, when last heard of, were as independent and contented a band of yeomanry as any in the world.¹

¹ The following is interesting in that it is a copy of a leaflet which was handed to each of Talbot's original settlers:

"On application made to the superintendent of the land granting department of the district in which he proposes to settle, the colonist will obtain a ticket of location, for a certain quantity of land; furnished with this, his first care ought

Selkirk and Talbot had few contemporary imitators, for between 1806 and 1815 Napoleon was harassing Europe, and men found employment in connection with military and transport operations, not needing for the time, the possibilities which a colonial life offered them.

The period of 1783-1815 is important, in that it paved the way for the movement which was to assume such notable proportions during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Without the inrush of Loyalist settlers to Canada in the closing years of the eighteenth century, the map of British North America, to-day, would probably present a very different aspect. It was these sturdy men and women who broke down the barriers of forests and wildernesses which seemed impenetrable, and opened the course for later settlement. In comparison with the volume of the present outflow, the emigrants of this early period were, of course, insignificant in numbers, but they were pioneers and made history and must be valued accordingly. Their actual labors, commercial and agricultural, were of no great moment, for they had many difficulties with which to contend. In Lower Canada, financial conditions were oppressive: land tenure, everywhere, bred discontent, whilst discord with the rebel neighbors of the south proved a constant source of danger.

Major-General T. Bland Strange, in the *United Service Magazine*, May, 1903, pp. 151-152, writes :

to be to select a proper situation for his house. This should be placed, as near as may be, to the public road on which his lot abuts, and contiguous, if possible, to a spring or run of water. Having chosen his spot, he then sets about clearing a sufficient space to erect his house on, taking care to cut down all the large trees within the distance of at least 100 feet. The dimensions of the house are generally 20 feet by 18 feet, and the timber used in constructing the walls, consisting of the rough stems of trees cut into those lengths, is not to exceed 2 feet in diameter; the height of the roof is commonly about 13 feet, which affords a ground-room and one overhead; the house is roofed in with shingles (a sort of wooden tiles) split out of the oak, chestnut, or pine timber; a door, windows, and an aperture for the chimney at one end, are next cut out of the walls, the spaces between the logs being filled up with split wood, and afterwards plastered both inside and out with clay and mortar, which renders it perfectly warm. When once the necessary space for the house is cleared and the logs for the walls collected on the spot, the expense and labor of the settler in erecting his habitation is a mere trifle; it being an established custom among the neighboring settlers to give their assistance in the raising of it; and the whole is performed in a few hours. The settler having now a house over his head commences clearing a sufficient quantity of land to raise the annual supply of provisions required for his family."

The British effort at military colonization, after the conquest by Wolfe, proved futile. The Fraser Highlanders were disbanded and settled at Murray Bay, on the St. Lawrence, but as no Scotch lassies were provided, they married the lively little French girls, whose creed, language, and nationality they adopted; the only traces of their Highland descent are their names and red hair. At the close of the Peninsular War, individual naval and military officers settled in what was called Upper Canada, but no systematic effort was made to encourage the settlement of the rank and file — quite the contrary, from that day to this, everything has been done to discourage it. Under the administration of Mr. Cardwell, the garrisons were withdrawn from all the Colonies suitable for settlement by white soldiers. The old Royal Canadian Rifles, composed of Volunteers from various British regiments, were struck off the Army list, as also the old Cape Mounted Rifles, and the emigration of officers was checked by a Royal warrant subjecting them to loss of pension, should they elect to serve under any Colonial Government. At the close of the Crimean War, the only soldiers assisted to emigrate, and given grants of land, were the German Legion whom we settled in South Africa, though they never fired a shot for us; some of their descendants probably fought against us in the late war. Our own British-born soldiers of the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny were, in many cases, left to die in the workhouse, as the shorter periods of service then introduced deprived them of the right of pension. At the close of these wars, the reductions in our arsenals and dockyards drove large numbers of mechanics, some of whom were ex-soldiers and sailors, with their families, to the United States, whose industries, especially of war material, largely benefited thereby. According to Lord Charles Beresford something similar is now going on in his constituency at Woolwich.

The earlier settlement by the Pilgrim Fathers was on independent lines, assisted in the Southern States, as later in Australia, by the transportation of convicts, sometimes for slight offences, who in many instances became good citizens.

HISTORICAL SURVEY (1815–1912)

Though emigration from the United Kingdom to North America had begun on a limited scale in the early part of the seventeenth century¹ and had grown in volume during the

¹ Colonization Circular, 1877, p. 7.

eighteenth, no official returns relating to the extent of the exodus were made until 1815. In this year, the great war, in which England had for so long been engaged, terminated, and men turned to emigration as though it were the one panacea for all social ills.¹ In 1815, the outflow to North America stood at 1889 persons; it then grew annually with slight fluctuations until 1852, when the enormous total of 277,134 was reached, an exodus which is, considering the volume of people from which it was drawn,² probably without parallel in the history of any civilized country. The years 1846 to 1854, inclusive, were remarkable for their high rate of departures, but, after 1854, a sudden and, with some fluctuations, a continued shrinkage took place until in 1861 the numbers dropped to 62,471, the smallest emigration since 1844. The Crimean War, 1854-1856, and the Indian Mutiny, 1857-1859, which caused an increased demand for young men in the army and navy, were largely responsible for the falling off in the returns of this period. Between 1861 and 1869 the exodus took an upward tendency, and, in this latter year, acute distress at home made the figures rise to 236,892, and they remained somewhat high until 1873. The middle seventies proved a period of diminished emigration, but the ebb was soon followed by a copious flow, for, in the year 1882, the important total of 349,014 was reached. Recent times have shown somewhat high figures; in fact, for every year since 1903, with the exception of 1908, an exodus to North America of over three hundred thousand has been returned. In 1910, the outward stream numbered 499,669, and, in 1911, 464,330 souls.

The above figures require some qualification. The early records refer almost entirely to men and women of British nationality; the later ones speak of the volume of traffic as carried by the Atlantic transport concerns and so contain an important foreign element. It is thus misleading to make comparisons without duly allowing for this change in the composition of the exodus. A second point to note is that, at the present time, the outward passengers are largely counterbalanced by the inward passengers, but, prior to the sixties, the inward passengers were few compared

¹ Cf. J. D. Rogers, "Historical Geography of Canada" (Lucas), p. 67.

² Census of 1851. England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; population given as 27,309,346

with the outward. Thus, net emigration to-day is found by subtracting the incoming from the outgoing stream, but net emigration until about the year 1860 was the total outflow with few or no deductions whatever. A third point to note is that the total population of the three kingdoms has grown considerably since the year 1815; it is thus misleading to compare, say, the 277,134 emigrants of the year 1852 with the 499,669 emigrants of 1910 without taking into consideration the gross populations of these two years. Certain statistics which deal with this matter, state that the proportion of emigration to the population was 0.84 per cent between 1853 and 1855, but only 0.39 per cent in the period 1906-1910. Thus the exodus from the Mother Country was, in reality, more remarkable in the earlier than in the later period.

Of the 983,227 emigrants who left the United Kingdom for all destinations, prior to 1840, 499,899, or more than half, went to British North America; of the remainder, 417,765 went to the United States, and 58,449 to the Australian Colonies, including New Zealand. Since 1834, however, the total annual migration to the United States has always exceeded that proceeding to Canada, but it must be mentioned that when British emigrants as distinct from all emigrants from Britain are considered, it will be found that, on two occasions since 1880, Canada has welcomed more men and women than the United States. This happened in the last two years of the period, 1910 and 1911.

The history of emigration in the nineteenth and twentieth century may be traced from the Government reports and papers which have, from time to time, been published. The first of these documents, which was devoted solely to a consideration of the present subject, was the report of the Select Committee which sat in 1826 to consider emigration from the United Kingdom. From this report we learn that the Government first gave its serious attention to the matter in 1820. In that and the following years many debates were held in both Houses of Parliament to discuss its value as a remedy for the social distress which then existed in the home country.¹ As a result of these debates, the select committees of 1826 and 1827 were appointed.

¹ Cf. Hansard, "Parliamentary Debates," Vol. XII, p. 1358; Vol. XIV, p. 1360; Vol. XVI, pp. 142, 227, 475, 653.

The Committee of 1826 reported generally on the evidence placed before it, and stated that there was a greater amount of laboring population in the United Kingdom than could be profitably employed, and that the British Colonies afforded a field where the excess could be disposed of with advantage. The Committee of 1827 entered further into detail and pointed out more specifically the nature and extent of the assistance which it would recommend to be given to emigration from national resources. The Bishop of Limerick, who appeared before the earlier body, said :

The evil is pressing and immediate. It calls, therefore, for an immediate remedy. Take any system of home relief, it must be gradual in its operation : before it can be brought to bear, the present sufferers will have died off, and others will have supplied their place, but not without a dreadful course of intermediate horrors. Now, Emigration is an instantaneous relief, it is what bleeding would be to an apoplectic patient. The sufferers are at once taken away : and, be it observed, from a country where they are a nuisance and a pest, to a country where they will be a benefit and a blessing. Meantime, so far as displaced tenants are taken away, the landlords, aided by existing laws, and especially by the Act now about to be passed (Sir Henry Parnell's Act), will have it in their power to check the growth of population, somewhat in the same way as, after removing redundant blood, a skillful physician will try to prevent the human frame from generating more than what is requisite for a healthful state.¹

The committee called a considerable number of witnesses and repeatedly put the following question to those giving evidence :

Were the Government to advance an indigent man his passage money and provide him with a homestead, could he be expected to repay the loan at the rate of £5 per annum, commencing after his fifth year of residence?

Most witnesses replied in the affirmative, with the result that the committees suggested that the Treasury should advance a sum of about ten thousand pounds, with which it was proposed to form a loan fund for emigrants. The essence of this report is contained in the following extract :

Your Committee cannot but express their opinion that a more effectual remedy than any temporary palliative is to be found in the

¹ Page 142 of first Report.

removal of that excess of labor by which the condition of the whole laboring classes is deteriorated and degraded. The question of emigration from Ireland is decided by the population itself, and that which remains for the Legislature to decide is, whether it shall be turned to the improvement of the British North American Colonies, or whether it shall be suffered and encouraged to take that which will be and is its inevitable course, to deluge Great Britain with poverty and wretchedness and gradually but certainly to equalize the state of the English and Irish peasantry. Two different rates of wages and two different conditions of the laboring classes cannot permanently coexist. One of two results appears to be inevitable: the Irish population must be raised towards the standard of the English or the English depressed towards that of the Irish. The question whether an extensive plan of emigration shall or shall not be adopted appears to your Committee to resolve itself into the simple point whether the wheat-fed population of Great Britain shall or shall not be supplanted by the potato-fed population of Ireland?

Resulting from the advice contained in this report, a letter was sent to Colonel Cockburn on January 26th, 1827, from Downing Street, stating that His Majesty's Government required him to survey three hundred thousand acres of waste land in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, and to make preparation for the reception of about ten thousand souls. He was to proceed to these places without delay, to confer with the lieutenant governors of these provinces, to inspect, personally, the land, and, above all, he was to keep in mind the advantage to be derived from placing new settlements as near to inhabited parts of the country as possible. One month's provisions were actually to be stored at each settlement previous to the arrival of the emigrants. There was one proviso added to these plans. All was to be ready, were the assisted people to proceed, but should their exodus be deferred or abandoned, Colonel Cockburn was to cancel his arrangements.

The projects were abandoned, and Colonel Cockburn was called upon to nullify the arrangements on which he had spent so much labor. The reasons for this change of policy were threefold. Suitable land could not be found of the requisite quantities in the provinces mentioned; coin of the realm was so scarce that it was felt that the emigrants would not be able to repay their indebtedness with anything but produce, which

the Government could not undertake to accept, and, finally, there were fears that a man might leave his homestead and journey into the United States and so shirk his liability.

Although the loan was refused by the Treasury on this occasion, grants in aid of emigration were made by Parliament in 1819,¹ 1821, 1823, 1825, and 1827 amounting to £50,000, £68,760, £15,000, £30,000 and £20,480 respectively. In 1834, an Act was passed enabling parishes to mortgage their rates and to spend a sum not exceeding £10 a head on emigration. In the same year emigration agents were placed at various ports of the United Kingdom, and from that time until 1878 sums varying in amount up to £25,000 were voted annually by Parliament for purposes of promoting the removal of indigent people from this country. The money, however, was mostly spent on directing the flow of human beings to Australia.

In 1830, a searching inquiry into the state of the Irish Poor was undertaken by the House of Commons, and the report,² which was subsequently communicated to the House of Lords, said:

Emigration, as a remedial measure, is more applicable to Ireland than to any other part of the Empire. The main cause which produces the influx of Irish laborers into Britain is undoubtedly the higher rate of wages which prevails in one island than in the other. Emigration from Great Britain, if effectual as a remedy, must tend to raise the rate of wages in the latter country, and thus to increase the temptation of the immigration (*i.e.* into England and Scotland) of the Irish laborer. Colonization from Ireland, on the contrary, by raising the rate of wages in the latter country, diminishes this inducement and lessens the number of Irish laborers in the British market.

From about the year 1830, the views put forward by Mr. E. G. Wakefield³ grew in popularity. His efforts were directed to the discovery of means whereby capital and labor might be

¹ Page 327 of the Report on Agricultural Settlements says that the grant of 1819 does not seem to have been spent. There is, however, ample evidence to show that a sum of £50,000 was spent on the Albany settlers in the year in question. Of this there is abundant though perhaps not official testimony. Surely this expenditure is the grant of 1819.

² Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Poorer Classes in Ireland and the best means of improving their condition.

³ Vide "The Art of Colonization."

introduced into a colony in such a manner and in such proportions as to lead to its more stable development. He disapproved not only of the form of emigration which was then in vogue, but also of the system of making free grants of colonial lands. Land, he held, should not be given gratuitously, but should be sold and the proceeds used in conveying other emigrants to the colony. The basis of all successful colonization, he once wrote,¹ lies in keeping a certain ratio between the amount of alienated land and the amount of labor available in any colony. If land be given away lavishly, the ratio immediately breaks down, for laborers speedily become landowners and capitalists suffer from an urgent want of labor. When, however, tracts are sold and the money so obtained is used in conveying further batches of emigrants to the colony, the ratio holds good, for the more the sales, the more the labor which can be introduced by the proceeds of the sales and the more the labor which can find remunerative employment. Obviously, his system demanded that the selling price of real property should be carefully adjusted, from time to time, with the amount of available labor.

The views of Wakefield were carried out in a few of the settlements of the Australian Colonies, and some effect was given to them by the South Australian Act and the Australian Land Act of 1842. But Gibbon Wakefield did more than theorize on questions affecting real property. Before he studied the question of emigration, people had looked upon life in the colonies as socially degrading, and having much in common with penal transportation, but with the spreading of his teachings they grew to consider it a means whereby individuals might improve their position as well as a factor which would strengthen the Empire by the foundation of overseas dominions.²

In 1831, a Government commission on Emigration was formed and, in the same year, the commissioners reported that from an annual average of about nine thousand during the first ten years after the Peace, the inflow to Canada had increased in the five years ending with 1831 to an annual average of more than twenty thousand, also that these great multitudes of people had mostly

¹ In "The Art of Colonization."

² Report of the Committee on Agricultural Settlements in British Colonies, Vol. I, 1906, p. 2.

gone out by their own means and disposed of themselves through their own efforts without any serious or lasting inconvenience. The commissioners did not propose, therefore, to interfere by a direct grant of money with a practice which appeared to thrive so well spontaneously. They recognized, probably, how vast an outlay would be necessary to carry on the business to a corresponding extent through public funds, while it must always have remained to be seen whether any immediate interposition of the Government could have provided for such multifarious bodies so well as individual judgment and energy, stimulated by the sense of self-dependence.

The commissioners, therefore, contented themselves, in regard to the North American Colonies, with collecting, publishing, and diffusing, as widely as possible, correct accounts of prices and wages, and with pointing out the impositions against which emigrants should be most on their guard. This body was dissolved, however, in 1832 and the practical working of its recommendations entrusted to the Colonial Department.¹

In 1838, Lord Durham held an inquiry into the unrest then existing in Upper and Lower Canada; his observations, together with the views of Gibbon Wakefield and Charles Buller,² appeared as a Blue Book in January, 1839. After discussing the differences which gave rise to friction between the French and British inhabitants, the report dealt somewhat fully with the evils encompassing the lot of the emigrant, the want of administration which characterized the action of the Colonial authorities, and the unsatisfactory systems then in vogue of granting land. Durham advised that self-government should be given to Canada, but, in addition to this important recommendation, suggested that emigration to these areas should be made more attractive,³ that the lands should be efficiently surveyed, and that a judicious system of colonization should be introduced.

¹ Report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies from the Agent-General for Emigration, April 28, 1838, No. 388, p. 3.

² Vide Sir Charles Lucas — Lord Durham's Report, Vol. III, p. 336, etc., and especially page 351, for account of Durham's mission.

³ "All the gentlemen whose evidence I have last quoted are warm advocates of systematic emigration. I object, along with them, only to such emigration as now takes place without forethought, preparation, method, or system of any kind." — Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America, Vol. I, p. 189.

Buller complained that though emigration to Canada was more or less unsatisfactory yet people were content to allow the system to continue unchallenged. "This misconception is undoubtedly attributable, in a great degree," he said, "to the circumstance that all evidence obtained on the subject was collected in the country from which the emigrants departed, instead of that at which they arrived. Had the position of the inquiries been reversed, they must have arrived at very different conclusions, and have discovered that no emigration so imperatively demanded the regulating interposition of the Legislature as that for which they specially refused to provide."¹ Buller then went on to point out the trials which beset the emigrant on landing in Canada.² It was the duty of the Government, he affirmed, to organize the outflow to North America just as much as that to Australia. There may be a difference in the character and circumstances of the movement to the two regions, he argued, but none so great as to free the former from all interference, while the latter was to a great extent officially regulated.

Buller summarized his views as follows :³

The measures which Government have adopted are deplorably defective. They have left untouched some of the chief evils of emigration, and have very incompletely remedied those even against which they were specially directed. Although the safeguards for the emigrant during the passage are increased, and, in many places, enforced, yet there is still no check of any sort whatever over a large proportion of the emigrant vessels.⁴ The provisions for the reception of emigrants at Quebec, so far as the Government is concerned, are of the most inefficient and unsatisfactory character: and the poorer classes would have to find their way as they best might to the Upper Provinces, or to the United States, were it not for the operation of societies whose main object is not the advantage of emigrants, but to free the cities of Quebec and Montreal from the intolerable nuisance of a crowd of unemployed, miserable, and, too often, diseased persons. The Government agent at Quebec has no power; he has not even any rules for his guidance. At Montreal there has not been any agent for the last two years. The whole extent, therefore, of the

¹ Report, p. 225.

² Vide Chapter VII. "The Reception of Immigrants."

³ Report, p. 227.

⁴ I.e. those carrying fewer passengers than constitute an emigrants' ship.

Government interference has been to establish in England agents to superintend the enforcement of the provisions of the Passengers' Acts, in respect of the emigrants from some ports, and to maintain an agent in the Province of Lower Canada to observe rather than regulate the emigration into that province.

I would recommend, therefore, that a specified portion of the produce of the wild-land tax and of the future sales of land and timber should be applied in providing for emigration: a part in furnishing free passage to emigrants of the most desirable age, as far as may be of both sexes in equal numbers, and part in defraying any expenses occasioned by the superintendence of the emigration of those to whom, in conformity with this rule, or from other circumstances, a free passage cannot be offered.

The whole emigration from the United Kingdom should be so far placed under the superintendence of Government that emigrants conveyed at the public expense should necessarily proceed in vessels chartered and regulated by the Government, and that all persons willing to pay for their own passage should be entitled to proceed in vessels so chartered and regulated at a cost for the passage not exceeding the charge in private vessels. Proper means of shelter and transport should be provided at the different ports in the Colonies to which emigrants proceed; and they should be forwarded to the place where they can obtain employment under the direction of responsible agents acting under central authority.

When, in 1845, the Great Famine overtook Ireland with such disastrous results, a Select Committee was appointed to consider the means by which colonization might be employed to alleviate the sufferings which were then existing in that country. After examining the causes which had brought about the crisis, the Committee directed its attentions to an inquiry into the following matters:

1. The capacity which certain Colonies possessed for absorbing European labor.
2. The extent to which a supply of labour might be safely introduced into the various Colonies.
3. The effect of an increased supply of emigrant labor on the productiveness and value of Colonial land.
4. The effect which colonization would probably produce on the investment of British capital within the colony to which such colonization might be directed.

5. The effect which might be anticipated by the promotion or encouragement of works of undisputed usefulness, such as the railroads projected in British North America.

6. The effect of an augmented population in the British Colonies, not only in increasing their wealth, their agricultural, mineral, and commercial resources, but in adding to their strength and means of defense and thus consolidating and securing the power of the Empire.

Unfortunately, little or no good came of the inquiry. Charitable societies continued to do their utmost to alleviate the sufferings of the afflicted people, but governmental action was in no wise accelerated as a result of the inquiry.

In consequence of the representations made by Lord Durham, the Colonial Land and Emigration Department was founded in 1840. The principal functions of this body were to collect and diffuse statistical information pertaining to the Colonies, to effect sales of colonial lands in Australia, to promote by the proceeds of such sales emigration to the Colonies in which the sales had occurred, to superintend, generally, all emigration movements connected with this country and its dependencies, and, lastly, to carry into execution the Passengers' Acts.¹

The operations of the board were fluctuating, but between 1847 and 1869 they sent out 339,338 emigrants at a cost of £4,864,000 of which £532,000 was provided by those taking part in the exodus or their friends, and the rest by colonial funds. The arrangements were mostly concerned with Australia.

In their thirty-third report, under the date of April 30th, 1873, the Chief Commissioner wrote:

My Lord, We have the honor to submit to your Lordship our Report on Emigration for the year 1872. As the administration of the Passengers' Act has been intrusted by the Act of last session (35 and 36 Vict. c. 73) to the Board of Trade, this is the last report

¹ Lord John Russell's instructions to the Emigration Commissioners, January 14th, 1840 (Government paper, No. 35):

"In your capacity of a General Board for the sale of lands and for promoting emigration, your duties may be conveniently arranged under the four following heads. First, the collection and diffusion of accurate statistical knowledge; secondly, the sale in this country of waste lands in the colonies; thirdly, the application of the proceeds of such sales towards the removal of emigrants; and, fourthly, the rendering of periodical accounts, both pecuniary and statistical, of your administration of this trust."

we shall have to make to the Secretary of State on emigration from this country.

Other functions which they performed had been gradually taken from them as the Colonies, one by one, became self-governing. After the Act of 1872 their sole duties consisted in controlling the movement of coolie labor, and, when each commissioner retired, his post was allowed to lapse. The last commissioner withdrew in 1878. Between 1873 and 1877 a Colonization Circular was published annually.

In 1880, the Canadian authorities approached the Home Government with a colonization scheme by which the latter should advance moneys, about £80 per family, for meeting expenses incurred in transporting and settling poor families from Ireland on plots situated in the Northwest Provinces. The Canadian Government was to give each settler 160 acres of land, upon which the advance was to be secured by a first charge, but they were to undertake no guarantee for the repayment of such advance. It was intended to carry out the scheme through a commission or association. These proposals were submitted to the Irish authorities, who took no action in the matter.¹ The reasons for allowing the proposal to lapse were never definitely stated, but it may be conjectured that the home authorities were dissatisfied, first, with the guarantees, and, secondly, with the refusal of the Canadian officials to undertake the task of collecting the repayments.

In 1883, the Northwest Land Company of Canada empowered Sir George Stephen to place another proposal before the Imperial Parliament. The basis of this scheme was as follows: the Government was to lend the company a million pounds for ten years, free of interest, and in consideration of this loan the company would undertake to remove ten thousand families, say fifty thousand people, from the west of Ireland and settle them in the northwest of Canada.

In the ordinary way the Canadian Government was prepared to give each head of a family 160 acres of land, and the company proposed to supply him with a house, a cow, implements, and everything necessary to insure a fair start, even to providing sufficient plowing and seeding for the first year's crop. The

¹ Report on Colonization, 1891, Appendix, p. 45, par. 1.

company also agreed to meet all expenditure incidental to the removal and settlement of the emigrants. It was thus submitted that the cost to the Home Government would only be the interest on £100 for ten years, say, at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, £25 per family. The emigrants themselves, however, were to be called upon to pay certain moderate charges to the company. This scheme received the warm support of the Colonial Office and the Irish Government, though the latter made two requests which were approved by the Treasury, viz. (a) that the emigrants should be drawn in entire families from the congested districts only, and (b) that the holding of each emigrating family should be consolidated with a neighboring holding.

The proposal, it must be added, was abandoned because the Treasury thought it necessary to stipulate that the Dominion Government should make itself responsible for recovering the advances from the settlers, both principal and interest, a burden which the Canadian authorities declined to undertake on political grounds.¹ Other schemes of emigration were suggested from time to time, but all suffered rejection, as the Home Government was temporarily averse to considering any which returned less than $3\frac{1}{8}$ per cent interest on the capital involved, and in which they were not relieved of all financial liability.

The prolonged depression amongst the working classes which lasted between 1884 and 1886, however, forced the Government to change its views, and Mr. Rathbone² wrote:³

In the autumn of 1887 Lord Lothian asked the land companies if they would renew their proposals; but they declined to do so, stating that the circumstances had altered (though in what way did not appear) and the scheme which was eventually agreed upon was far less favorable to the Government, in that there was no guarantee by the companies for repayment even of the capital.

The scheme to which Mr. Rathbone referred was the Crofters' Colonization Scheme of 1888 and 1889.

As a result of numerous representations made to the Government by philanthropists who viewed emigration with favor, the Emigrants' Information Office was opened in October, 1886.

¹ Report on Colonization, 1891, Appendix, p. 45, par. 2.

² A member of the Colonization Committee of 1891.

³ Report on Colonization, 1891, Appendix, p. 46, par. 3.

From its inception this Institution has been placed under the control of the Colonial Office. It is subsidized by Government but managed by a voluntary unpaid committee.¹ The committee included members of parliament, philanthropists, and representatives of the working classes. The Secretary of State for the Colonies is nominally President of the committee, but does not actually preside. He nominates the members of the committee, and all points on which any serious doubt arises are referred for his decision, but the expenditure of the Parliamentary grant and the management and working of the office are left to the discretion of the committee.

The Government at the outset allowed an annual sum of £650 to cover rent of rooms and all office expenses, in addition to free printing and postage. After the report of the Colonization Committee in 1891 the sum was raised to £1000 and the grant became subsequently increased to £1500.

Originally the scope of the office was confined to the British Colonies and to those Colonies, only, which are outside the tropics, and are thus fields of emigration in the ordinary sense. It was found necessary, however, to widen its sphere and to give information — though more limited in extent — not only as to certain tropical colonies, but also, from time to time, concerning various foreign countries; and especially it has been found necessary to issue warnings in cases where, as, for example, in the case of Brazil, it has seemed desirable to discourage emigration from the Mother Country.

In regard to foreign countries, the committee derives its information almost entirely through the Foreign Office and His Majesty's representatives abroad. In regard to the British Colonies, information is supplied partly by official, partly by unofficial sources.

In June and July of the year 1889 a Select Committee of the House of Commons sat to "inquire into various schemes which have been proposed to Her Majesty's Government in order to facilitate emigration from the congested districts of the United Kingdom to the British Colonies or elsewhere; to examine into the results of any schemes which have received practical trial in recent years; and to report generally whether, in their opinion,

¹ The Chairman, who is a member of the Colonial Office, is paid.

it is desirable that further facilities should be given to promote emigration; and, if so, upon the means by and the conditions under which such emigration can best be carried out, and the quarters to which it can most advantageously be directed.”¹ After having examined nine witnesses the following interim report was issued towards the end of the month of July :

Your Committee are of opinion that at this late period of the Session it will not be in their power to conclude their investigations; they have therefore agreed to report the evidence, already taken, to the House, and to recommend that a committee on the same subject should be appointed early in the next Session of Parliament.²

The committee again sat in 1890, and for a third time in 1891. It was in the latter year that the following summary of their conclusions was issued :

1. Your Committee have no grounds for thinking that the present condition of the United Kingdom generally calls for any general scheme of state-organized colonization or emigration.

2. The powers in possession of local authorities should be sufficient to enable them, at no onerous risk, to assist in the colonization or emigration of persons or families from their own localities.

3. The congested districts of Ireland and of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland form an exceptional case and require relief by assistance to industries, to colonization or emigration, and, where suitable, to migration.

4. The provisions proposed in the Land and Congested Districts (Ireland) Bill are ample for these purposes.

5. Provisions similar to some of the foregoing should be made for the Crofter districts of Scotland.

6. The Colonization Board be continued and reconstructed for the purpose of colonization and emigration from such districts.

7. The power of enlarging Crofters' holdings in that Act should be kept alive.

8. Crofts vacated by emigration or migration should be added to existing holdings without power of subdivision.

9. The experiment of colonizing the Crofter population in Canada should be further tried.

10. The proposals of the Government of British Columbia³ should be favorably entertained.

¹ Report on Colonization, 1889, p. III.

² *Ibid.*

³ These proposals fell through as the Governments failed to agree on matters of finance.

11. The agency of companies for colonization and emigration should be taken advantage of, both as regards the aforesaid colonization in Canada and elsewhere.

12. The Government grant to the Emigrants' Information Office should be increased.¹

As a result of this report, further governmental schemes were dropped, but the grant awarded annually to the Emigrants' Information Office was augmented. From 1891 to 1905 no action seems to have been taken, but, in the latter year, the Unemployed Workmen Act, which contained clauses facilitating the transference of needy workpeople, was passed.² In the following year, Sir Rider Haggard made certain suggestions for a colonization scheme, which may be briefly summarized as follows. The authorities at home were to advance to the Salvation Army, or a similar body, a sum of money roughly equaling thirty thousand pounds, and in return the institution was to collect a vast number of distressed town-bred families and install them on farm plots in Canada. A departmental committee was appointed to give consideration to the suggestions, but this body reported unfavorably and the scheme was not attempted.³ Since 1906 the inactivity of the central authorities has been continued, but a great expansion in the working of charitable institutions has marked the period. To-day there are considerably more than a hundred societies engaged in the emigration movement; some give their services in a general way, others confine their operations to people of certain religious denominations or to dwellers in particular localities, whilst others again deal only with women or children. The majority give financial assistance in deserving cases, though certain of them are organized merely to provide information, guidance, and protection. As a general rule, the societies are doing valuable work by sending to the various colonies able-bodied people who could not otherwise join in the exodus.

¹ Report on Colonization, 1891, p. xvi.

² "The Central Body may, if they think fit, in any case of an unemployed person referred to them by a distress committee, assist that person by aiding the emigration or removal to another area of that person and any of his dependents." — 5 Ed. 7, ch. 18, sec. 5.

³ Cf. "Colonization Schemes," Chapter X, p. 244.

In bygone years, certain of the less responsible organizations made emigration a vehicle for transferring "undesirables" from the Mother Country to the Colonies. As no such practices have been attempted for many years past, it is somewhat discouraging to note the attitude with which a few of the Colonial Governments still approach the home societies as a body. Everything which can be done to eliminate the unfit from the fit is now performed by the societies, and none but those who can undergo a severe and searching test are permitted to proceed. In many cases, farm colonies have been instituted within the United Kingdom and prospective settlers are required to give practical demonstrations of their fitness at one or other of them before they are passed as suitable. Not only do the societies themselves require their candidates to pass a very severe test, but the officials attached to the staffs of the various High Commissioners and Agents-General institute searching inquiries also. Authentic figures are available to prove that, of the people befriended by the East End Emigration Fund, less than 5 per cent turn out failures, only 5 per cent fail from the Church Emigration Society, never more than 4 per cent annually from the South African Colonisation Society, less than 2 per cent from Dr. Barnardo's Homes, whilst other societies can show equally satisfactory records.¹ In spite of this complex system of selection and these reassuring figures, there are still people, living in the colonies, who condemn the work of the societies in general. A writer living at Hamilton, Ontario, says: ²

At present, among the great stream of English people whom your agencies are sending to us, are many who are the scourings from London streets — the hangers-on to Church charitable organizations — the type of men who demand work, but that is the last thing they really desire.

It will be noticed that in this quotation not one shred of evidence is given to support the serious allegations made, nor does the writer seem to be aware that no man who was work-shy and studied his comforts would leave London for Hamilton;

¹ Official Report of the Emigration Conference convened by the Royal Colonial Institute, 1910, pp. 33, 37, 39, 43, etc.

² Quoted from *The Times* of May 30th, 1910.

also, it may be pointed out that such statements not only condemn the operations of our home organizations, but they presuppose a want of confidence in the colonial emigration commissioners as well.

Within recent years public opinion has gradually grown to view with considerable disfavor any form of British emigration proceeding to foreign countries. In 1907, the Imperial Conference gave expression to this feeling by passing the following resolution :

That it is desirable to encourage British emigrants to proceed to British Colonies rather than foreign countries: that the Imperial Government be requested to coöperate with any Colonies desiring immigrants in assisting suitable persons to emigrate: that the Secretary of State for the Colonies be requested to nominate representatives of the Dominions to the committee of the Emigrants' Information Office.

In 1908, the question of emigration was discussed by the Poor Law Commission. Unfortunately, the ground necessarily covered by this inquiry was so extensive that little time could be spared for an adequate consideration of the factors governing the national exodus. The Majority Report of this Commission spoke of the value of emigration when supplemented with other reforms, but gave no hint as to the ways and means of organizing such a movement. The Minority Report was more informing. Whatever provisions are made for minimizing unemployment, it affirmed, there will always be a residuum of men and women who will be in want of work; for them, an emigration and immigration division will prove valuable. This division, it suggested, should develop the office now maintained by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in close communication with the responsible governments of other parts of the Empire. A Minister of Labor would direct this office, and his duties would include not only the control of aided but non-aided emigrants as well. So far as they go, the suggestions made by the Minority Commissioners are valuable, but, from such an authoritative body, a complete sketch of the machinery required to control both the emigration from home and the immigration to the Colonies would have proved welcome.

Finally, the subject of emigration was considered by the recent Imperial Conference of 1911. Mr. Burns, as President of the Local Government Board, said that since the last Conference the object of the resolution passed in 1907 had been, to a great extent, secured. In 1906, the total number of emigrants from the Mother Country was 194,671, of whom the different parts of the Empire took 105,178 or 54 per cent. In 1910, the numbers were 233,944 and 159,000 respectively, showing 68 per cent to the Empire. For the first four months of the year 1911 there was an increase over the corresponding period of 1910 of 23,000 or 29 per cent, and the Empire had taken the whole of that increase. Australia and New Zealand had received ten thousand more people in the first four months of 1911 than in the similar period of 1910, or 133 per cent increase. If the rate of increase for the first four months were continued for the whole of 1911, the total emigrants for Great Britain to all countries would amount, he said, to three hundred thousand, of whom, it was estimated, 230,000, or nearly 80 per cent, would go to different parts of the Empire, a generous contribution in quantity and quality from the Mother Country. In 1900, the percentage absorbed by the Empire of the total emigration from the United Kingdom was only 33 per cent. The increase from 33 per cent to 80 per cent was a justification of the excellent and increasing work in the right direction carried on by the now admirably organized Emigrants' Information Office at home. Moreover, it was generally admitted that the quality of the emigrants had also improved. The total estimated emigration of 300,000 for 1911 represented 60 per cent of the natural increase of the population of the United Kingdom as compared with 48 per cent in 1910 and 50 per cent in 1907. But for the saving in life represented by a lower death rate, and a much lower infant mortality, this emigration would be a very heavy drain on the United Kingdom. In ten years Scotland and Ireland combined had increased their population by 210,000, or less than the total emigration from Great Britain for the one year 1910. With a diminishing birth rate the Mother Country could not safely go beyond 300,000 a year, and if 80 per cent of these went to different parts of the Empire, the Conference would probably agree that this was as much as they could reasonably require. The Dominions were

entitled to have the surplus, but they must not diminish the seed plot. They could absorb the overflow, but they must not empty the tank.

In reviewing emigration generally, Mr. Burns said that the business of the Emigrants' Information Office had more than doubled since 1907, and that its machinery was being kept up to modern requirements. Overorganization, or attempts to do more than was now being done, would probably check many of the voluntary non-political and benevolent associations connected with the work, which filled a place that no State organization could possibly occupy. Information was disseminated through one thousand public libraries and municipal buildings in addition to many post offices. Six hundred and fifty Boards of Guardians sent all their emigrated children to the Dominions. In twenty-one years 9300 Poor Law children had been emigrated at a cost to the rates of £109,000. The quality of these children was indicated by the fact that out of 12,790 children from the Poor Law Schools of London, only 62 had been returned by their employers in consequence of natural defects, incompatibility of temper, or disposition. One hundred and thirty Distress Committees had sent 16,000 emigrants to different parts of the Empire in five years at a cost of £127,000. Lastly, before 1907, army reservists were not allowed to leave this country and to continue to draw their reserve pay. This regulation had been modified, with the result that since 1907, 8000 reservists had been allowed to reside abroad, of whom only 329 were not under the British flag.

GERMAN IMMIGRATION ¹

GUSTAVUS OHLINGER

THE PILGRIMS

AN INCENTIVE similar to that which brought the Pilgrims to New England inspired the German immigrations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1677 William Penn, on one of the missionary tours which he undertook for the purpose of spreading the doctrines of the Quaker sect, happened to visit the Pietists of Frankfort-on-the-Main. Four years later, when he received a grant of land in America, these people corresponded with his agent. A company was formed among them which eventually purchased twenty-five thousand acres of land. In the summer of 1683 the first immigrants, most of them Mennonites whom Penn's preaching had converted to Quakerism, sailed on the ship *Concord*. They arrived in Philadelphia on October 6, 1683. That day has since been celebrated by German-Americans as the beginning of their history in this country, and the *Concord* and its passengers have been regarded with something of the same veneration that the *Mayflower* and the Pilgrim Fathers have received from Americans generally.

During the religious and political troubles of the eighteenth century, England and her colonies were the refuge of the persecuted of the continent. In 1709 thirteen thousand inhabitants of the Palatinate fled to London. They were maintained by the English government, and subsequently colonized in New York and the Carolinas. The same was done for the Protestants of Salzburg, Austria, who fled from the persecution of Archbishop Leopold. According to a German scholar, England's humane and generous treatment of these unfortunates will always redound to her glory.

¹ From "Their True Faith and Allegiance" by Gustavus Ohlinger. The Macmillan Company, 1916.

Many other sects — the Moravians, the Reformed, the Lutherans, the Tunkers, the Schwenkfelders — followed. All were attracted by the same ideal, — freedom of worship after the dictates of their own consciences. In religious belief they had much in common with English denominations. Having no ties to bind them to the old country, they soon adapted themselves to the conditions of the new. At the outbreak of the War of Independence they numbered some two hundred and twenty thousand, and they contributed their full quota to the revolutionary armies. One of the traditions of those stirring times relates how Peter Muhlenberg, pastor of a Lutheran church, mounted his pulpit one Sunday soon after the call to arms had gone forth. At the end of his sermon he admonished his flock that there was a time for prayer, a time for fasting and a time for battle; the time for battle had now come, and casting aside his clerical gown he stood before his congregation in the uniform of a colonel of the continental army. The drums beat outside. Four hundred of his parishioners rallied to the standard, and on the fields of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth proved their allegiance to their adopted land.

THE EXILES

The high tides of German immigration during the first seventy years of the nineteenth century were marked by the political troubles in the old country, — the suppression of the student societies and turners in 1820, the revolution of 1832, and the more important revolution of 1848. Each of these disturbances sent its quota of political refugees to America. Some sought America merely as a temporary asylum, intending to return when conditions in the old country had improved. Others, despairing of the struggle for national unity and freedom in Germany, hoped to realize their ideals by founding a German state in the American west. The leaders in the movement were Paul Follen and Friedrich Münch, — names which in the last few years have been given much prominence by German-American organizations. "We must not," these enthusiasts argued, "leave Germany without at least taking the first steps towards realizing German national unity and freedom; we will lay the foundations

of a new and free Germany in the great North American Republic. We will take with us as many as possible of our best people, and will provide for others to follow; thus may we be able to establish in one of the American territories an essentially German state as a refuge for those who have found conditions in Germany intolerable."

Numerous societies were formed to facilitate the immigration necessary to accomplish this purpose. Niles' Register remarks in a contemporary paragraph that "a plan is in progress in the southwest of Germany to make up a state and ship it over to America to become the twenty-fifth member of the confederacy." One such state arrived at New York with a complete outfit, including a telescope and a town bell, but disintegrated on the long trip to St. Louis. The territories of Arkansas and Wisconsin were at different times selected as the promised land. When Texas declared its independence, the opportunity seemed presented for a peaceful conquest of that sparsely settled country, and several thousand immigrants were sent to the Lone Star state. It is said that the British government favored the scheme, hoping thereby to place a permanent barrier in the way of the further expansion of the United States towards the southwest.

Of all these refugees the "forty-eighters" clung most tenaciously to their language and national ideals. These people have become known in German-American history as the "greens," as distinguished from the older settlers, who were dubbed the "grays." The "greens" severely upbraided their countrymen who had preceded them for having allowed themselves to become Americanized, and they made serious efforts to retard further assimilation. As Germans they felt they had a mission to fulfill, and that mission was nothing less than the complete Germanizing of the United States. This was to be accomplished through their intellectual superiority, their claims to which, though undoubtedly justified in some instances, they made no efforts to conceal, — and also by founding German communities, and from these as centers making their influence felt throughout the country. At one time it was proposed to concentrate immigration in Wisconsin until through a preponderance of the population they had succeeded in replacing English with German as the language of the courts, of the legislature, and of the schools. Some

of the enthusiasts went so far as to forecast the time when the United States, having come under the influence of German ideas, would extend its sway throughout the world. The German people would in that indirect way realize their ambition for world dominion.

But as the years passed, the vision of these exiles faded and grew dim. A new Germany, free and powerful, seemed an impossibility; a transplanted Germany, in the form of a state set down in the western wilderness, dissolved upon contact with the realities of the frontier; German communities could not maintain their solidarity amid the complexities of industrial life; and the dreamers were left with the empire of the German spirit, the romantic Germany of the bards and singers, the world of the philosophers and poets. And when, after hopes deferred and years of waiting, the man arrived who through the stern discipline of blood and iron was to weld the principalities of Germany into an empire, there had appeared in America one of the most tragic and compelling figures of all history. Bismarck was forgotten, and the exiles rallied to the call of Lincoln.

KULTURPOLITIK

The succeeding immigration differed materially from those that have been described. The earlier immigrants had brought with them bitter memories of German disunion and of the tyrannies and persecutions of their petty princes. Pride of nationality they had in some degree, but none of state or country. The less educated, lacking the political vision and ambitions of the revolutionaries, had scarcely more than family sentiment to bind them to their old homes. To them America was the great country of freedom, of religious liberty, of opportunity, the promised land of all their dreams. Their old allegiance, together with all that it implied, they were glad and anxious to cast aside as a loathed garment. But the great waves of German immigration, which, gathering volume in the seventies, finally reached their flood in the eighties, came from entirely different impulses. Neither national ideals, political freedom, nor religious liberty was uppermost in the minds of these strangers. Germany had been united. What Bismarck termed "the tragedy of the ages"

had been repaired. The empire furnished a concrete expression for German national aspirations. No longer as outcasts did these wanderers approach our shores, but as representatives of a state of whose achievements they were proud and of whose future they vaguely hoped to remain a part. National and political aspirations had been fulfilled, — what they asked from America, primarily, was material benefits.

A spiritual change came over Germany. The will to power, enthralled from the time that the last Hohenstaufen met his fate on the scaffold in Naples, was emancipated. This had been accomplished largely by merging the individual in the State, and by making the State synonymous with the Hohenzollern dynasty. But this was overlooked in the enthusiasm for the new-found strength, and German professors set to work to square theory with fact. "The State is a person," exclaims Bluntschli. More than that, it is a man, not a woman, and possesses all the primal male attributes of positive action on environment. It owes no responsibility and must be ruthless in accomplishing its destiny.

With these vital forces of the nation organized and ready to be released, the educated men surveyed the past and present. Spain, France, and England had each had its day. They had each boasted a world dominion. Each had in turn succumbed to its successor. England, the last, had long since lost its pre-eminence in every field of human endeavor. The British empire was held in palsied hands which required only the effort of youth to strike down. Each of these conquering nations had, however, through its culture, language, and institutions, struck deep root in foreign soil. German culture would therefore have to establish itself in order to pave the way for commerce and political control. To do this required organized effort. Every German in a position of influence in a foreign land, whether as an educator, a professional man, a clergyman, a technician, or a director of industrial enterprises, represented an outlay of productive capital. It was the task of these men to make known the aims and content of German culture in all its branches, from the tilling of the soil to the philosophy of life, from the technique of mechanics to the technique of statesmanship, so that the desire to acquire the benefits of this culture might be stimulated. The respect which

they earned through the thoroughness of their achievement would redound to the prestige of the empire, and the influence which they thus acquired was to be an asset in the achievement of national ideals. The conscious direction of these influences is what Germans call *Kulturpolitik*, a word which has no English equivalent, for the reason that the whole idea is a German invention.

Equally important was it to retain at least the spiritual and intellectual allegiance of German emigrants. In 1881 there was organized the "Educational Alliance for the Preservation of German Culture in Foreign Lands" (*Allgemeiner deutscher Schulverein zur Erhaltung des Deutschthums im Auslande*). "Not a man can we spare," so reads its declaration of principles, — "if we expect to hold our own against the one hundred and twenty-five millions who already speak the English language and who have preëmpted the most desirable fields for expansion." A similar thought inspired the Pan-German Alliance (*Alldeutscher Verband*). It aims to preserve German language and culture, to vitalize the German national sentiment throughout the world and to support Germans wherever, in a distant land, they are struggling to preserve their solidarity against a foreign civilization. "The German people is a race of rulers," so they declare. "As such it must be respected everywhere in the world. The Alliance does not believe that German national development ended with the results of the war of 1870, great and glorious though they were. It is rather convinced that, with the position then won, there has come a multitude of new and greater duties, to neglect which would mean the decadence of our people." A number of branches of this society, as well as of the Navy League (*Flottenverein*), were established in the United States.

The educated Germans had become imbued with these ideas before leaving the old country, and they now kept in touch with their development. Journalists and clergymen naturally found it to their interests to encourage German traditions and the use of the German language. The circulation of their newspapers and the membership of their churches depended upon these conditions. The most potent influence, however, in *Kulturpolitik* have been the men who, in constantly increasing numbers, have come to occupy positions in our universities,

colleges, and public and private schools. Being, by virtue of their profession, less exposed to assimilative influences, they form the outposts of Germanism in the United States.

It was about twenty years ago that voices of the new Germany were first heard in this country. The Spanish-American war at one stroke destroyed the isolation of the United States. The part she would play on the stage of world politics became a matter of vital interest. American ideas of colonial expansion and of responsibility towards foreign races approached to those which had built up the British Empire. Many points of contact between American institutions and those of England were brought to consciousness. Cecil Rhodes, dying, left a will which provided a means for closer intellectual and cultural association between the United States and Great Britain. Kipling celebrated in verse the mission of the Anglo-Saxon people. Much was said about Anglo-Saxon unity, a phrase which Germans interpreted as Anglo-Saxon imperialism.

This was the beginning of the struggle. It was the signal for the mobilization of the forces of *Kulturpolitik* in this country. Anglo-Saxon unity, or even a closer understanding between the branches of that race, was seen as an insuperable obstacle in the way of German plans for world dominion. Journalists, clergymen, educators, began to agitate among their countrymen for the solidarity of the German element, the preservation of the German language, and the spread of German culture. Their appeals found a ready response among the later arrivals and even engaged the attention of the older element, who, though having no interest in Germany as an empire, still cherished the memory of the Fatherland as the home of Goethe, Schiller, of Grimm's Fairy Tales, of the philosophers and musicians. Men holding chairs in our universities, permeated with the teaching of Treitschke, Droysen, and other modern German historians, pointed to what they regarded as signs of the impending dissolution of the British Empire; the costly Boer war had drained its strength; the discontent in India, the troubles in Ireland, were undermining its constitution; Germany was destined to overthrow the palsied colossus and succeed it as a world empire; German culture would then be supreme, the German language the universal tongue. Anglo-Saxon civilization the agitators both

disparaged as decadent and, like Treitschke, cordially hated. Puritanism, to them the essence of hypocrisy, represented its most odious phase. They proclaimed that only in a political and geographical sense had they become Americans with the oath of naturalization, — in all other respects they remained Germans; they condemned any approach to assimilation and decried the moral of Zangwill's "Melting Pot." Some sought to give the propaganda a patriotic guise by declaring that it was the sacred mission of the German element to guard themselves, their language, and their culture from native influences in order that as a chosen people they might save America from the decay which was destroying the vitals of everything Anglo-Saxon. The media for the propaganda were the lecture platform, the German newspapers, German societies, churches, and schools. A German who had served as a member of the Reichstag began the publication in New York of a monthly magazine as the special exponent of these ideas.

Organizations of every kind have always been a feature of German life in America. The national "Sängerbund" was organized in 1849. The turners organized as far back as 1848, and have had a national alliance since 1850, and to-day* boast forty thousand members, with a normal school in Indianapolis. In 1870 the association of German teachers (*Deutsch-amerikanischer Lehrerbund*) was formed and soon after that a training school was established in Milwaukee. In 1885 a national organization of German schools (*National deutsch-amerikanischer Schulverein*) was started, but met with the opposition of the older element, who, while they favored the propaganda for the German language in parts of Austria and Hungary, could see no reason for such a movement in the United States. There are associations of German veterans and reservists, many mutual aid and benefit societies, the well-known singing societies, and innumerable other organizations.

Under the influence of the new propaganda all these societies were brought into closer touch with each other. In 1899 the German societies of Pennsylvania formed a state federation known as the German-American Central Alliance. This suggested a national organization, and in the following year delegates from Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Minnesota assembled in

Philadelphia and formed a temporary association. In 1901, on the anniversary of the landing of the Concord pilgrims, a permanent organization was perfected, known as the National German-American Alliance. This achievement the promoters regard as of the greatest importance for the future of the German element in the United States.

According to its constitution the membership of the Alliance is made up of state and local alliances. German societies everywhere have been urged to unite in local and state federations. It is only where city and state federations have not been organized that individual societies are taken into membership. The work of organization has been prosecuted with vigor in the last few years, with the result that there is now a state federation in every state of the Union, and every city of importance has its Stadtverband, made up of delegates of local organizations. The Alliance is supported by a per capita levy upon the membership of all component societies. In 1907 it was incorporated by act of Congress, and it now claims to reach, through its subordinate state and local federations and individual societies, not less than two million five hundred thousand Germans.

The principal objects of the Alliance, as officially announced, are to awaken and strengthen the sense of unity among the people of German origin in America; to check nativistic encroachments; to maintain and safeguard friendly relations between America and Germany; to augment the influence of German culture by encouraging the use of the German language and making its teaching in the public schools compulsory; to introduce into school histories a proper estimate of the work of German pioneers and of their part in developing our institutions; to oppose restrictions upon immigration; to liberalize our naturalization laws by removing knowledge of the English language and other educational tests as requirements of citizenship; and, finally, to combat Puritan influences, particularly invasions of personal liberty in the form of restrictions upon the liquor traffic. The Alliance is pledged to bring its entire organization to the support of any state federation which is engaged in a struggle for any of these objects.

"We must be united, united, united, — every petty jealousy, every local interest, must be forgotten," the officers of the

Alliance have repeatedly admonished their members. From the point of view of the American who is interested solely in the amalgamation of races in a more perfect union and in the highest development of our national life, it is difficult to understand what exigency requires the awakening and strengthening of the sense of unity among citizens of German origin. If the Alliance professes patriotic purposes, why should it aim to develop a solidarity within racial lines? Why should the sense of unity be encouraged among Germans, and if among Germans, why not among those citizens who happen to be of English, Canadian, Russian, or Italian descent?

Equally difficult is it to understand the need of such an organization for resisting "nativistic encroachments." Long before the Alliance came into existence, German citizens, from Michael Hillegas, the first Treasurer of the Continental Congress, to Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior in Hayes' administration, have been welcomed to the highest offices in the gift of the people. From the time the Know-Nothing movement collapsed — a movement which was called into being in large measure by the separatist ideals of the immigrants of 1832 and 1848 — Americans have kept their politics aloof from racial or religious distinctions, and those who have trespassed this unwritten law have received prompt and merited rebuke.

In estimating the activity of the Germans during the last eighteen months allowance must be made for the high tension of feeling produced by the war. Nor must it be imagined for one moment that the majority of Germans in this country subscribe to the opinions put forth by the noisy propagandists. This group, though compact and well organized, forms but a small fraction of the thirty millions of citizens of German birth or descent in this country. They represent the later immigrations, — for the most part those which followed the formation of the empire. The official roster of the Alliance may fairly be taken as representative of its membership, or at least of the controlling faction in that membership. Of the twelve officers not one can point to an Americanism more than two generations old. The majority are foreign-born.

It is for the descendants of those Germans who fought under Herkimer at Oriskany; of those who followed Muhlenberg; of those who over the trenches of Yorktown heard the opposing commands given in their native tongue, and finally saw the garrison march out to the time of German music; of those who fought under Schurz and Sigel in the Civil War, to rebuke these prophets of disunion and to turn the aspirations of their countrymen in the direction of true American nationalism.

B. EMIGRATION FROM SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES ¹

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THE Jewish immigration has been shown to consist essentially of permanent settlers. Its family movement is incomparable in degree, and contains a larger relative proportion as well as absolute number of women and children, than any other immigrant people. This in turn is reflected in the greater relative proportion as well as absolute number of those classified as having "no occupation." The element of dependency thus predicated is another indication of the family composition of the Jewish immigration. Its return movement is the smallest of any, as compared both with its large immigration and the number of total emigrants. The Jewish immigrants are distinguished as well by a larger relative proportion and absolute number of skilled laborers, than any other immigrant people. In these four primary characteristics the Jewish immigrants stand apart from all the others.

It is with the neighboring Slavic races emigrating from the countries of Eastern Europe and with whom the Jewish immigrants are closely associated that the contrasts, in all these respects, are strongest. The Slavic immigrants are chiefly male adults. Their movement is largely composed of transients, as evidenced by a relatively large outward movement and emphasized by the fact that the vast majority of them are unskilled laborers. An exception, in large measure, must be made of the Bohemian and Moravian immigrants, who present characteristics strongly similar to those of the Jewish immigrants.

The division into "old" and "new" immigration brings out even more clearly the exceptional position of the Jews in

¹ Summary and conclusions, of Jewish Immigration to the United States. Chapter VI. Columbia University Studies, 1914.

regard to these characteristics. Although the Jewish immigration has been contemporaneous with the "new" immigration from Eastern and Southeastern Europe, and is furthermore essentially East-European in origin, its characteristic place is altogether with the "old" immigration.¹ Most striking, however is the fact that in all of these respects — family composition and small return movement (both indicating permanent settlement) and in the proportion of skilled laborers — the Jewish immigration stands apart even from the "old" immigration.

Further confirmation may be obtained, in the study of the characteristics of the Jewish immigration, of the principle established in the preceding sections that the rejective forces of governmental oppression are responsible for the largest part of this immigration. The large family movement of the Jewish immigration is a symptom of abnormal conditions and amounts almost to a reversal of the normal immigration, in which single or married men without families predominate. Even the family movement of the "old" immigrants may largely be attributed to the longer residence of their peoples in the United States as well as to their greater familiarity with the conditions and customs of the United States. That so large a part of the Jewish immigrants is composed of dependent females and children creates a situation of economic disadvantage for the Jewish immigrants, all the stronger because of their relative unfamiliarity with the language or the conditions facing them in this country.

Again, the Jews respond slowly and incompletely to the pressure of unfavorable economic conditions in this country. This was emphasized by the almost complete lack of response to the panic of 1907, as well as expressed in the small, practically unchanging return movement of the Jews to their European homes.

The pressure upon the Jewish artisans, or skilled laborers, in Eastern Europe is reflected in the predominance of this class among the Jewish immigrants to this country. That so useful an element in Eastern Europe with its still relatively backward industrial development — a fact that was given express recognition

¹ So strongly was this the case that the Immigration Commission in discussing these characteristics was compelled to separate the Jewish from the "new" immigration, in order to bring out the essential differences of the latter from the "old" immigration.

by the permission accorded the Jewish artisans in Alexander II's time to live in the interior of Russia — should have been compelled to emigrate indicates that the voyage across the Atlantic was easier for them than the trip into the interior of Russia, access to which is still legally accorded to them.

That the oppressive conditions created particularly in Russia and Roumania and operating as a pressure equivalent to an expulsive force does not explain the entire Jewish immigration to this country is evident from the preceding pages. In a great measure, the immigration of Jews from Austria-Hungary is an economic movement. The existence, however, of a certain degree of pressure created by economic and political antisemitism has however been recognized. The Jewish movement from Austria-Hungary shares largely with the movement from Russia and Roumania the social and economic characteristics of the Jewish immigration which we have described. A strong family movement and a relative permanence of settlement, especially as compared with the Poles, and a movement of skilled laborers must be predicated of the Jewish immigrants from Austria-Hungary, though undoubtedly not to the same degree as in the case of the Jewish movements from Russia and Roumania.

It is also clear that the forces of economic attraction in the United States do not play an altogether passive part in the Jewish immigration. The very fact of an immigrant-nucleus formed in this country and serving as a center of attraction to relatives and friends abroad — a force which increases in direct and multiple proportion to the growth of immigration — is an active and positive force in strengthening the immigration current. This was early understood by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* which had acted upon this principle in the seventies and had prophetically sought to direct a healthy movement of Jewish immigrants to this country in the hope of thereby laying a foundation for future Jewish immigration to this country. This current, however, once started and growing only by the force of its increasing attraction, would reflect in its movement almost wholly the economic conditions in this country. That so large a part of the Jewish immigration, and so many of the phenomena peculiar to it, find their explanation, for the largest part of the thirty years, in the situation and the course of events

in the countries of Eastern Europe leads to the inevitable conclusion that the key to the Jewish immigration is to be found not in the force of economic attraction exercised in the United States but rather in the exceptional economic, social, and legal conditions in Eastern Europe which have been created as a result of governmental persecution.

Reviewing the various phases of the history of Jewish immigration for these thirty years, we are enabled to see more closely its nature. The study of the immigration, its movement and its social and economic characteristics, in comparison with those of other immigrant peoples, has revealed in it a number of distinguishing traits. In the causes of the emigration of the Jews, in the pressure exerted upon their movement as reflected in their rate of immigration, in their family movement, in the permanence of their settlement, and in their occupational distribution have been found characteristics which mark them off from the rest of the immigrant peoples. The number of these characteristics and the degree in which they are found in the Jewish immigration, put it in a class by itself.

The facts of governmental pressure amounting to an expulsive force, and reflected in an extraordinary rate of immigration, in a movement of families unsurpassed in the American immigration, the largest part economically dependent, in an occupational grouping of skilled artisans, able to earn their livelihood under normal conditions, and in a permanence of settlement in this country incomparable in degree and indicating that practically all who come stay — all these facts lead irresistibly to the conclusion that in the Jewish movement we are dealing, not with an immigration, but with a migration. What we are witnessing to-day, and for these thirty years, is a Jewish migration of a kind and degree almost without a parallel in the history of the Jewish people. When, in speaking of the beginnings of Russian Jewish immigration to Philadelphia, David Sulzberger said: "In thirty years the movement of Jews from Russia to the United States has almost reached the dignity of the migration of a people," he used no literary phrase. In view of the facts that have developed, this statement is true without any qualification.

This migration-process explains the remarkable growth of the Jewish population in the United States, within a relatively short

period of time. In this transplantation, the spirit of social solidarity and communal responsibility prevalent among the Jews has played a vital part.

The family rather than the individual thus becomes the unit for the social life of the Jewish immigrant population in the United States. In this respect the latter approaches more nearly the native American population than does the foreign white or immigrant population. One of the greatest evils incident to and characteristic of the general immigration to this country is thereby minimized.

Again, the concentration of the Jewish immigrants in certain trades explains in great measure the peculiarities of the occupational and the urban distribution of the Jews in the United States. The development of the garment trades through Jewish agencies is largely explained by the recruiting of the material for this development through these laborers.

These primary characteristics of the Jewish immigration of the last thirty years will serve to explain some of the most important phases of the economic and social life of the Jews in the United States, three fourths of whom are immigrants of this period.

Of all the features in this historic movement of the Jews from Eastern Europe to the United States, not the least interesting is their passing from civilizations whose bonds with their medieval past are still strong to a civilization which began its course unhampered by tradition and unyoked to the forms and institutions of the past. The contrast between the broad freedom of this democracy and the intolerable despotism from whose yoke most of them fled has given them a sense of appreciation of American political and social institutions that is felt in every movement of their mental life.

THE COMING OF THE ITALIAN¹

BY JOHN FOSTER CARR, DIRECTOR, IMMIGRATION PUBLICATION
SOCIETY, NEW YORK

“NEVER judge a ship from the shore,” say the Tuscans, and the *contadino*, who is fond of proverbs, often quotes this bit of traditional wisdom when he finds that his wolf was only a gray dog after all. Hamlet’s cloud is not a camel; nor is an honest workman a shiftless beggar buffoon. The laborer and not the organ-grinder now represents the Italian in America; but the popular idea mistakes the one for the other. Thanks to the secluded ways of Italians, the actual facts of their life among us are almost entirely unknown. In common with Mexicans and Jews, they are pilloried by insulting nicknames. They are charged with pauperism, crime, and degraded living, and they are judged unheard and almost unseen. These short and sturdy laborers, who swing along the streets with their heavy stride early in the morning and late at night, deserve better of the country. They are doing the work of men, and they are the full equals of any national army of peasant adventurers that ever landed on our shores.

To brand an Italian immigrant with the word “alien” is to curse him for being unlike ourselves. But when we know who and what he is, and why he comes to the United States, and what he becomes after he gets here, we recognize human kinship, and see what we ourselves should be with different birth and breeding. One serious misconception starts in a name. It is as misleading to dub a nation “Latin” as “Anglo-Saxon.” Italians differ from one another almost as much as men can differ who are still of the same color. Ethnography now makes its classifications according to cranial formation. Most northern Italians are of the Alpine race and have short, broad skulls. All southern Italians are of the Mediterranean race and have long, narrow

¹ From *The Outlook*, February 24, 1906.

skulls. Between the two lies a broad strip of country, in northern and central Italy, peopled by those of mixed blood. History has a less theoretical story to tell, and explains the differences that separate near neighbors, in the north as in the south. If a single race ever inhabited Italy to form an original parent stock, it has borne the grafts of so many other races that all sign of it is lost. For prolonged periods sometimes one part of the land, sometimes another, and sometimes the whole peninsula and the islands, have been held in the power of Phœnicians, Greeks, the countless wild hordes of the North, the Saracens, the Spanish, French, and Germans. They all came in great numbers and freely married with native women. In the northeast there is a Slav intermixture, and a trace of the Mongol. In appearance the Italian may be anything from a tow-headed Teuton to a swarthy Arab. Varying with the district from which he comes, in manner he may be rough and boisterous; suave, fluent, and gesticulative; or grave and silent.

These differences extend to the very essentials of life. The provinces of Italy are radically unlike, not only in dress, cookery, and customs, but in character, thought, and speech. A distinct change of dialect is often found in a morning's walk, and it would probably be impossible to travel fifty miles along any road in Italy without meeting greater differences in language than can be found in our English anywhere between Maine and California. The schools, the army, and the navy are now carrying the Italian language to the remotest province, but an ignorant Valtellinese, from the mountains of the north, and an ignorant Neapolitan have as yet no means of understanding each other; and, what is more remarkable, the speech of the unschooled peasant of Genoa is unintelligible to his fellow of Piedmont, who lives less than one hundred miles away. A Genoese ship's captain can understand his Sicilian sailors, when they are talking familiarly among themselves, about as well as an English commander of a "Peninsular and Oriental" liner can follow the jabbering of his *Lascar* crew. Nor can ignorant men from some of the provinces understand the pure Italian. Two classes were recently held in the Episcopal Church of San Salvatore, in Broome Street, New York, to teach Sicilians enough Italian to enable them to use their prayer-book.

The age-long political division of Italy into a number of petty States preserved all differences and inspired an intense local patriotism; nor did the narrow belfry spirit wholly vanish with the political union of 1870. Relics of it are still found. Ask a Roman peasant if he is an Italian, and he is as likely as not to say "No," that he is a Roman; and so with a Genoese or a Neapolitan. In dislike or indifference toward those from other parts of the country, the Italian abroad usually seeks those of his own city or province. In the same way, little circles of friends are formed in the Italian army and navy. Question a group of sailors on shore leave from an Italian man-of-war, and you will probably find that, with perhaps a single exception, they are all of one place. Ask them how this happens, and they may tell you, as they have told me, laughing: "Friendship is for those from the same *fatherland*."

These profound dissimilarities make sweeping generalities about Italians impossible. Yet in one point every province is alike. The poor everywhere are all crushed by heavy taxes for maintenance of the large army and navy which make Italy a first-class European power. More serious than the exactions of the taxgatherer is the long-continued agricultural depression that has reduced a large part of the south to poverty. Nor is this all. The peasant's lot is made infinitely worse by an Irish question that is the blight of nearly all southern Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia. There are the same huge entailed estates and the same lazy, reactionary, and absentee landlords. Throughout large sections great tracts of fertile soil support only one shepherd or one farmer per square mile. To these idle lands must be added the vast stretches of barren mountains, and the malaria-infested fifth of the entire surface of the peninsula. No new territory has been added to the kingdom, while the population has been increasing within twenty years from twenty-eight and one half to thirty-two and one half millions — an average density for the whole country of 301 per square mile. And the excess of births over deaths amounts to nearly 350,000 a year — the population of a province. Through whole districts in this overcrowded land Italians have to choose between emigration and starvation.

A definite economic cause drives the poor *Meridionale* from his home, and a definite economic cause and not a vague migratory

instinct brings him to America. He comes because the country has the most urgent need of unskilled labor. This need largely shapes the character of our Italian immigration, and offers immediate work to most of the newcomers. Almost eighty per cent of them are males; over eighty per cent are between the ages of fourteen and forty-five; over eighty per cent are from the southern provinces, and nearly the same percentage are unskilled laborers, who include a large majority of the illiterates. These categories overlap, so that the bulk of our Italian immigration is composed of ignorant, able-bodied laborers from the south. They come by the hundred thousand, yet their great numbers are quickly absorbed without disturbing either the public peace or the labor market. In spite of the enormous immigration of Italians in 1903 and 1904, the last issue of the United States Labor Bulletin shows that the average daily wage of the laborer in the North Atlantic States — the "congested" district at the very gates of Ellis Island — had increased within the year from \$1.33 to \$1.39. And 1904 was not a particularly prosperous year. Equally significant, in view of the unprecedented Italian immigration of the first six months of this year, is the announcement in the last number of the Bulletin of the New York State Department of Labor that the improvement in the conditions of employment has been so marked, and "the proportion of idle wage-earners has diminished so rapidly, that the second quarter of 1905 surpasses that of 1902, the record year."

The demand of the East for labor is first heard by the new arrival who needs to look for work, and probably a majority of Italian *braccianti* never go more than a hundred and fifty miles away from New York. Immediate work and high wages, and not a love for the tenement, create our "Little Italies." The great enterprises in progress in and about the city, the subways, tunnels, waterworks, railroad construction, as well as the ordinary building operations, call for a vast army of laborers. For new and remodeled tenements alone, authorized by the Building Department between April and June, 1905, the estimated cost was over \$39,000,000. This gives one measure of the demand. A labor leader has furnished another. At a recent conference, arguing that restriction of immigration would benefit

American labor, he said that an authority in the building trade had calculated that with immigration suspended, common labor in New York would be receiving \$3 within a year. He had not calculated the paralysis that such a wage would inflict upon industry.

Of all that come in response to our national invitation to the worker, the educated Italian without a manual trade is the Italian who most signally fails in America. He is seen idling at the cheap restaurants everywhere in the Italian colonies. But the illiterate laborer takes no chances. He usually has definite knowledge of precisely where work is needed before he leaves home. Fifteen thousand immigrants sometimes reach Ellis Island in a single day. Yet each Italian must earn his living in some way, and that at once, for he brings no more than eight or ten dollars with him.

This same inborn conservatism that risks nothing makes of southern Italians the most mobile supply of labor that this country has ever known. Migratory laborers, who come here to work during eight or nine months of the year, and return between October and December, are a very large part of the annual immigration. They form a stream of workers that ebbs and flows from Italy to America in instant response to demand; and yet the significance of the movement has gone almost entirely unnoticed. More than 98,000 Italians — laborers and others, but chiefly laborers — went back to Italy in 1903. In 1904, owing to a temporary lull in our prosperity and the general business uncertainty during a Presidential campaign, the demand slackened. The common laborer, who ordinarily pays a *padrone* fifty cents as a fee for employment, was offering as high as five dollars for a job in the summer of 1904. In the end, more than 134,000 Italians returned to Italy within the year, and we were saved the problem of an army of unemployed.

If the ignorant immigrant is a menace, the mobility of Italian unskilled labor has conferred another blessing upon us, for it is the very element that contains a large majority of the dreaded illiterates. The whole number of them who enter the community thus gives no indication of the number who are permanently added to our population, and the yearly percentage of their arrivals since 1901 has fallen from 59.1 per cent to 47 per cent,

and is likely to fall still lower. But there is something to be said on behalf of the illiterates who remain among us. They are never Anarchists; they are guiltless of the so-called "black hand" letters. The individual *bracciante* is, in fact, rarely anything but a gentle and often a rather dull drudge, who still has wit enough to say that he knows he cannot be Cæsar, and is very well content to be plain Neapolitan Nicola. Knowledge is power, but an education gives no certificate of character, and still less does ability to read and write afford any test whatever either of morals or of brains. A concrete instance gives a practical proof. There are more than four times as many illiterates in the general population of the United States as were found, according to the last published report, among those arrested in Greater New York between January 1 and March 31, 1905: 44,014 persons were arrested; of these, only 1175, or a little over 2.6 per cent, were unable to read or write. The percentage of illiteracy for the entire United States is 10.6 per cent, and for that of the native whites alone 4.6 per cent.

The very success of American schools goes far in explaining the mystery of our exorbitant demand for unskilled labor. In proportion as they fulfill their mission they are depriving us of the rough laborer. The boy who is forbidden by the New York law to leave school until he is fourteen years old and has reached the fifth grammar grade, later in life does not join a gang that digs sewers and subways. Such laborers are recruited from the illiterate, or nearly illiterate — those who have failed in the beginning of the struggle in which brains count. For our future supply of the lower grades of labor we must depend more and more upon countries with a poorer school system than ours.

Lies have short legs, the Florentine tag has it, but the Italian is still accused of being a degenerate, a lazy fellow and a pauper, half a criminal, a present danger, and a serious menace to our civilization. If there is a substantial basis of truth in these charges, it must appear very clearly in Greater New York, which is now disputing Rome's place as the third largest Italian city in the world. Moreover, New York contains nearly two fifths of all the Italians in the United States, and in proportion to its size it is the least prosperous Italian colony in the country, and shelters a considerable part of our immigrant

failures — those who cannot fall into step with the march of American life.

First, as to the paupers. The Italian inhabitants of New York City number nearly 450,000; the Irish, somewhat over 300,000. In males — the criminal sex — the Italians outnumber the Irish about two to one. Yet by a visit to the great almshouse on Blackwell's Island and an examination of the unpublished record for 1904, I found that during that year 1564 Irish had been admitted, and only 16 Italians. Mr. James Forbes, the chief of the Mendicancy Department of the Charity Organization Society, tells me that he has never seen or heard of an Italian tramp. As for begging, between July 1, 1904, and September 30, 1905, the Mendicancy Police took into custody 519 Irish and only 92 Italians. Pauperism has a close relation with suicide, and of such deaths during the year the record counts 89 Irish and 23 Italians. The Irish have always supplied much more than their share of our paupers; but Irish brawn has contributed its full part to the prosperity of the country; and the comparatively large proportion of Irish inmates in all our penal institutions never justified the charge that the Irish are a criminal race, or Irish immigration undesirable. That was the final answer to the Know-Nothing argument!

Nor do court records show that Italians are the professional criminals they are said to be. Take the city magistrates' reports for the year ending December 31, 1901 — the latest date for which all the necessary data are available. At that time, using Dr. Laidlaw's estimate of additions by immigration to the population of the city to May 1, 1902, there were about 282,804 Irish and 200,549 Italians in Greater New York. If the proportion of the sexes remained unchanged from the taking of the census, there were 117,599 Irish males, and 114,673 Italian. This near equality of the criminal sex in the two nationalities makes possible a rough measure of Italian criminality.

In these columns of crime the most striking fact in the Italian's favor is a remarkable showing of sobriety. During the year, 7281 Irish were haled into court accused of "intoxication" and "intoxication and disorderly conduct," while the Italians arrested on the same charge numbered only 513. With the exception of the Russian Jews, Italians are by far the most sober of all

nationalities in New York, including the native born. Next, noticing only offenses committed with particular frequency, the Italians again appear at a pronounced advantage in: Assaults (misdemeanor), 284 Irish and 139 Italians; disorderly conduct, 3278 Irish and 1454 Italians; larceny (misdemeanor), 297 Irish and 174 Italians; vagrancy, 1031 Irish and 80 Italians. Insanity is here listed with crime, and there are 146 Irish commitments to 35 Italian. Irish and Italians are nearly at an equality in: Burglaries, 63 Irish and 57 Italians; and larceny (felony), 122 Irish and 94 Italians. On the other hand, Italians show at the worst in: Violation of corporation ordinance (chiefly peddling without a license), 196 Irish and 1169 Italians; and assault (felony), 75 Irish and 155 Italians. In homicides, quite contrary to the popular impression, the Italians are only charged with the ratio exactly normal to their numbers after taking the average per 100,000 for the whole city, while the Irish are accused of nearly two and one half times their quota: Irish 50, Italians 14. The report for 1903, the last published, after important changes effected by almost two years of immigration, shows an unchanged proportional variation: Irish 59, Italians 21.

The one serious crime to which Italians are prone more than other men is an unpremeditated crime of violence. This is mostly charged, and probably with entire justice, upon the men of four provinces, and Girgenti in Sicily is particularly specified. It is generally the outcome of quarrels among themselves, prompted by jealousy and suspected treachery. The Sicilians' code of honor is an antiquated and repellent one, but even his vendetta is less ruthless than the Kentucky mountaineer's. It stops at the grave. Judged in the mass, Italians are peaceable, as they are law-abiding. The exceptions make up the national criminal record; and as there is a French or English type of criminal, so there is a Sicilian type, who has succeeded in impressing our imaginations with some fear and terror.

The Mafia is the expression of Sicilian criminality, and here, as in Italy, the methods of the Sicilian criminal are the same. For some of his crimes he is more apt to have an accomplice than most other criminals. But there is no sufficient reason for believing that a Mafia, organized as it often is in Italy, a definite society of the lawless, exists anywhere in this country. No one

who knows the different Italian colonies well will admit the possibility of its existence. The authorities at police headquarters scout the idea. As with the Mafia, so with the Black Hand. I went to Sergeant Petrosino, who is said to know every important Italian criminal in New York. He disposed very summarily of the bogey :

As far as they can be traced, threatening letters are generally a hoax ; some of them are attempts at blackmail by inexperienced criminals, who have had the idea suggested to them by reading about the Black Hand in the sensational papers ; but the number of threatening letters sent with the deliberate intention of using violence as a last resort to extort money is ridiculously small.

It is important that two or three other truths about the Italian should be known. Like all their immigrant predecessors, Italians profess no special cult of soap and water ; and here, too, there are differences, for some Italians are cleaner than others. Still, cleanliness is the rule and dirt the exception. The inspectors of the New York Tenement-House Department report that the tenements in the Italian quarters are in the best condition of all, and that they are infinitely cleaner than those in the Jewish and Irish districts. And the same with overcrowding. One of New York's typical "Little Italies" is inhabited by 1075 Italian families — so poor that only twenty-six of them pay over \$19 monthly rent — and yet, when a complete canvass was made by the Federation of Churches, the average allotment of space was found to be one room to 1.7 persons. Like the Germans and Irish of the fifties, our Italians are largely poor, ignorant peasants when they come to us. But by the enforcement of the recent law our present immigrants are greatly superior physically and morally to those of the Know-Nothing days. The difference in criminal records is partly the proof of a better law. The worst of the newer tenements are better than the best of the old kind, and every surrounding is more sanitary. Better schools, recreation piers, public baths, playgrounds, and new parks are helping the Italian children of the tenements to develop into healthy and useful men and women.

To understand our Italians we need to get close enough to them to see that they are of the same human *pasta* — to use their word

— as the rest of us. They need no defense but the truth. In spite of the diverse character that all the provinces stamp upon their children, our southern Italian immigrants still have many qualities in common. Their peculiar defects and vices have been exaggerated until the popular notion of the Italian represents the truth in about the same way that the London stage Yankee hits off the average American. Besides, as the Italian Poor Richard says, "It's a bad wool that can't be dyed," and our Italians have their virtues, too, which should be better known. Many of them are, it is true, ignorant, and clannish, and conservative. Their humility and lack of self-reliance are often discouraging. Many think that a smooth and diplomatic falsehood is better than an uncivil truth, and, by a paradox, a liar is not necessarily either a physical or a moral coward. No force can make them give evidence against one another. Generally they have little orderliness, small civic sense, and no instinctive faith in the law. Some of them are hot-blooded and quick to avenge an injury, but the very large majority are gentle, kindly, and as mild-tempered as oxen. They are docile, patient, faithful. They have great physical vigor, and are the hardest and best laborers we have ever had, if we are to believe the universal testimony of their employers. Many are well-mannered and quick-witted; all are severely logical. As a class they are emotional, imaginative, fond of music and art. They are honest, saving, industrious, temperate, and so exceptionally moral that two years ago the Secretary of the Italian Chamber of Commerce in San Francisco was able to boast that the police of that city had never yet found an Italian woman of evil character. Even in New York (and I have my information from Mr. Forbes, of the Charity Organization Society) Italian prostitution was entirely unknown until by our corrupt police it was colonized as scientifically as a culture of bacteria made by a biologist; and to-day it is less proportionately than that of any other nationality within the limits of the greater city. More than 750,000 Italian immigrants have come to us within the last four years, and during that entire time only a single woman of them has been ordered deported charged with prostitution.

So far from being a scum of Italy's paupers and criminals, our Italian immigrants are the very flower of her peasantry. They

bring healthy bodies and a prodigious will to work. They have an intense love for their fatherland, and a fondness for old customs: and both are deepened by the hostility they meet and the gloom of the tenements that they are forced to inhabit. The sunshine, the simplicity, the happiness of the old outdoor ways are gone, and often you will hear the words, "Non c'è piacere nella vita" — there is no pleasure in life here. But yet they come, driven from the land of starvation to a land of plenty. Each year about one third of the great host of industrial recruits from Italy, breaking up as it lands into little groups of twos and threes, and invading the tenements almost unnoticed, settles in the different colonies of New York. This is a mighty, silent influence for the preservation of the Italian spirit and tradition.

But there are limits to the building of an Italian city on American soil. New York tenement houses are not adapted to life as it is organized in the hill villages of Italy, and a change has come over every relation of life. The crowded living is strange and depressing; instead of work accompanied by song in orangeries and vineyards, there is silent toil in the cañons of a city street; instead of the splendid and expostulating *carabiniere* there is the rough force of the New York policeman to represent authority. There is the diminished importance of the church, and, in spite of their set ways, there is different eating and drinking, sleeping and waking. A different life breeds different habits, and different habits with American surroundings effect a radical change in the man. It is difficult for the American to realize this. He sees that the signs and posters of the colony are all in Italian; he hears the newsboys cry "Progresso," "Araldo," "Bollettino"; he hears peddlers shout out in their various dialects the names of strange-looking vegetables and fish. The whole district seems so Italianized and cut off from the general American life that it might as well be one of the ancient walled towns of the Apennines. He thinks that he is transported to Italy, and moralizes over the "unchanging colony." But the greenhorn from Fiumefreddo is in another world. Everything is strange to him; and I have repeatedly heard Italians say that for a long time after landing they could not distinguish between an Italian who had been here four or five years and a native American.

Refractory though the grown-up immigrant may often be to the spirit of our Republic, the children almost immediately become Americans. The boy takes no interest in "Mora," a guessing match played with the fingers, or "Boccie," a kind of bowls — his father's favorite games. Like any other American boy, he plays marbles, "I spy the wolf," and, when there is no policeman about, baseball. Little girls skip the rope to the calling of "Pepper, salt, mustard, vinegar." The "Lunga Tela" is forgotten, and our equivalent, "London bridge is falling down," and "All around the mulberry-bush," sound through the streets of the colony on summer evenings. You are struck with the deep significance of such a sight if you walk on Mott Street, where certainly more than half of the men and women who crowd every block can speak no English at all, and see, as I have seen, a full dozen of small girls, not more than five or six years old, marching along, hand in hand, singing their kindergarten song, "My little sister lost her shoe." Through these children the common school is leavening the whole mass, and an old story is being retold.

Like the Italians, the Irish and the Germans had to meet distrust and abuse when they came to do the work of the rough day-laborer. The terrors and excesses of Native Americanism and Know-Nothingism came and went, but the prejudice remained. Yet the Irish and Germans furnished good raw material for citizenship, and quickly responded to American influences. They dug cellars and carried bricks and mortar; they sewered, graded, and paved the streets and built the railroads. Then slowly the number of skilled mechanics among them increased. Many acquired a competence and took a position of some dignity in the community, and Irish and Germans moved up a little in the social scale. They were held in greater respect when, in the dark days of the Civil War, we saw that they yielded to none in self-sacrificing devotion to the country. Thousands of Germans fought for the Union besides those who served under Sigel. Thousands of Irishmen died for the cause besides those of the "Old Sixty-ninth." "Dutch" and "Mick" began to go out of fashion as nicknames, and the seventies had not passed before it was often said among the common people that mixed marriages between Germans or Irish and natives were usually happy marriages.

From the very bottom, Italians are climbing up the same rungs of the same social and industrial ladder. But it is still a secret that they are being gradually turned into Americans; and, for all its evils, the city colony is a wonderful help in the process. The close contact of American surroundings eventually destroys the foreign life and spirit, and of this New York gives proof. Only two poor fragments remain of the numerous important German and Irish colonies that were flourishing in the city twenty-five or thirty years ago; while the ancient settled Pennsylvania Dutch, thanks to their isolation, are not yet fully merged in the great citizen body. And so, in the city colony, Italians are becoming Americans. Legions of them, who never intended to remain here when they landed, have cast in their lot definitely with us; and those who have already become Americanized, but no others, are beginning to intermarry with our people. The mass of them are still laborers, toiling like ants in adding to the wealth of the country; but thousands are succeeding in many branches of trade and manufacture. The names of Italians engaged in business in the United States fill a special directory of over five hundred pages. Their real estate holdings and bank deposits aggregate enormous totals. Their second generation is already crowding into all the professions, and we have Italian teachers, dentists, architects, engineers, doctors, lawyers, and judges.

But more important than any material success is their loyalty to the nation of their adoption. Yet with this goes an undying love for their native land. There are many types of these new citizens. I have in mind an Italian banker who will serve for one. His Americanism is enthusiastic and breezily Western. He has paid many visits to the land of his birth, and delights in its music, art, and literature. He finds an almost sacred inspiration in the glories of its history. Beginning in extreme poverty, by his own unaided efforts he has secured education and wealth; by his services to the city and State in which he lives he has won public esteem. Perhaps no other Italian has achieved so brilliant a success. But as a citizen he is no more typical or hopeful an example of the Italian who becomes an American than Giovanni Aloï, a street-sweeper of my acquaintance.

This honest *spazzino* of the white uniform sent a son to Cuba in the Spanish War; boasts that he has not missed a vote in

fifteen years ; in his humble way did valiant service in his political club against the "boss" of New York during the last campaign. And yet he declares that we have no meats or vegetables with "the flavor or substance" of those in the old country ; reproaches us severely for having "no place which is such a pleasure to see as Naples," and swears by "Torqua-ato Ta-ass" as the greatest of poets, though he only knows four lines of the *Gerusalemme*. Side by side over the fireplace in his living room are two unframed pictures tacked to the wall. Little paper flags of the two countries are crossed over each. One is a chromo of Garibaldi in his red shirt. The other is a newspaper supplement portrait of Lincoln.

A man like Giovanni Aloï, yearning for the home of his youth, sometimes goes back to Italy, but he soon returns. Unconsciously, in his very inmost being, he has become an American, and the prophecy of Bayard Taylor's great ode is fulfilled. Their tongue melts in ours. Their race unites to the strength of ours. For many thousands of them their Italy now lies by the western brine.

THE NEWER SLAVIC IMMIGRATION: SINCE 1880

EMILY GREENE BALCH

CHANGES IN COMPOSITION OF SLAVIC IMMIGRATION

WITH the coming of the eighties the original contingent of Bohemians and Poles began to be overlaid by a much larger volume of newcomers differing in various important respects from the old. In the first place, the later Slavic immigrants were largely of nationalities previously little represented in America. Since up to 1899 the American immigration data are classified only by "country of last permanent residence" and not by nationality, it is not possible to get any precise measure of this change in the make-up of the Slavic stream.

Neither can the beginning of the movement to America among the newer immigrant nationalities — Slovaks and Ruthenians, Slovenians and Croatians, Bulgarians, Serbians and Russians — be dated in any hard and fast way.¹ Apparently, as already said, the impulse spread from the Poles in Germany eastward to their brothers in Galicia in the latter part of the seventies, and to the Poles in Russia somewhat later. The Slovaks began to come in considerable numbers in the early eighties, and the Ruthenians at about the same time.

These three nationalities converge in the eastern Carpathian district, and more or less interpenetrate one another; and emigration to America having once started, it was natural that so contagious a movement should spread through the whole Carpathian group. Moreover, among all these peoples trade is largely in the hands of the Jews, who are apt to have international affiliations, and it seems often to have happened that

¹ Discussion of the origin and spread of the emigration movement among the first four of these nationalities will be found in the appropriate chapters in Part I, of "Our Slavic Fellow-Citizens" but for convenience it is resumed here as a whole.

some enterprising Jew first among his fellow townspeople became aware of the land of promise across the Atlantic, explored and reported on it, and thus set the stream of immigration flowing.

The South Slavs began to come to America somewhat later. Though individual Slovenians came very early, as already mentioned, it was not till about 1892 that the movement became noticeably important among them. In the Croatian group, the Dalmatians, sailors and wanderers, had sent now and then an immigrant from very early times; but it was not till toward the middle of the nineties that Croatians, and especially Croatians from the country back of the coast, began coming in numbers. Serbians and Bulgarians are still more recent comers, numerous only since 1902 or so, but growing rapidly. As to Russians, of 66,000 in the last eleven years (1899 to 1909 inclusive), over nine tenths came after 1902 and over two thirds in the last three years.

CAUSES AND INDUSTRIAL CHARACTER

The grounds of the earlier immigration may be said to have been, roughly, the opportunity of acquiring farming land cheaply, if not gratuitously, and in a less degree the desire for the greater political and religious freedom promised by America. In the course of time both these grounds lost their importance. As the supply of desirable land to be had on easy terms diminished, this incentive to immigration grew weaker, and lessening political unrest in Western Europe allayed the other. On the other hand, the great industrial development of the United States, following after the Civil War, and especially after the hard times in the seventies, meant a great increase in the demand for labor. The Teutonic element of the older immigration, to which the Bohemian was very similar, was not looking primarily for wage jobs, but for independence, especially the independence of the farm owner. The same was largely true of the British immigrants, English, Welsh, and Scotch. Besides, neither belonged, in any sense, to the class of cheap labor. The Irish alone were not enough to supply the demand for "hands," and French-Canadians, while an important element in New England, have not been numerous elsewhere. Italians and Slavs, proving most available, were consequently called in to meet the want.

These newer groups of Slavic immigrants were mainly drawn from more primitive districts than the earlier groups, districts where the population was less in touch with Western Europe. They generally came, not intending to take up farms and settle, but hoping to earn money to send back to their homes, to which they planned to return. To this end they sought the best-paid work that they could find in mines, foundries, factories, and elsewhere. A large proportion of both the old and the new comers were peasants, that is, small independent farmers; but among the new, the proportion of men possessing trades was less, and mere laborers were more numerous.

IMMIGRATION INDUCED BY EMPLOYERS

Historically, the American origin of the more recent immigration, so far as such a movement can have a specific origin, seems to have been the desire of certain Pennsylvania anthracite mine owners to replace the employes that they found hard to deal with, and especially the Irish, with cheaper and more docile material. Strikes were a frequent source of friction, the Molly Maguire affair had caused great bitterness, and it was natural that employers should be on the lookout for new sources of labor supply. In a number of places these raw recruits of industry seem to have been called in as the result of a strike, and there probably were plenty of instances of sending agents abroad to hire men or of otherwise inducing labor to immigrate either under contract or with an equivalent understanding. These proceedings were, of course, perfectly legal up to 1885, when the law forbidding the importation of labor under contract was passed.

One story is that the first comers were brought over for a certain mine operator at Drifton, Pennsylvania, through an "Austrian" foreman. I have never been able to verify the story nor to date it. I was interested to run across a Slovak hatter in Bartfield, Hungary, who emigrated about 1880, and told of having gone "to Drifton, where there was an Austrian foreman," who, however, does not appear to have had anything to do with his emigrating.¹

¹ Industrial Commission, Vol. XV (1901), page 32.

Mr. Powderly, formerly Commissioner of Immigration, testified before the Industrial Commission :

I believe in 1869, during a miners' strike which was then in progress, a man who was connected with one of the coal companies made the statement that in order to defeat the men in their demands it would be necessary to bring cheap labor from Europe, and shortly after that, miners were noticed coming to the anthracite region in large numbers from Italy, Hungary, Russia, and other far-off lands.

It will be seen that Mr. Powderly mentions a comparatively early date at which the importation of workmen under contract was in no way forbidden. But even then such a course, while legal, would have been unpopular among workingmen, and probably always more or less *sub rosa*. This may be one reason why it is very hard to get any definite information about these matters ; but indeed, on both sides of the water, the doings of less than a generation ago are surprisingly hard to ascertain.

INFLUX INTO THE ANTHRACITE FIELDS

In Pennsylvania the great early goal appears to have been, as already indicated, the anthracite coal region of the eastern part of the state. The Poles seem to have been the first to come, and right on their heels came the Slovaks. An informant from Hazleton, a district where they appeared quite early, gave me, in 1904, the following account of their first arrival :

They began to come about twenty years ago ; a few stray ones came earlier. Nowadays not so many are coming, but at one time they came in batches, shipped by the carload to the coal fields. When they arrived they seemed perfectly aimless. It was hard for them to make themselves understood, and they would be sent to a man who kept a saloon on Wyoming street. They would land at the depot, and at the beginning they would spend the first night on the platform. I have quartered many in my stable on the hay. One pulled out a prayer-book and read a prayer. They were mainly Catholics, but some were Protestants, though we did not know that till later. Sometimes they would go up into the brush and build a fire and sleep, or if it was too cold, just sit there on the ground. As soon as they had earned something, or if they had a little money, they would go to the baker's or get meat of any cheap sort, regardless of

its condition. Many were so poor that they came in old army suits,¹ their belongings all in one big bundle. At first it was only men that came.

MASSACHUSETTS FARMERS CALL IN POLES

An interesting account of the coming of the first Poles to the Connecticut valley farms of Massachusetts tells how here, as in Pennsylvania, the influx was in direct response to a demand on the part of employers :²

It was about twenty years ago that the Poles were first brought to the Connecticut Valley. In the particular section under consideration, the farmers could not hire men and boys to work on their farms, or girls and women to assist in the household work. The demand was pressing. Charles Parsons of Northampton, who has since died, then a pushing, aggressive farmer, conceived the idea of going to New York and Castle Garden and there securing enough of the strong and sturdy immigrants to meet the demand for farm and domestic labor.

The business grew rapidly. Mr. Parsons made weekly trips. Agents at New York told the incoming immigrants as pleasing stories as was necessary to make the Pole see the Connecticut Valley farms as the promised land. Being new and green to America, the Pole at first paid the highest price, and was given the small end of the bargain. The agent in New York had to have a fee for his trouble. Mr. Parsons had to advance the money to bring the Pole to the farm, and, of course, he had to have a profit also. This meant, as a rule, that the immigrant was practically mortgaged for \$10 when he commenced work. It was, of course, to be taken out of the wages to be paid him for his labor. The contract was not particularly bad for either the farmer or laborer. The men came first, and were followed by women and children. How many Mr. Parsons took from New York cannot be stated. The number must have been in the thousands.

Next Francis Clapp of South Deerfield took up the business. Mr. Clapp is one of the substantial farmers of the Mill River district in South Deerfield. He tells his story in this way :

I began with the Poles in 1889. I continued it for six years and then it was no longer profitable. The Poles had learned by this time to

¹ Some of the peasant costumes might easily be mistaken for some sort of uniform.

² *Boston Daily Globe*, June 29, 1902.

find their own places. In many cases their relatives, who had been working in this country for several years, sent for their friends. They secured places for them. During the six years I secured places for more than three thousand. I sent them to places in each of the six New England states, men and women, boys and girls. I treated them well. I found many of them suspicious, but they were "square" as a rule. The yarns told them by some of the New York agents and by others who desired to make money out of them, at times caused trouble. One day I brought eighteen to South Deerfield. The New York agent had told them that they had friends in the vicinity. Of course I knew nothing of this. I did not have an interpreter, and we could not talk. They realized they had been deceived, and they determined to go back to New York. I succeeded in keeping only three. The other fifteen walked back to New York. They were entirely without money. They were frightened, and went in a drove.

I had a license from the town to transact the business. I secured a girl as an interpreter who spoke seven different dialects. She could also do as much work in the house as any girl we ever had. She went back to New York after a time, married, and went to work in a cigar factory. While they were waiting for places if such happened to be the case or for other reasons they were quartered at my farm.

They seem, when they first come, to be entirely without nerves. They sleep well under all conditions. Their appetites are enormous. Of course they are given only coarse food. I have known the men to eat from ten to fifteen potatoes at a meal, together with meat and bread. They are very rarely sick.

They make good citizens. Almost without exception they are Roman Catholics, and faithful to their obligations. They are willing to pay the price to succeed. That price is to work hard and save. They do not keep their money about them. They place it in the savings banks. When I first went to New York to get them it cost the farmer nothing. The Pole had to pay the fee for the New York agent, the money which I advanced to pay his fare, and other expenses, and the profit I made. Then, as they grew to know the custom better, the Pole paid half and the farmer half. Now the farmer has to pay the whole when the men come from a distance.

As a rule, the men are hired for a season of eight months, the time of outdoor work on the farms. At first the contracts, on an average, were about \$80 for the eight months. The Poles were given little money, only as they needed it. They had to work off the mortgage of \$10 which they had contracted. They really needed little money. They were fed and lodged, and, as a rule, they had sufficient

clothing, for they had little occasion to dress finely. There was a chance, too, that if they had money they might leave the former without help, and so the settlement came at the end of the contract period.

Roman Skibisky is a young Pole who is quite a daring speculator as well as farmer. He lives in what was formerly one of the fine old mansions on the broad main street of Sunderland. For several years he has been plunging more or less in onions. Last fall he made his heaviest strike. All told, he purchased about 6500 bushels of onions. They cost him on an average less than forty cents a bushel. He kept them until this spring and sold them at an average of \$1.10 a bushel.

Taking out the cost of cold storage and insurance he netted more than \$4000 on an investment of about \$2600. At one time he could have sold his entire holdings at \$1.25 a bushel. His success has not given him a big head. He works barefooted in the field this season just as though he had not made a rich strike. When Mrs. Skibisky was asked what she likes in this country she replied, "Me happy here." They have three children.

"FIRST COMERS"

Just as in emigration districts in Europe one hears of more than one "first man to go to America," so on this side there doubtless have been many "first comers." Sporadic and experimental trials of the land of the dollar, both induced and spontaneous, have opened new fields to immigrants. As a spider throws his first thin thread across, and, his anchorage secured, gradually thickens and confirms it, so each immigrant who gets an economic foothold strengthens the bridge between the countries and draws others over. Thus among the Slavs the streams of immigration, once set flowing, have made paths for themselves, and constantly increased in volume. As one labor market becomes supplied, new openings are sought and found.

DISTRIBUTION DETERMINED BY DEMAND FOR LABOR

The character of the later Slavic influx naturally produced a territorial distribution quite different from that of the older movement. The new immigrants, guided in the main by the chances of good wages rather than of cheap land, rapidly found their way to the points where there was a demand for their undaunted though unskilled labor. Once within the country, no

contract labor law impeded the employers' agents, and men were drafted off to different places according as hands were needed in mine, coke oven, rolling mill, lumber camp, or, less typically, factory. Consequently, while the immigrants of the preceding period had mainly gone to the farming country lying north and west of Chicago, these later comers, answering primarily the call for labor in mines and related industries, found their center of gravity in Pennsylvania, and spread thence through the industrial districts, especially the industrial districts of the middle West, and above all to the various mining and metal-working centers throughout the country.

FARMING

But though during this period agricultural settlement¹ has been overshadowed, it has by no means been lacking, especially among the Bohemians and the Poles. It has taken place mainly in the group of states west of the Great Lakes; but in the Connecticut Valley, and elsewhere in the East, the number of "Polanders" who have bought land is also considerable. I have been surprised to see in a Bohemian paper in New York the space devoted to advertisement of Connecticut and other farms.

CITY COLONIES

This period has also seen the formation of large urban colonies of different nationalities, in various cities large and small, colonies which often have very curious and interesting distinctive features.² Such a movement as this later Slavic immigration is,

¹ Cf. Chapter XV of "Our Slavic Fellow-Citizens" for a discussion of this phase of settlement.

² Cf., for the Bohemians of Chicago, Mrs. Humpal-Zeman's account in "Hull House Maps and Papers," and Dr. Alice Masaryk's article, "The Bohemians in Chicago," in *Charities*, Vol. XIII, pages 206-210 (December 3, 1904). On Bohemians in New York see Dr. Jane E. Robbins, "The Bohemian Women in New York," *ibid*, pages 194-196. In the same issue of *Charities* Miss Laura B. Garret has "Notes on the Poles in Baltimore," and Miss Sayles an article on "Housing and Social Conditions in a Slavic Neighborhood," which deals with Jersey City. Another study of conditions among the Slavs of Jersey City by Miss E. T. White has been published by Whittier House. Of these various accounts those by the two Bohemian women first mentioned are much the most valuable to those who are seeking true understanding of the life of such a group as is there studied.

however, hard to deal with historically. It has little coherent history, and what it has is still too much in the making to be easily studied or presented. . . .

NUMERICAL INCREASE CENSUS DATA

NATIVES OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, BOHEMIA, POLAND, AND RUSSIA, 1880, 1890, AND 1900. [UNITED STATES CENSUS]

NATIVES OF	1880	1890	1900
Austria	38,663	123,271	275,907
Bohemia	85,361	118,106	156,891
Hungary	11,526	62,435	145,714
Poland	48,557	147,440	383,407
Russia	35,722	182,644	423,726
Total	219,829	633,896	1,385,645
Total per cent of foreign born	3.2	6.8	13.4

The period since 1880 has seen not only changes in the racial and economic character of the Slavs coming to the United States but a vast increase in their numbers. A rough indication of this is the large share of the foreign-born population that comes to be made up of natives of Austria-Hungary (including Bohemia), Poland, and Russia. As shown in the Table above, in 1880 they were 3.2 per cent of the total foreign-born; in 1890, 6.8 per cent; in 1900, 13.4 per cent. In absolute numbers they increased in the twenty years over sixfold, from something over 200,000 to nearly 1,400,000.

If we consider, not population as shown by the census, but the count of arriving immigrants, the increase is even more striking. In the last decade of our previous period, 1871-1880, Austria-Hungary and Russia¹ sent us 4.5 per cent of all immigrants; in the decade 1900-1909 they sent almost 43 per cent.

¹ Austria-Hungary presumably includes Bohemia and Austrian Poland (Galicia); Russia includes Russian Poland. That is, all Poland except German Poland is included. It must of course be remembered that these groups of immigrants are very mixed racially.

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

Up to 1899 the best material that we have consists of the figures, supplied by the immigration authorities, as to the countries from which immigration is drawn. After that year the immigration figures are also classified according to "races and peoples"¹ and these not only give us direct information, but throw light on the racial significance of the figures for the different geographical contingents, which are all that we have to go by for the years before 1899. We find that during the decade 1899-1908, the immigration from Austria-Hungary was six tenths Slavic. Since there is no reason to think that this proportion would be less in earlier years, and since for the same decade 69 per cent of all Slavic immigrants came to us from Austria-Hungary (and for earlier periods this proportion would doubtless be still larger), the Austro-Hungarian contribution to our immigration may be taken as a rough index of the incoming Slavs. . . .

The year 1880, which we have taken as our landmark, shows a sudden rise, the numbers of that year being almost three times those of the preceding. From this time onward there is an increase, which is, however, sharply checked in 1893 by the depression then beginning. It was not till 1900 that the numbers reacted from this to their level of 1892. The culminating point up to date was reached in 1907, after which the recent panic again lessened the influx, and started a new period of decline, though a brief one, since the figures for 1909 indicated a recovery from 168,509 to 170,191.²

CLASSIFICATION BY "RACES AND PEOPLE"

The change spoken of above by which the immigration data are presented by racial and national groups instead of by country of last permanent residence only, is a great boon to the student of this subject. The classification was made by one of our best

¹ For a criticism of this classification, see below, "Our Slavic Fellow-Citizens," page 247.

² The years are not calendar but fiscal years ending June 30, so that *e.g.* 1907 means July 1, 1906, to June 30, 1907.

known ethnologists, the late Professor Otis T. Mason, but it is probably impossible to make one that shall be at once practical and quite logical. This one is open to several minor objections. Distinct nationalities like Croatians and Slovenians, Bulgarians and Serbians, are lumped together, and at the same time special place is given to a group which is merely a territorial division; namely, Dalmatians, Bosnians, and Herzegovinians (who are Servo-Croatians).

It is hard, however, to explain or excuse the practice of the immigration authorities of including Hebrews in the Slavic group, as was done, for instance, on page 21 of the 1906 report of the Commissioner General of Immigration. In the same report the Lithuanians and Rumanians are also included as Slavic, but this is less objectionable as these peoples, although they never count themselves as Slavs nor are so counted by others, and although they speak non-Slavic languages, probably have much Slavic intermixture, and considerably resemble, in culture and habits, the neighboring Slavic peoples. The same might be said of the Magyars, despite their Mongolian type of speech.

The Jew, on the contrary, even the Polish or Russian Jew, is not only remote in blood and speech from all Slavs, but moves in another world of ideas and purposes, and plays a very different economic part both in Europe and America. To put him into one class with Slavic immigrants in a table of racial divisions can only create confusion.¹

The years 1899 and 1908 are the earliest and latest for which full information as to immigrants by races is available. In these ten years the country admitted over one and a half million Slavs, many of whom, however, had been here before or have since returned. It is not uncommon for a Slovak to have made the trip to America eight times, in which case he appears in our figures as eight immigrants.

¹ For a further consideration of this subject, see Boeckh: "The Determination of Racial Stock among American Immigrants." Quarterly Publications, American Statistical Association, Vol. X, pp. 199-221 (December, 1906).

IMMIGRATION BY COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Statistics show that for the period between the years 1899 and 1908, 69 in 100 of Slavic arrivals came, as already said, from Austria-Hungary, 25 per cent more from Russia, 2 per cent each from Germany and the territory Bulgaria-Servia-Montenegro,¹ per cent from Turkey, and only 1 per cent from all other countries combined.

The immigration from Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro is almost wholly Slavic (96 per cent), that from Austria nearly two thirds such (61 per cent), while the streams from Russia and Turkey are not far from one third Slavic, and that from Germany is one tenth Slavic.

Our previous study of conditions in Europe, combined with the American figures, indicates that we have received during the decade 1899-1908 the following groups from the countries named:

I. From Austria-Hungary:

Bohemians (Chekhs) from Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia (83,698).

Poles from Galicia (about 335,651).

Slovaks from northern Hungary (about 320,047).

Ruthenians from Galicia and northeastern Hungary (about 102,036).

Slovenians from the Austrian province of Carniola and adjacent parts (number unknown).¹

Croatians from Croatia-Slavonia, Istria, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and southern Hungary (number unknown).¹

Serbians from the same territory (certainly less than 28,677).

II. From outside Austria-Hungary:

The largest of the three Polish contingents, that from Russia (369,973).

The smallest of the three Polish contingents, that from Germany (32,388).

Russians proper, from Russia (53,454), only between three and four per cent of the total of almost a million and a half immigrants that Russia has sent us in the decade.

Serbians (beside those from Austria-Hungary) from Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria (?), and Turkey (?) (number unknown).¹

Montenegrins are Serbians from Montenegro.

And lastly, Bulgarians from Bulgaria and Turkey, which latter, I suppose, here means Macedonia (number unknown).

A large part of the Slavic immigrants that come from outside the five main fields ((1) Austria-Hungary, (2) Russia, (3) Germany, (4) Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro, and (5) Turkey in Europe) are those who give their last permanent residence as British North America or the United States. The latter rubric was, however, provided only in the 1906 tables, in which it occupies a large space (1059 Poles, for instance, gave the United States as their last country of permanent residence).

RACIAL GROUPS

Turning now to the consideration of the separate national streams, it has been noted that the great numerical predominance is with the Poles, who make up 44 per cent of the Slav total for the decade. The little people of the Slovaks make the second group, with almost one fifth of the whole. Third comes the mixed group of Croatians and Slovenians, which the data do not allow us to separate, and which together make over 16 per cent. The other groups are all much smaller. The Bohemians, who were the most important group of Slavic immigrants in the earlier years, and even in 1880 were not far from twice as numerous in the country as natives of Poland, sank during this period to one twentieth of the whole; that is, to less than the little group of the Ruthenians and to scarcely more than those newcomers, the Serbians and Bulgarians.

Even within the period the emphasis has been shifting. Within the Slavic group, as in European immigration in general, the spread of the movement has trended south and east. Taking 1907, the year of the high tide of immigration, and comparing

¹ Unfortunately the immigration data are so grouped as to make it impossible to distinguish Croatians and Slovenians from one another, or Bulgarians and Serbians from one another, though these are all separate nationalities with distinct languages.

this with 1899, we see that the different groups have increased at very different rates. The Bulgarian-Serbian group rose from under 100 to 27,000 or to two hundred and ninety-one times as many. The related group from Dalmatia and Bosnia increased twentyfold; the Ruthenians, starting with 1400, rose to over 24,000, multiplying more than seven times; the Russians increased their numbers nearly ten times. The older immigration groups also increased, though at a less rate; Bohemians and Poles and the Croatian-Slovenian group all about fivefold, while the Slovaks increased less than threefold, and reached their maximum in 1905.

"ALIEN DEPARTURES" AND NET INFLOW

We must, however, be on guard in using any immigration totals not to overlook the fact that they represent gross, not net, arrivals. We must allow for the numbers of immigrants returning from the United States. In the appendix to the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1908, an estimate is attempted of "Alien departures," with the result that the accepted immigration figures should be reduced as follows:

1899 by 41 per cent	1904 by 37 per cent
1900 by 31 per cent	1905 by 34 per cent
1901 by 28 per cent	1906 by 26 per cent
1902 by 21 per cent	1907 by 22 per cent
1903 by 21 per cent	1908 by 73 per cent

That is, while the total immigration for 1908 was 782,870, the real, net immigration was only 209,867, or not far above a quarter as much, — and for this one year the figures are not estimated but actual. What then are we to suppose in regard to the Slavic immigration? What proportion of their total of nearly 1,700,000 during the decade 1899–1908 represents a net addition to our numbers? We may get a side light on this by studying the successive immigration reports, which give the number of immigrants of each nationality who have been in the country previously. Statistics present percentages for two years (for 1906 and, for purposes of comparison, for 1900), and I find to my own surprise that the English, Irish, and

Scotch have the largest proportion and thus appear to come and go the most, and that the Scandinavians and Germans also stand high. The Slovaks have nearly as high a rate of those returning as the Irish, in both years; other Slavs have smaller proportions. Jews, as one might expect, come to stay, and go back and forth less than any other class noted.

From these figures we see that while the Slavs, except the Slovaks, are (if the data are correct) less migratory than the average, there is still a large deduction to be made for those entering the country more than once, and in addition to this, for the large though hitherto unknown number who leave and do not return.

Another indication of the discrepancy between immigration totals and net additions to the population is given by a comparison of the figures for immigration with the United States census. Foreign countries sent us, in the decade 1891-1900, 3,687,564 immigrants. The census of 1900, however, shows a gain of foreign born since 1890 of less than a third as many (1,091,729). Part of this difference, but not by any means all of it, is accounted for by deaths among our foreign-born population.

C. EMIGRATION FROM ASIA

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION ¹

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THE one thing really settled is that there shall not be a free flow of laborers from such a high pressure country as Japan to the low pressure United States for the mere pecuniary gain of those who come. No country can afford indefinitely to provide the opportunity for draining off an excess of population found elsewhere — the diminished numbers to be quickly replaced by a high birth rate. There are few in the United States who will question the wisdom of the principle of restriction rather vigorously applied and most of the Japanese people freely concede it. Japan has for some time been acting upon that principle in restricting emigration directly or indirectly, that is, by way of Mexico and Canada, to the United States. She has applied it also in dealing with Chinese laborers who came to her own shores.

With reference to this matter I wish not to be misunderstood. Until conditions materially change, vigorous restriction of the free movement of laborers from Japan must be taken for granted. It must not be taken for granted, however, because of any alleged inferiority of the Japanese race, for it is not an inferior one. Nor must it be taken for granted because of dependency, disorder, ignorance, or undesirability attaching possibly to some individuals, for there has been no problem of any moment connected with any of these. Nor, again, must it be taken for granted because of gambling or related evils found in some places, for the communities in which such evils have arisen are chiefly to blame for them. Nevertheless, in a practical world restrictions must be taken for granted, because of evils for which no one

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in particular was to blame, but connected with the earlier influx and perhaps inherent in a comparatively free movement of immigrants from Eastern Asia to such a country as the United States.

One of the evils experienced and which is indissolubly connected with any considerable immigration of Asiatic laborers is the conflict of economic standards. We have witnessed it in industry when employment was taken by the Asiatics as section hands and shop and mill laborers at lower wages than others were paid. Seldom, it is true, was the underbidding through the acceptance of lower wages great. The primary reason for the difference of only about twenty or twenty-five cents per day in wages was that the slightly lower sum was sufficient to absorb the numbers available. The wages accepted in Hawaii and elsewhere would indicate that the rates accepted here might have been lower if need be to be effective in securing employment. But when the immigration was greatest, industry was expanding, there was a shortage of labor at the wages then current, and the contractors, working in connection with boarding-houses and other sources of supply, could place their Japanese laborers at the slight discount indicated. Yet that the immigration of Japanese laborers and the organized search for employment previous to 1908 was accompanied by effective underbidding is an established fact. In spite of the expanding industry, a check was placed upon the increase in wages and improvement in labor conditions. That organized labor was the first to protest against the competition was only to be expected, for organized labor stands for the maintenance and improvement of standards. Laborers without organization, also to the best of their limited ability, stood opposed to any impairment of their working conditions.

But the Japanese laborers were employed much more extensively in agriculture than in industrial pursuits such as those just mentioned. They accepted the places vacated by the aging and disappearing Chinese, maintained the old Asiatic labor economy, and extended it to new branches of agriculture as they developed in California and to the sugar industry as it gained an important place in several of the western states. They found employment chiefly as migratory hand laborers in the growing of intensive crops, where much of the work is of the stoop-over

variety and unattractive to white men. They easily found place in such occupations because they were organized by and easily secured through bosses, were easily shifted from place to place as needed, were easily housed and self-subsisting, and, to begin with, always accepted lower wages than white men, whether paid by the day or by the job. They, of course, by reason of their availability, cheapness, and fair efficiency, had not a little to do with the rapid advance of branches of agriculture of an intensive type and of farming communities where the supply of labor was not at all commensurate with the needs of the highly specialized operations most profitable if labor was readily available on favorable terms. Indeed by Asiatic labor not a few of the out-of-the-way places were brought to that state of development where they could be settled by others. In other words, their labor was to a considerable extent supplementary to that of others. Moreover, it must be admitted that their presence made more employment for laborers in some occupations in which they did not themselves compete for work. Yet it is true that there was considerable displacement of other laborers because of the easy terms on which the Japanese could be obtained. The disappearance of the Chinese was hastened by their competition, and in some instances white laborers as well were displaced. The Japanese were effective competitors and generally underbid for work. Moreover, others tended to withdraw as certain agricultural occupations became tainted. My investigations have led me to the conclusion that the economic effects of the employment of the Japanese in agricultural work were (1) to promote certain kinds of farming and to hasten the development of the natural resources, (2) to cause an advance in land values, (3) to retard the subdivision of large holdings and to maintain a certain amount of capitalistic agriculture, (4) to retard the advance in wages of unskilled laborers and to extend the old labor economy, and (5) to give the Japanese a pivotal place in the labor supply, especially in many California communities. As this pivotal place was secured less room was left for the employment of others in certain occupations and they sought work elsewhere.

Most of the Japanese who came to us brought only their hands and sought to better their economic condition as laborers in some

of the lower and more distasteful walks of life. With time, however, a relatively large number became shopkeepers or tenant or landowning farmers. Few races have made the transition as quickly as the Japanese, and in their shopkeeping and farming, differences in standards corresponding to those in wage-employment became evident.

The number of Japanese farmers, most of them tenant, in the West in 1909, was perhaps not far from 6000. Many of their 4000 holdings were not farms, but small plots, so that the combined acreage held by them was perhaps approximately 200,000, about three quarters of it in California. Though this acreage seems to be of little consequence where millions of acres sparsely settled are found in the West, it had perhaps tripled in five years, and the details connected with the rapid progress thus shown were significant of what might be expected to happen were large numbers admitted to the country, and gave rise to fear for the future — especially in those localities in which most of them found place. More recently they have continued to make substantial progress as farmers. It is my opinion that with a large immigration of Asiatics, and especially of Japanese, much of the land would rapidly come into their possession and important changes in the composition and life of agricultural communities settled in would occur. With an immigration problem, an important land problem would inevitably develop. The reasons for this conclusion may be briefly presented.

Numerous things have combined to place a premium on shop-keeping or farming by the versatile and efficient Japanese. The Japanese are ambitious, and the immigrants of every ambitious race tend strongly to rise in the adopted country to the position they occupied in their native land. This is especially true of the Japanese, who find the wage relation distasteful. With them to be a wage earner is to show inferiority; to be economically independent shows merit. Again, their advance as employees to the higher occupations has been made difficult, and this has virtually forced many to leave the wage-earning class in order to advance at all. Most of them have been employed in gangs and limited to work done by gangs. A third important factor is found in the fact that they are a home-loving people and wish to have their families with them. Ordinarily this has been

difficult unless they become shopkeepers or farmers. If laborers, they were expected to be rolling stones, and to live under such conditions as to make a desirable family life impossible.

Again, because of the great respect attaching to agriculture in Japan and the highly developed agricultural arts there found, in so far as labor and scientific application are concerned, the Japanese have been the more eager to obtain possession of farms. But most important of all has been the place they have occupied in the agricultural labor supply, especially in California.

It is a general fact that the land tends to fall into the possession of the race employed as laborers, if the race is a capable one. It has been only a slight change from the employment of Japanese laborers under a "boss" to share tenancy where the landowner provided most of the equipment, did the work with teams, advanced the wages of the employees, managed the business in all of its details, sold the produce and collected the selling price, and then shared this with the tenant after all bills were paid. Cash tenancy, with liberal advances and the rent collected out of the receipts from crops sold, differs little except that more of the risk is taken by the tenant. To the landowner, however, either arrangement has had the distinct advantage of interesting the "boss" and obtaining with a greater degree of certainty his coöperation in securing laborers as needed and in supervising them at work. Most of the tenant farming by Japanese in the growing of grapes and deciduous fruit in California and in growing sugar beets everywhere has grown out of the fact that the Japanese worked under a "boss" and occupied a dominant place in the labor supply required for taking care of the crop. As some landowners leased their holdings and secured an advantage in the labor market, there was the more reason for others to do so.

Again, the Japanese, like the Chinese before them, have had an advantage over other races, as competitors for land, in California especially, because they could be easily and cheaply provided with shelter. If not the bunkhouse, then a corresponding shelter would suffice; and if a new structure was required, it was frequently built by the tenant with the privilege of removing it upon the expiration of the lease. The landowner and his family, if they desired, as in most cases they have, could occupy the farm

residence and reserve such part of the farm as was desired. The members of no white race could be had as tenants unless the family residence was let with the land; or cottages, superior to those which have generally been provided, were erected at the landowner's expense for their use. With respect to the kind of housing required, the Asiatics have competed with others for the possession of land on the basis of a lower standard. It has been an important factor in explaining the advance of the Japanese as tenant farmers.

The Japanese, like the Chinese before them and now, have been willing to pay higher rents than others for land — such high rents in fact that the owner has frequently found it more profitable to lease his land than to farm it on his own account. That the Japanese and Chinese can afford to pay a relatively high rent is explained in part by the fact that their efficiency and the kinds of crops grown by them will bear it; in part by the fact that they have a different standard of application; and in part by the fact that the income in prospect from farming need not be so large as that expected by most other farmers.

The Asiatic farmer expects to work hard and for long hours; the Japanese is usually assisted in garden or field by his wife, if he has one; the opportunities for employment other than as an unskilled laborer have been limited, and as a result of careful and efficient growing of intensive crops his return per acre is ordinarily a large one. But whatever the reason or reasons, the most nearly universal fact in the West has been that the Asiatics, with the possible exception of German Russians in Colorado, have been the highest bidders for land. This fact is undisputed. In some localities the sums paid have been ruinously large, so that an organized effort has now and then been made by the Japanese organizations to limit the amount paid. It is equally true that they have paid correspondingly high prices for the comparatively small amount of farm land purchased.

Another factor of some importance in explaining the progress of Japanese as farmers is the ease with which they, like the Chinese and the Italians, form partnerships to carry on their enterprises. Of still more importance has been the aid extended by commission men and others interested in the marketing of the crops. Liberal advances have been made on crops in order to

control the marketing of them. Fruit shippers have frequently served as middlemen in the leasing of land, and here and there have leased land themselves and then sublet it to Asiatics in order to control the marketing of the crops.

And, finally, one not unimportant fact entering into the situation has been the reclamation and reduction of raw land by the Japanese tenants. Numerous instances are found in Washington and Oregon and along the Sacramento River here in California. It should be stated, however, that, for the most part, the lands acquired by the tenants have been those improved by others, though when acquired they were perhaps devoted to a more intensive purpose.

Thus, numerous factors have coöperated to explain the rapid progress of farming by the Japanese. In passing, some of the community effects should be noted, for they are of importance.

Japanese farming has been accompanied by a tendency toward a rise in land values and the keeping of large holdings intact as profitable investments. It has placed a slight premium on absentee-landlordism, and, though it is not true that the earlier elements in the farming population have been driven out of any community in California, and though it is true that Americans have continued to move into localities where the largest percentage of Asiatics were settled, it has tended to deflect the tide of settlers moving west to other localities. Moreover, in a few cases the acreage of certain crops has been greatly increased by the Japanese farmers until prices have broken and others have tended to withdraw from their production.

In this way the thesis is maintained that with a large immigration of Japanese laborers, a land problem would develop. The comparatively small influx of earlier years has in fact resulted in one third of the land about Florin, one half of the orchards in the Vaca valley, a still larger percentage of the orchards about Newcastle, and most of the farms above Sacramento along the American River coming into their hands and important community effects have been witnessed. The situation in several other localities differs from that in those mentioned only in degree.

The progress of the Japanese as shopkeepers has also been rapid, especially since 1904. By 1909 they were conducting some four thousand business establishments in the West, these giving

employment to approximately one sixth of those gainfully occupied. At present, perhaps one fifth of the Japanese in the West are so engaged, as principals or as their employees.

As branches of business, contracting and the supply house came early, of course. So did the boarding house, the barber shop, the restaurant, and the places of amusement, for the members of this race were usually discriminated against by others and it was necessary for them to supply their own needs. But sooner or later they began in some places to compete with groceries, restaurants, clothes cleaning and tailor shops, and the like, for so-called American trade, and the competition was usually on unequal planes. With lower wages bills incurred in the conduct of their shops and with a lower standard of necessary profit, considerable cutting of prices accompanied the progress made by them. Their laundry prices were effectively lower than those charged by their competitors, and this was equally true in most of the competitive trades. Moreover, the shifting of population incidental to the settlement of newcomers in restricted localities was in some cases even more important than the cutting of prices. The formation of colonies thus added its weight to the underselling with the result that though the number of their establishments was relatively not large and most of their shops quite small, established businesses and profits of rivals suffered in some cases. When such was the result, it was regarded as an evil by those injuriously affected, and opposition, in some cases organized opposition employing fines and boycotts and other methods of defense which appear drastic to the outsider, developed at new points.

Thus, especially before immigration was greatly restricted in 1907, competition in unskilled labor, in some branches of petty business, and in certain branches of farming for which many localities in the West are peculiarly well suited, has taken place in unequal terms. There has been a conflict of standards. While the labor has been helpful in developing the country because cheap, efficient, and easily secured; while it has been a great convenience in other cases, as in domestic service; and while profitable branches of agriculture have been caused to grow rapidly, the disturbing effects of even such a small immigration as has given us a total population of Japanese, old and young,

of less than a hundred thousand, must be regarded as outweighing the good. The immigration of large numbers to settle on the Pacific Coast and to compete on unequal terms because of differences in standards must be regarded as undesirable from an economic point of view, unless one holds — as no one can successfully maintain — that the economic welfare of the country depends more upon the most rapid industrial progress, exploitation of resources, and amassing of wealth than upon an improvement in the lot of those at or near the bottom of the economic scale, with relatively low land values, and the settlement of land along lines more nearly normal according to the American standard.

The fundamental economic problem is to be emphasized. Yet the problem has not been merely an economic one. Because of clannishness on the part of the Japanese and the tendency of others to limit their relations with them to business affairs, colonies have tended to develop and the newcomers to be encysted in rather than be assimilated to the population. In spite of considerable capacity on the part of the Japanese for assimilation, it has not been taking place in desired degree, partly because of the strong appeal made by native institutions to a people living in colonies, partly because of the failure or refusal of others to do their share in a process which requires the coöperation of the several elements in the population. In the speaker's opinion a difficult problem in connection with assimilation has developed. Even with limited numbers the situation is such that assimilation of those here is now unlikely to occur in desired degree. With large numbers it would not take place.

Naturally, considerable friction has developed, chiefly because of differences in economic standards, and though immigration has undoubtedly caused an expansion of commerce between the two countries, trade relations at one time were seriously imperiled. All of these things, the increase of dissatisfaction due to misunderstanding, misrepresentation, and organized agitation, the obvious difference in color, and the extreme solicitude of the Japanese government for the welfare of its subjects and its treatment of them as pseudo-colonists, have tended to produce a new race problem. Had matters continued for some years longer as they were ten years ago, such a problem would inevitably have resulted.

Thus it is maintained that there cannot be a free flow of laborers from Japan to the western part of the United States. But, happily, for seven years, with the gentlemen's agreement faithfully observed by the Japanese government and with the prohibition of re-migration from Hawaii, Mexico, and Canada, we have had and now have no immigration problem in so far as incoming Japanese laborers are concerned. The statement is true that "with unswerving constancy and fidelity the Japanese government has maintained the gentlemen's agreement by which it undertook to suppress the immigration of laborers to the United States." It has done more. By regulating immigration to neighboring countries, the difficult border problem has ceased to be of importance. There can be no reasonable doubt that we have in the agreement the most effective exclusion arrangement, and the United States owes a debt of gratitude to the Japanese government for its coöperation in effecting it. The number of Japanese laborers in the country is slowly diminishing, and the problems involved in the earlier situation are gradually settling themselves. Of underbidding in the labor market there is now practically none; the conflict of standards in petty business has become largely a matter of the past; and no serious or extensive problem connected with the land can develop. The feeling of opposition is less intense than it was. Nevertheless there are unsettled problems. They should be settled and the policy of drifting along with some harassing legislation should not be permitted to continue if we can agree upon the direction positive efforts should take.

With no particular immigration to complicate the situation, what are these unsettled problems to which consideration should be given? One is found in the gentlemen's agreement as a method of control; others are found in connection with the treatment of immigrants who are here or who may be admitted. These two questions or groups of questions may be considered in turn.

Though the gentlemen's agreement and the President's order relating to the indirect immigration which accompanied it have served well as a method of restriction, the agreement has come in for considerable adverse criticism. Approaching the matter from different angles different groups have advocated new immigration legislation to replace it. First of all, a vigorous agitation

for an exclusion law applying to all Asiatics has been carried on for years. It antedated the adoption of the agreement and has not died away since it became effective. Much of its force is found in the widespread but erroneous belief that the agreement is not effective as a restrictive measure, in the fear that it might cease to be effective, and in the feeling that the right to control immigration to the country is a sovereign right which should be exercised, not compromised, by treaty or agreement. In the least offensive form this demand would find expression in a general immigration law which would admit only those who are eligible to become citizens by naturalization. Admission and the possibility of becoming citizens should go hand in hand, but exclusion in this way raises the additional question as to the soundness of the discrimination now involved in our naturalization law about which something will be said presently. But, in so far as Japanese immigration is concerned, it seems to me that there is at present no problem to be solved by exclusion legislation, whatever form it might take. An exclusion law modeled after the Chinese exclusion act would be illogical when the existing agreement is more effective than any law of that character would be. It could solve no problem and it is illogical to enact any law unless there is a problem to be solved by so doing. The Japanese government has on more than one occasion expressed its willingness to continue the present agreement, and it would be unjust to enact an exclusion law so long as she is willing and capable of limiting the issuance of passports to would-be immigrants. Moreover, to enact such a law as long as the Japanese government faithfully observes the agreement entered into in 1907 would be too serious an affront to a people jealous of its honor and determined to command the treatment due a first-class nation. To enact an exclusion law of any kind would be illogical, unjust, and an affront to Japan.

On the other hand, some would remove the restriction which now obtains. In Japan there seems to be some restiveness under the agreement and a limited amount of feeling that it was a temporary measure to tide over an emergency and that it has accomplished its object. A smaller number of persons on this side, interested in cheap labor, would be glad to see the bars let down. But to grant an unrestricted immigration under our

present immigration law in order to meet the wishes of a minority in Japan and a small number in this country who wish cheap labor would be unwise for reasons already set forth. It would be out of harmony with the forward movement to which we are devoting so much effort. If the agreement is to be replaced by law at all, it should be replaced by a new immigration law of the general nature of the measure advocated so brilliantly by Dr. Gulick.

Dr. Gulick's plan is best stated by himself. But, briefly put, his suggestion is that the number of independent immigrants admitted from any country, or of any race or mother tongue, in any one year should be limited to, say, 5 per cent of the number of immigrants from that country already here and naturalized and the American-born offspring of the same stock. A system of registration would be worked out for the administration of the plan. All who secured admission unlawfully or who were not law-abiding would be deported.

The general effect of a measure shaped in this way would be to bring the control of all immigration under one law and to get rid of the Chinese exclusion act with its invidious distinctions, the strained and unsatisfactory interpretation of the present law in dealing with the East Indians, and perhaps to end the movement to enact an exclusion law applying to the Japanese. It would not limit immigration from the northwestern European countries unless under new conditions it should tend to expand much beyond its dimensions in recent years; it would materially limit the more or less induced immigration of recent years from southern and eastern Europe, and would not materially affect, for the time being, the number of Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and East Indians coming directly to our shores.

Were Dr. Gulick's plan applied to the figures given in the census of 1910, it would admit annually into the United States, including Hawaii, to begin with, a maximum, the excepted classes of wives, children, etc., not counted, of some 1200 or 1300 Japanese and about 1100 or 1200 Chinese immigrants. These figures, it would appear, are somewhat larger than of the corresponding classes admitted in recent years but the difference to begin with would not be material. With time the basic number to which his 5 per cent would be applied would increase because

of a considerable number of Japanese who would become naturalized if given the opportunity his plan calls for, and because of the few thousand born annually in this country. Thus the plan would make possible a cumulative immigration.

It was partly because of these cumulative figures, partly because of the administrative difficulties connected with a census the results of which were to be employed in this way, and partly because of the inducement held out to seek naturalization so as to increase the numbers which might be admitted, that I have elsewhere suggested a modification which in its essence would admit definite numbers arrived at in Dr. Gulick's manner, these numbers being based upon the census returns of 1910, but obtaining indefinitely unless waived by order properly issued in any case where the motive for emigration was found in political or religious persecution.

Thus, as has already been stated, under this plan the issues involved in the trans-Atlantic and the trans-Pacific immigrations would be joined, and reasonably so, for there has been a problem of large numbers in the so-called "newer immigration." What the situation will be after the present war is not clear; we can only guess, but there is the possibility of large numbers once the work of reconstruction has been completed and the weight of the inevitable tax burden is felt. The best students of the subject of immigration — those who can look beyond things merely personal to things in their collectivity, are generally agreed that radical restriction has been needed. They agree with the recent Immigration Commission that we have had "an oversupply of unskilled labor in the industries of the country as a whole, and a condition of retarded improvement with some deterioration of labor conditions which demanded legislation restricting the further admission of unskilled labor." They are generally agreed, moreover, that this problem is closely connected with the fact that more than four fifths of the European immigration has recently been from the southern and eastern countries, which have the lowest standards, and the immigrants from which are most congested in their occupations and residence as compared to the distribution of the native-born. All agree that in the case of the "newer immigration" there are greater differences in institutions and customs than in the case of immigrants from

northwestern Europe to be overcome in the process of assimilation. Most students are agreed that the south and east Europeans taken as a whole are less sensitive than the northwest Europeans to the American environment, and that a situation has developed in the industrial centers of the East in which assimilation has proceeded in halting and uncertain fashion and out of which numerous problems of local government, administration, and institutions have developed. Some argue that a wider distribution is all that would have been required, but it is probably true that it would have served to lower temporarily the content of the labor reservoir and then to increase the inflow from abroad. If so, high birth rates would continue the inflow indefinitely. A problem of dependency was developing out of the influx, and a proper use of the data available shows that some prominent elements in the immigration from the southern countries complicate and make more difficult the problem of maintaining law and order. Before the war our biggest problem was found in the trans-Atlantic immigration. Would it not be well to safeguard ourselves against its possible return?

It was stated a while ago that under the plan suggested there would be no material change in the trans-Pacific immigration. This was based upon the assumption, however, that the present effective bar against re-migration of Asiatics from Hawaii to the mainland would be retained or a desirable substitute found for it. Without such a bar an influx like that of ten years ago would take place because of the inferior conditions which are found in the Islands. It would result in an acute labor problem in the Islands and an undesirable situation here. I should not advocate any plan which would involve a re-migration from Honolulu to the mainland.

Legislation along the lines suggested, supported by effective restrictions upon re-migration of the kind mentioned, while leaving the numbers admitted not materially different from those during the last few years, would relieve the Japanese government of the embarrassment of the agreement in a way forced upon it and the criticism of those of its subjects who maintain that it was adopted only to save Japan's face and was expected to be temporary. Moreover, it would safeguard the situation in the event that the position of the government should be

changed by growing democracy. It would meet the position of our own people who maintain that the right to control immigration is a sovereign right and that this should be exercised, not compromised. But most important of all, it would disabuse many of our people of the erroneous impression that many laborers are actually being admitted, or, in the absence of strong opposition displayed, would be admitted, to the United States, and would go far to prevent discrimination by law and otherwise. My investigations have convinced me that there is a widespread feeling that many in some way or other are admitted. Others feel that in the absence of organized opposition, the agreement would not be effectively administered.

Much of the opposed legislation has not been directed at serious problems but has appealed because anti-Asiatic and because it was felt to be necessary in order to prevent an influx of new immigrants. A measure of the kind suggested should go far to relieve the situation in so far as connected with mistaken views of what is actually occurring and with the apprehension of what might take place. Moreover, it would not stand in the way of literacy or other selective tests if they should be desired.

Thus, it is maintained that restriction of immigration in general is needed. If proper provision is made for those persecuted, the restrictions imposed should discriminate in their effects but not in terms against the races of South and East Europe. They should discriminate in their effects, but not expressly, still more against immigrant laborers from Asia, who without restriction are the cheapest and frequently the best organized and have the most injurious effects in competition, who institutionally and in thought and in mode of life have more to be overcome in assimilation, who are handicapped by an obvious difference in color, and who, moreover, find a natural stopping-place on the Pacific Coast, so that the effects of their immigration would be concentrated upon a limited territory. The plan suggested is believed to have merit in that it is restrictive, is general and non-discriminatory in form, would discriminate only reasonably in its effects, would correct false impressions with reference to Japanese immigration, and would not stand in the way of such individual selective tests as might be considered desirable.

Coming to unsettled problems relative to the treatment of Japanese residing in the United States, one of the most serious is found in the political disability under which they labor. At present Japanese, Chinese, and other eastern Asiatic subjects, because neither white nor black, are ineligible to become American citizens by process of naturalization. Some of the western Asiatics stand in the shadow of doubt. Though the disability under which all save the Chinese rest, is not the result of discriminatory legislation directed against them, but merely incidental under a law given shape many years ago and interpreted by the courts, the invidious distinction between races has come to be regarded by the Japanese as "hurtful to their just national susceptibility," and the reasonableness of the law was officially raised in the long-drawn-out correspondence over the California land law. Certainly the political disability has opened the way for discriminatory legislation of the kind just mentioned. Moreover, the Japanese feel that it is unjust to withhold from them rights which foreigners may enjoy in Japan and which the Japanese themselves have in Canada. They naturally desire equal treatment under the law.

As a matter of principle, all aliens admitted to this country, regardless of race, should be admitted to a full partnership in our institutions as soon as they as individuals are properly prepared to exercise their rights and are willing to accept the responsibilities which must go hand in hand with rights. The reasons assigned by those who oppose an amendment of the naturalization law so as to permit the Japanese admitted to become citizens do not seem to me to be sufficient to support their case. It must be admitted of course that the Japanese have much of medieval loyalty to their native government. Rapid strides in economic matters have not as yet greatly affected the concept of the state held by those who have not emigrated. Yet it is undoubtedly true that most of those who have decided to settle here permanently have had their mode of thought considerably changed, and it is probably true that those who sought the privilege of citizenship would accept its responsibilities in pretty much the same degree as they have been accepted by some of our European-Americans who have immigrated from

countries where the attitude toward the state is not materially different from that in Japan.

Of course a Japanese vote might develop, but, if it did, it would not be unique in our political history. In any event the number of votes would be small. This might not be true in Hawaii, however, where the Japanese and Chinese constitute a majority of the population. But this raises the question as to the terms on which citizenship should be conferred. Under a proper naturalization law only a comparatively small percentage of the aliens residing there could become naturalized.

In advocating an amendment of the naturalization law so that it shall not discriminate against any race, I would not advocate a mere extension of the present law. Though the abuses under it are not so great as they once were, in many places its administration is little short of a farce. We cannot be said to have in operation any well-defined requirements always and everywhere to be met by those who seek citizenship. We hold citizenship too cheap and pay dearly for it. The law should be administered by specialized naturalization courts, and citizenship should be conferred only upon those who can read and write English understandingly, who know the structure of and principles underlying our government, and who have an acceptable knowledge of our history. But the law should be changed so as to make all who possess these qualifications eligible, and provision should be made to enable immigrants of all races to meet the tests.

Thus I would advocate a general naturalization law based upon individual merit and not at all upon the matter of race. Such a law would be based upon good principle, would remove all contested cases growing out of doubtful eligibility, would tend to prevent discriminatory legislation, and would undoubtedly do more just now than anything else to further harmonious relations with the people across the Pacific which unites as well as divides us. At the same time it may be observed that the time will soon come when the number of native-born Japanese citizens will be as large as the number who could qualify for citizenship granted on proper terms. Their attitude as citizens will depend to a considerable extent upon the rights enjoyed by their fathers. The objections to such a law, extending rights

enjoyed by whites and blacks to races of a different color, can be easily exaggerated — especially if it is adopted along with a general restrictive immigration law. That they may easily be exaggerated is indicated by the fact that while we have forbidden the naturalization of Chinese in this country, those who gained citizenship in Hawaii at an earlier time are generally regarded as a good class of conservative voters.

With an amendment of the naturalization laws of the kind suggested, the California and Arizona land acts would cease to be effective for they merely place limitations upon those ineligible to citizenship. It is my opinion that they were mistakenly adopted and were unjust, impolitic, and unnecessary. Yet, I would not be understood to maintain that in California there was not a problem in some communities closely connected with permanent tenure of the land — largely because of the settlement of Japanese in colonies. Nor do I wish to be understood as maintaining that were the prohibition of land ownership rendered ineffective, no local problems would develop. There is a problem connected with an extensive colonization and a partial assimilation which must be solved if confusion and discord are to be avoided and right relations maintained.

Representing a very different civilization, clannish in unusual degree, seeking much the same thing, and discriminated against and more or less avoided by most of the other elements in the population, of course the majority of the Japanese have settled in restricted localities and are more or less colonized. Colonies have their advantages in meeting the needs of a people in so far as they remain foreign. But unfortunately the very existence of the colony makes assimilation difficult, tends to give its members inferior standing, and to cause the locality to be less desirable for residence by others. With the colony the full complement of Japanese institutions appears, association is chiefly with members of the one race, the learning English is retarded, and the native bonds loosen slowly in spite of the fact that the Japanese are very sensitive to certain parts of their environment. In the absence of colonies, Americanization appears to proceed fairly rapidly, and no important community effects are to be noted. Livingston affords a case in point. In that community there has been no conflict of standards and no important

colonization and the situation is normal according to American standards. Though the white residents may state that they would prefer families of their own color, the Japanese are well received and have good standing in the community. But unfortunately there seems to be no way in which the colony can be attacked directly. Time and more rapid assimilation must undermine it if it is to disappear.

As has already been stated, with any large immigration it is believed that assimilation of the Japanese would not take place. The problem would be complicated, as it has been in the past, by friction and discrimination. With a narrowly restricted immigration, however, friction over the clash of economic standards has tended to diminish and eventually discrimination will perhaps disappear. Certainly much should be said for an educational campaign to remove misunderstanding so that its disappearance will be hastened.

Of course the Japanese are being assimilated. Those who return to Japan after some years spent in the United States, find the situation difficult if not intolerable and frequently return here to reside permanently. Yet the problem of assimilation is present, and in interest of present and future relations it should be attacked vigorously. It calls for much more effort than has been as yet put forth. Though the Japanese themselves have done more than any other race to provide facilities for teaching the English language, more extensive facilities should be provided as a part of an internal immigration policy. There should be coöperation between the school authorities and the Japanese association of each locality, and night schools should be provided for the adults. The Christian mission churches are doing much of value, but the provision for carrying forward their work is not adequate. Without passing judgment upon the relative merits of different religions for different peoples, it may be said that nothing save the use of a common language seems to be of more value than the spread of Christianity in the process of assimilation of the Japanese. Its importance has appealed to me more and more as I have watched the changes going on in different communities. It is not too much to say that here at home we have the best opportunity to support needed missionary work, to be done of course along the lines upon which that

best done proceeds. After the process of assimilation has taken place to a certain extent, the native-born element will do much to hasten it if it is not prevented by discrimination from occupying the normal place it will wish, provided the older elements do not prove to be too conservative, and in so far as they control the situation, bring them up as Japanese.

With the clannishness natural to the Japanese, the respect for their elders, the differences representing diverse civilizations to be overcome, and the situation which obtains, considerable time will be required to make much headway even with small numbers. The progress made will depend largely upon the degree of coöperation between the diverse elements in the community. The question should be raised whether the organizations of the Japanese should not be less official in their aspects, less shaped as though the country was to be colonized and exploited for gain, and be conducted more than they generally are with reference to securing the adoption of American standards. The question should be raised, also, whether something cannot be done to secure a more general observance of Sunday, and to give women the place in the family and the family life we expect in the United States. However much it may be needed, the general practice of having the women gainfully occupied in men's work in the field, cannot but alienate the native element and give the Japanese lower standing in the communities in which they reside. When a people is admitted to the country, their presence imposes obligations upon the native population. We have been neglectful in this matter. But when admission is secured, it imposes an obligation upon the newcomers to give heed to the normal standards of the country to which they have been admitted. Both the Asiatic and the white races are on trial in the West. The final outcome is important. Will the white races, when their institutions are safeguarded by a narrowly restricted immigration, give necessary opportunity and coöperation and avoid evils and friction? Will those admitted retain their clannishness and seek chiefly to make gain rather than strive to become Americans?

CHINESE IMMIGRATION

UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION COMMISSION

THOUGH a few thousand Armenians are found in the West, most of them in Fresno County, California, and perhaps a thousand Syrians in Los Angeles, most of the Asiatic immigration has been from eastern Asia — China, Japan, Korea, and India. For reasons already given elsewhere, no special investigation was made of the Chinese. Such data as were obtained were secured incidentally to the investigation of other races and of industries in which Chinese are or have been employed. A few points concerning their number, occupations, and related matters may be commented on briefly, however, chiefly for convenience in discussing Japanese immigration, upon which most emphasis was placed in the investigation made in the Western division.

According to the census, the number of Chinese in the continental United States in 1900 was 93,283. Of these, 88,758 were males and 4,525 were females. In all probability the number of adult males was somewhat larger than the figure reported, as it is almost impossible to enumerate all but a negligible percentage of the foreign-born males living under such conditions as were at that time found among the Chinese. It is impossible to estimate the number of persons of that race now in the United States, as many have died or returned to China since 1900, while others have returned from China to this country, and men, women, and children of the eligible classes to the number of 19,182 have been admitted to the United States between July 1, 1899, and June 30, 1909. Moreover, it is acknowledged by those familiar with the administration of the law that some foreign-born have secured admission as "native sons," while others have been smuggled across the Canadian or the Mexican boundary. However, it has become evident from the investigation conducted

by the Commission that of the number of Chinese in all of the cities of the West, many are occupied in growing potatoes and the coarser vegetables. Such interests are usually combined with general farming, however.

The Portuguese are excellent farmers, and frequently, while improving their land, obtain two or three crops from the same field in the course of the year. In their thrift, investment of savings in more land, in the character of their housing and standard of living, they are very much like the Italians. In some instances, however, their housing is of a distinctly better type. The one important difference between the two races, besides the kind of crops usually produced, is found in the fact that the Italians coöperate in leasing land, while the Portuguese are very individualistic and seldom rent or own land in partnership. Because of this circumstance and the fact that the members of this race, unlike the Asiatics and German-Russians, have not been induced to settle upon the land as a solution of the labor problem, the Portuguese, in spite of their perseverance in their efforts to establish themselves as independent farmers, have usually made slower progress in this direction than the Italians, Japanese, and German-Russians.

Few of the other south European immigrants are engaged in agriculture. A few Greeks have become tenant farmers, but without much success. About Watsonville, California, a comparatively large number of Dalmatians have engaged in apple growing, but this instance perhaps stands alone. In fact, immigrants from the south European countries, and the east European as well, Italians and Portuguese excepted, have come to the West too recently to have established themselves. Moreover, in most cases the number of transient laborers is large as compared to the number who have come to this country to make their permanent home. The principal exception to this is found in the German-Russians, an agricultural people, who have come to this country to escape heavy taxation and military service and in search of better land. Within some twenty years several thousand have come to Fresno County, California, where they have worked at unskilled labor to begin with, though a comparatively large number have been able to establish themselves as farmers, which is the goal practically all have in view. The

acreage controlled by them is roughly estimated at 5000. In Colorado there are perhaps between 800 and 900 tenant and landowning farmers of this race, occupying for the greater part holdings in excess of 60 acres and not infrequently much larger tracts. This farming has developed within the last ten years and has been incidental to the growth of the beet-sugar industry. The sugar companies have brought large numbers of families of this race from Nebraska to do the hand work involved in growing sugar beets. From laborers doing the hand work on a piece basis they have rapidly advanced to tenant and to landowning farmers. Their advance is in part to be ascribed to their great industry, the labor of all members of the family except the smallest children, to their very great thrift, to the liberal advances of capital made by the sugar companies, and the credit extended to them freely by the banks.

Not even the Japanese have made as rapid advance as the German-Russians. A comparatively small number of German-Russians are engaged in tenant farming in one locality in Idaho also. They, too, were brought to the community (from Portland) by the manufacturers of beet sugar, and settled upon the land. In their housing and the number engaged in the different industries in which they have found employment in the past, they have materially decreased within the last decade or so. It is unlikely that the migration from the Coast States, mainly from California to the East, and the more general distribution of Chinese throughout the country, explain entirely the decreasing number of persons of that race, including the native-born, found in the West.

The immigration of Chinese laborers to this country may be said to date from the rush to California in search of gold sixty years ago. Within ten years a relatively large number of persons of that race, more than 45,000 in fact, found a place in the population of that State. Before the close of the decade of the sixties, they had engaged in a variety of occupations, as the absence of cheap labor from any other source, their industry and organization, and the rapid growth of the country placed a premium upon their employment. The largest number (some 20,000 in 1861) engaged in gold mining; several thousand, many of them imported under contract, were employed toward the end of the

decade in the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad, which was to form the first of the transcontinental railways making possible an influx of laborers from the East. Other Chinese engaged in gardening, laundering, domestic service, and hand labor in the fields, while still others found employment in factories and workshops or engaged in business for themselves. As domestic servants in San Francisco, in 1870, they numbered 1256 out of a total of 6800, their number being exceeded by that of the Irish only, of whom 3046 were reported. Chinese laundrymen numbered 1333 in a total of 2069 reported. As laborers in domestic and personal service they numbered 2128 in a total of 8457. According to the census for 1870, they numbered 296 of 1551 persons employed in San Francisco in the manufacture of boots and shoes, 1657 of the 1811 employed in the manufacture of cigars, 253 of 393 employed in the manufacture of woollens, and 110 of 1223 employed in the manufacture of clothing, a total of 2316 of a grand total of 4978 employed in these four industries. These were the chief branches of manufacture in cities in which they found employment. With the development of salmon canning in Oregon and Washington during the eighties and still later with the development of the same industry in Alaska, they were for many years employed almost exclusively in canning, under contract, the fish caught by white fishermen. They also constituted a large percentage, when not a majority, of the "powder makers" and general laborers employed in powder factories.

For twenty years, beginning in the late sixties, several thousand found employment as construction laborers upon the new railways constructed from time to time and as section hands upon those already constructed. They also found employment as general laborers, engine wipers and boiler washers, and in other occupations calling for little skill in railroad shops. Or still previous to 1870, as hand laborers in the orchards, fields, hop-yards, and vineyards of California north of the Tehachapi, and in the canneries and other establishments incidental to conserving and marketing the crops produced. In 1870 they numbered 1637 in a total of 16,231 farm laborers reported by the census for California. Though the estimate made by the California bureau of labor in 1886, that Chinese constituted seven eighths

of the agricultural laborers of the State, was doubtless a great exaggeration, they did most of the hand work, such as hoeing, weeding, pruning, and harvesting, in all localities in the central and northern part of the State in which intensive farming was carried on. Their presence and organization at a time when cheap and reliable white laborers were difficult to obtain made possible the high degree of specialized farming which came to prevail in several localities. They occupied a much less conspicuous place in the harvest work involved in general farming. Being inefficient with teams, and white men being available for such work in most localities, they were practically limited to hand work. In other States than California they found little place in agricultural work, the largest number being employed in the hop industry of the Northwest. In fact, until the eighties few of the Chinese resided outside of California. This race never gained a place in coal mining except in Wyoming, where they were employed in the mines developed after the completion of the Union Pacific Railway.

The ease with which the Chinese found employment and the place they came to occupy in the West is explained by several facts. First of all, they were the cheapest laborers available for unskilled work. The white population previous to the eighties was drawn almost entirely from the eastern States and from north European countries, and, as in all rapidly developing communities, the number of women and children was comparatively small. According to the census of 1870, of 238,648 persons engaged in gainful occupations in California, 46 per cent were native-born, 13 per cent were born in Ireland, 8 per cent in Germany, 4.8 per cent in England and Wales, 2 per cent in France, and 1.4 per cent in Italy. The Chinese, with 14 per cent of the total, were more numerous than the Irish. The Chinese worked for lower wages than the white men in the fields and orchards, in the shoe factories, the cigar factories, the woolen mills, and later in most of the other industries in which the two classes were represented. As a result of this, a division of labor grew up in which the Chinese were very generally employed in certain occupations, while white persons were employed in other occupations requiring skill, a knowledge of English, and other qualities not possessed by the Asiatics, and sufficiently agreeable

in character and surroundings to attract white persons of the type at that time found in the population of the West. Upon occasion, too, the lower cost of production with Chinese labor caused more of the work to fall into their hands as they became well enough trained to do it. Instances of this are found in the manufacture of cigars and shoes in San Francisco.

Chinese labor was well organized and readily available; for the cigar makers, shoemakers, and tailors, as well as the launderers, were organized into trade guilds with an interpreter and agent or "bookman" in each white establishment in which they were employed. Agricultural laborers were secured through a "boss" and employed under his supervision. The same organization was found in fish canneries, where the work was done under contract at so much per case, also in the fruit and vegetable canneries — in fact in all industries in which more than a few men were employed. The hiring and supervision of men in this way was convenient and of great advantage to the employer in such industries as were seasonal in character. In agriculture, where several times as many men were wanted for a limited period as during the remainder of the year, this organization of labor placed a great premium upon the Chinese as employees.

In the manufacture of cigars, some manufacturers state that Chinese were found to be much slower than women and youths, while in the manufacture of boots and shoes they never attained to highly skilled work. In other industries, however, they were very generally regarded as efficient workers for all kinds of hand work. This is especially true of fish, fruit, and vegetable canning and of all kinds of hand work in orchards and vegetable gardens. Though unprogressive and slow, they accomplished much work through industry and long hours, and by the exercise of care the quality of the work performed was of a high order.

Finally, to mention only the more important of the facts giving rise to an effective preference for Chinese for such work as they were employed to do, in canneries, on the ranches, and in other places where the employees ordinarily could not live at home, they found favor because they involved the least trouble and expense. They provided their own subsistence where white men, if they did not live close at hand, would ordinarily be provided with board. Lodgings were easily provided for the Chinese,

for whatever may be said concerning their standard of living as a whole, they are gregarious and are less dissatisfied when "bunked" in small quarters than is any other race thus far employed in the West.

After much ineffective state and local legislation in California the further immigration of Chinese of the laboring class was forbidden by the first of the federal exclusion laws, enacted in 1882. There had been opposition to the Chinese in the mining camps of California as early as 1852, this finally leading to the miners' license tax collected from them alone, in the cigar trade in San Francisco as early as 1862, and in other trades in which the Chinese were engaged beginning somewhat later. For the opposition many reasons were assigned, but the most important appears to have been race antipathy based upon color, language, and race traits, which has frequently found expression where numerous Chinese and white men of the laboring classes have been brought into close contact. This feeling found expression not only in San Francisco on numerous occasions, but in many other towns in California, in Tacoma, where Chinese have not been permitted to reside, and in the riots at Rock Springs, Wyoming, in 1882. In public discussion many reasons were advanced rightly or wrongly for excluding the Chinese, but that the opposition was more than a part of a labor movement is evidenced by the fact that many ranchers who were employing Chinese at the time voted "against Chinese immigration" at the election held in California in 1879, at which time the matter of Chinese exclusion was submitted to popular vote.

It has been estimated that the number of Chinese in the United States at the time the first exclusion act went into effect (1882) was 132,300. The number of Chinese laborers did not diminish perceptibly for several years after this. More recently, because of the wider distribution of the Chinese among the States, the decreasing number in the country, the large percentage who have grown old, a strong sentiment against employing Asiatics in manufacture, and the appearance of the Japanese, a change has taken place in the occupations in which the Chinese engage.

During the nineties, with the growth of the fishing industry on the Pacific coast, the number of Chinese engaged in cannery work has grown; but owing to the increasing difficulty involved

in securing them and the higher wages which they have come to command since 1900, an increasing number of Japanese and, very recently, Filipinos, have been employed.

During the year 1909 some 3000 Chinese were employed in canneries in Oregon, Washington, and Alaska, most of them migrating from San Francisco and Portland. The number of Japanese employed was approximately the same. Both races are employed in the great majority of the establishments, a Chinese ordinarily having the contract for the work done, employing his countrymen for the more skilled work, and Japanese, under a Japanese "boss," and other persons for the less skilled occupations. The Chinese command much higher wages than the Japanese. In fruit and vegetable canning in California perhaps 1000 or more Chinese are employed. Of 750 men employed in six asparagus canneries on the Sacramento River, nearly all are Chinese secured through one Chinese "boss." Most of the others are employed in two canneries operated by Chinese companies. In other canneries European immigrants of the newer type, chiefly Italians, Greeks, and Portuguese, have been substituted for them. In some instances where Chinese were formerly employed but were discharged by their employers because of the feeling against the race or because of public criticism, Asiatics are not now employed.

Few Chinese are now employed in railway work. As section hands they had all but disappeared ten years or more ago, and the number still employed in railway shops is small. As they grew old and their numbers diminished so that they could not furnish a large percentage of the laborers required, their departure was hastened by the well-organized Japanese, who took employment at the same wages (and less than was paid to other races), though the Chinese are almost universally regarded as better "help" than the Japanese except in such occupations about the shops as require adaptability and progressiveness. The Chinese were in part replaced by other races before Japanese became available, and where this was done it was generally at a higher wage, except in the case of the Mexicans, than the Chinese had received.

The Chinese engaged in agriculture were very largely replaced by Japanese. The Chinese engaged in the growing of sugar beets were underbid and displaced by the more progressive and quicker

Japanese and have all but absolutely disappeared from the industry. In the hop industry the Japanese underbid the Chinese as the Chinese had the white men. Because of this fact and the further fact that the Japanese had the same convenient organization and were more numerous, the Chinese have come to occupy a comparatively unimportant place in that industry. The same is true in the deciduous-fruit industry, though Chinese lease orchards and in almost every locality are employed in comparatively large groups on some of the older ranches. The largest amount of land is leased by them and the largest number of them are employed for wages in the orchards and on the large tracts devoted to the production of vegetables on the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. In a few localities they migrate from place to place for seasonal work, but such instances have become exceptional. Nearly all work in the same place throughout the year. Moreover, as the Japanese have advanced the Chinese have leased fewer orchards and withdrawn to grow vegetables or have gone to the towns and cities. Though the number employed in agricultural work is by no means small, they are no longer a dominant factor in the labor supply, and especially in that required for harvesting the crops. The place once occupied by them has for several years been occupied by the Japanese.

The number of Chinese engaged in mining has for many years been small, some 40 in coal mining in Wyoming as against several hundred formerly employed there, and several hundred as against many thousand in gold mining in California.

Many Chinese are living in the small towns of the West, engaged in laundry work, petty business, and gambling, or rather conducting places for gambling. The laundries are patronized chiefly by white people, the shops by Chinese, and the gambling places by Chinese and Japanese. In San Francisco they are much less conspicuously employed in domestic service and manufacture than formerly. Most of those engaged in domestic service are high-priced cooks in private families and in saloons. They now have a scarcity value. The most recently published estimate made by the assessor for the city and county of San Francisco of the number of Chinese engaged in manufacture (in San Francisco) was, for 1903, 2420, the branches of manufacture having more than 100 being cigar making, with 800

Chinese in a total of 1300; clothing, with 250 in a total of 1050; shirt making, with 300 in a total of 1500, and shoemaking, with 250 in a total of 950. Their numbers in all of these cases are smaller than formerly. In shoe and cigar making many were discharged during the seventies and eighties because of public criticism or fear of boycott. When white persons were substituted it was, in some cases at least, at a higher wage and for a shorter work day. At present the Chinese employed are among the low paid laborers in "white shops." The same is true of those employed in powder factories, where the number is much smaller than formerly.

The assessment roll for 1908 shows 20 cigar factories, 3 broom factories, 1 shoe factory, and 5 overall factories conducted by Chinese in San Francisco. By far the largest number of Chinese, however, some 1000, are employed in the 100 Chinese laundries. The other branches of business are of comparatively little importance save the art and curio stores which are conducted by business men from China. Of the Chinese in other cities much the same may be said, except that they occupy no important place in manufacture and that they frequently conduct cheap restaurants, patronized largely by workingmen. In Portland they also conduct numerous tailor shops. On the whole, the Chinese have not shown the same progressiveness and competitive ability either in industry or in business for themselves as the Japanese. They have, however, occupied a more important place in manufacture, especially in San Francisco, where, until within the last twenty years, little cheap labor has been available from other sources.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION ¹

KEE OWYANG, EXPOSITION COMMISSIONER, FORMER CONSUL AT SAN FRANCISCO

LET me have the pleasure of raising the question at the outset as to what is the Chinese Exclusion Law. What is the essence of the spirit of it all? Is it born of justice or otherwise? I think if you will take the pains and trouble of finding it out for your own satisfaction and information, you will readily observe that the Exclusion Law is the outcome of a long series of unwise legislation in one of the chapters of American history.

To be sure, the trouble dated back to the time when the Chinese and their Occidental brothers first came in contact with one another in the days of '49 — in the days of mad rush after gold in California, and railroad construction on the western coast.

Doubtless there were differences, strife, and contention among them in the placer mines, which would inevitably arise when people of divers tongues, manners, and customs come together for the first time. It was even difficult for the working people of the various European nations to get along well together in the earlier days of California, but we can easily imagine the greater differences existing between the Chinese and the white people whose religion and education have made them think and act entirely different from one another. In consequence, misunderstanding and discord were bound to arise. The early political leaders and other agitators, instead of attempting to alleviate conditions, instilled in the people at large hatred and prejudice which I think you will agree with me were unwarranted and unreasonable.

However, we must not forget that most of these Chinese laborers came here at that time, at the invitation of the United

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States. The right of so coming of the Chinese people was guaranteed under solemn treaty between China and the United States, which treaty existed until 1880. The Chinese were then no longer desirable, and because of all these agitations and clamor of all the mischief-makers, the government of this country had committed itself to an act which justice cannot defend. You know the United States solemnly agreed in said treaty that the coming of Chinese laborers may be suspended but never absolutely prohibited. But since that time the United States prohibited Chinese immigration and thus the government broke faith with China by passing a law in direct violation of said treaty, and the courts have aided in said violation by deciding that Congress had the right to pass such an act.]

The American Christian missionary in China from that time on found their good work seriously hindered. Thus you see that from time immemorial political leaders, demagogues, and agitators resorted to misrepresentation, falsehood, and vehemence to secure their political jobs and favors, and they did not dare say anything favorable to the Chinese. I need not labor much longer upon this point. Suffice it to indicate that all this agitation directed against the Chinese by political demagogues was responsible for the Exclusion Act. The act excluding the Chinese immigration was not tempered with justice or a square deal. The Exclusion Law to-day is nothing but the culmination of all the early agitators. The reason for excluding Chinese people is racial, not economic. As a noted lawyer of this coast once said: "We are afflicted with the malady of race hatred; and infected with this disease. Everything that the Oriental does is, to our sick vision, distorted into an offense which causes us to vomit forth at home our rancor and spleen."

All we ask of the American Government is to give the Chinese fair treatment and not favor in the matter of exclusion, and give us the same treatment as is accorded to people of other nationalities. I wish I had time to enter into details regarding the differences in which the people of other nations are treated. The Exclusion Law does not only exclude all Chinese laborers, or coolies as you call them, but it inflicts tremendous hardships upon the Chinese of the exempt classes; that is, merchants, travelers, students, and teachers, and even officials at times.

It seems that it is much easier for them to enter Heaven than to set foot on the American continent, even when they enter this port with the Consul's Certificate or other documents issued and signed by American diplomatic agents in China.

The spirit of the Exclusion Law is to exclude the coolie class, but it was certainly not intended to hinder those who are above the coolie class when they are properly vouched for by the American Consular or Immigration Agent in China. On presentation of the proper certificate they ought to be permitted to land without much ado. When the officials place all these obstacles in our way, can it be said that they are acting in a spirit of justice?

The Exclusion Law as it stands is a discrimination against a single nation, a legislation against a race of people, branding them as being totally unworthy of the privilege of travel, residence, or citizenship in the United States. I frankly admit that there must be restriction for immigrants coming into this country, but the restriction ought to be applied to Oriental and Occidental people alike. There should be no unfair discrimination against a single nation, especially when that nation believes in peace and righteousness so firmly that it scorns to think that it has to be maintained or enforced by might.

I sincerely hope to see the Exclusion Law altered to read, Restriction Law. If you do that you will have done much in removing the only element of friction between the two most friendly republics on each side of the Pacific. Aside from her objection to the Exclusion Law, China has every reason to be thankful to the United States. Political leaders and wild agitators in this country have inflicted much harm upon the Chinese people in the name of the Exclusion Law, while, on the other hand, many statesmen have bestowed much good and many blessings upon China.

China cannot help but hold the United States in grateful memory. I say exactly what I mean, and mean what I say. The United States is the only powerful nation that has not at any time resorted to methods of bullying, coercing, or browbeating China for the sake of commercial gain. In short, she is ever ready to stretch forth a helping hand in any crisis that China might have to pass through. Who helped to preserve the integrity of China by means of the open door policy, but the United

States? Who took the lead in returning a portion of the Boxer indemnity fund which the powers extorted out of China, but the United States? Which was the first power to recognize the establishment of the Republic of China, but the United States? Who is doing the best medical and educational work in China, but the United States? Counting up the blessings one by one we have much indeed to be thankful for to the United States.

So you can readily see that the Exclusion Law is the only obstacle in the way of the most friendly relations between the two nations. Removing that, you will have a great admirer in the younger republic of the world.

America has always set a noble example to the world and a striking illustration is her position of neutrality in the present great war. As one great American said: "She ought to decree such wise things and such right things that she shall be considered a leader to the free nations of the earth."

The best means, therefore, of modifying the Exclusion Law is for the Christian people as well as all fair-minded Americans, to band together and educate and awaken the public opinion to the realization of the fact that there is but very little spirit of justice in the Exclusion Law. You will then have accomplished much in getting rid of the little element of friction between the two countries, and you will have exemplified to the wide world that America is a land full of noble impulse for justice and humanity.

IV. THE NEW IMMIGRATION

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS WITH THE NEW IMMIGRANT

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IT IS now twenty-five years since I landed in the United States with a group of Slovaks from the district of Scharosh in Hungary.

I followed them across the sea and watched this historic movement of the Slavs, who until then had remained practically dormant where they had been left by the glacier-like movement of their race, the pressure of the invader, or the fate which governed Eastern European politics.

It was a fascinating experience to see these forgotten children of an unresponsive soil coming in touch with a civilization of which they had never dreamed; to see the struggle of emotions in their usually impassive faces, as they saw the evidences of European culture and wealth in the Northern cities through which we passed.

What fear crept into their hearts and drove the healthy blood from their cheeks when for the first time they saw the turbulent sea.

The ocean was vaster and the fear of it most real to us who sailed out of Bremerhaven in the steerage of the steamer *Fulda*; for we were the forerunners of a vast army of men which had scarcely begun to think of leaving its age-long bivouac. The Slav has never taken kindly to the sea, and the *more* held unconquered terrors.

It is difficult now to describe the incidents of that first landing in New York, for in rapid succession the experience has been so often repeated; and all the joys, fears, and hopes which repeatedly I have shared with hundreds and thousands of men are so blended in my memory into one great wonder, that either analysis or description seems vain.

It is strange and yet natural, no doubt, that I remember the trivial incidents of that first landing. The attempt on the part of some of my Slovaks to eat bananas without removing the skins; their first acquaintance with mince pie, which they declared a barbarous dish; our first meal on American soil, in a third-rate boarding-house for immigrants, and the injunction of one of the earlier comers: "Don't wait for anybody, but grab all you can. In this country the motto is: 'Happy is the man who can help himself!'"

I remember the lonely feeling that crept over us as we found ourselves like driftwood in the great current of humanity in the city of New York, and the fear we had of every one who was at all friendly; for we had been warned against sharpers. I remember our pleasure in the picturesque ferryboat which carried us to New Jersey, its walking beam seeming like the limbs of some great monster crossing the water.

Then crowding fast upon one another come memories of hard tasks in gruesome mines and ghostly breakers; the sight of licking flames like fiery tongues darting out at us, from furnaces full of bubbling, boiling metal; the circling camps of the coke burners who kept their night's vigil by the altars of the Fire God.

There are memories of dark ravines and mud banks, choked by refuse of mill and mine; the miners' huts, close together, as if space were as scarce on the earth as compassion for the stranger.

I remember the kindness of the poor, the hospitality of the crowded, the hostility of the richer and stronger, who feared that we would drive them from their diggings; and the unbelief of those to whom I early began preaching the humanity of the Slav — rough and uncouth, but human still, although he has scarcely ever had a fair chance to prove it.

Of the names of the various towns through which I passed, in which I worked and watched, I particularly remember four: Connellsville, Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, and Streator, Illinois, all of them typical coal towns. In none of them were my people received with open arms, although they rarely met with organized hostility.

In Scranton and in Streator, they still remember our coming and our staying. Since then, I have repeatedly visited all these four places upon errands of investigation and interpretation.

I always dreaded going back to them; not only because it would revive painful memories of a very hard apprenticeship, but because I could not avoid asking myself if the optimism with which I have treated the problem of immigration, by voice and pen, would be justified.

What if the Americans in these cities should say :

We have lived with these Slavs for twenty-five years and more; we have been with them day after day, while you have flitted about the country. We know better than you do. We told you the "Hunkey" was a menace when he came, and he is a menace still.

I well know that my readers and my auditors have often criticized my optimism, and especially the sympathetic note with which I approach this problem, regarding which they are always more skeptical the more remote they are from it.

I have tried to modify my view of the problem by facing it in all its bearings; I have not shrunk from seeing the worst of it. In fact I know American cities best from that dark and clouded side. I know the Little Italies, the Ghettos, the Patches around the mines, the East Side of New York and the West Side of Chicago; although I have never been the full length of Fifth Avenue and have never seen the famous North Shore drive.

I am familiar with penitentiaries, jails, police courts, and even worse places; for I wanted to know to what depths these leaden souls can sink, and I fear that I have more anxiety as to their nativity than their destiny. Yet, having seen the worst of the bad, I never lost my faith in these lesser folk and my optimism remained unclouded. One fear alone assailed me; that what my critics said *to* me and *of* me was true. "He is an immigrant himself, and of course it is natural that he should see the brighter side of the problem." To me, that was the severest and most cutting criticism, just because I feared it might be true; yet I have honestly tried to see the darkest side of this question, both as it affected the immigrant and the country that received him.

I have listened patiently to jeremiads of home mission secretaries about these "Godless foreigners." I have read the reports of Immigrant Commissions, and all the literature written the last few years upon this subject, and I am still optimistic, and

disagree with much that I have heard and read. Many authors who have written regarding this question had no first-hand information about it. They knew neither the speech nor the genius of these new people; they had a fixed belief that all civilization, culture, and virtue, belong to the north of Europe and that the east and southeast of that continent are its limbo; and they relied upon statistics, which at best are misleading, when used to estimate human conduct and human influences.

Typical of this class of literature is a recent pamphlet upon the subject, which, judging from the excellent bibliography appended, must be based upon extensive reading; yet the author comes to this conclusion:

Assimilation in the twentieth century is a very different matter from assimilation in the nineteenth. In many respects, the new immigration is as bad as the old was good.¹

There are several facts which this author has forgotten, as have those from whom he draws. First, the older immigrant is not yet assimilated. In the agricultural counties of Mr. Edwards' own state, there are townships in which the English language is a foreign tongue, although the second generation of Germans already plows the fertile fields of Wisconsin; and there are cities where the Germans have thoroughly assimilated the Americans.

There are places of no mean size in Pennsylvania, which are as German as they were 200 years ago, and as far as the Irish everywhere are concerned, it is still a question what we shall be when they have done with us.

I venture to predict that the twentieth century immigrant will assimilate much more quickly and completely than the immigrants of the eighteenth and the early half of the nineteenth centuries assimilated.

Beside the fact that the process is going on much more rapidly than ever before, as I asserted, my theories are corroborated by Professor Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, whose book is suggestive if not conclusive. Speaking of the assimilation of the immigrant, he says:

¹ "Studies on American Social Conditions—Immigration." By Richard Henry Edwards, p. 9.

On the whole, those who come now Americanize much more readily than did the non-English immigrants of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Not only do they come from lesser peoples and from humbler social strata, but, thanks to the great rôle the United States plays in the world, the American culture meets with far more prestige than it had then. Although we have ever greater masses to assimilate, let us comfort ourselves with the fact that the vortical suction of our civilization is stronger now than even before.¹

Neither is any one prepared to *prove* that the “new immigrant is as bad as the old was good.”

It is very interesting that when authors and speakers quote statistics, as they usually do, to prove the criminal nature of the new immigrant, they do not differentiate between the older and the newer groups. If they did, and would let statistics determine the issue, they would find that the new immigrant is good and the old bad; yes, very bad.

The following tables, quoted from the Report of the Commission of Immigration of the State of New York, are worthy the close study of Mr. Edwards and the authors upon whom he has relied.²

STATISTICS REFERRING TO FOREIGN-BORN OFFENDERS COMMITTED TO NEW YORK STATE PRISONS AND PENITENTIARIES DURING 1904

TOTAL NUMBER OF PRISONERS COMMITTED

	MAJOR OFFENSES	MINOR OFFENSES	TOTAL
Aggregate	3,679	26,136	29,815
Total white	3,345	24,969	28,314
Native white	2,266	16,759	19,025
Native white of native parentage	1,223	10,266	11,489
Native white of foreign parentage	732	4,500	5,232
Native white of mixed parentage	263	1,505	1,768
Native white of unknown parentage	48	488	536
Foreign-born whites	1,075	8,158	9,233
Whites of unknown nativity	4	52	56
Negroes	330	1,139	1,469
Mongolians . . . . .	....	1	1
Indians	4	27	31

¹ “Social Psychology,” Ross, p. 140.

² Report of Commission of Immigration of the State of New York, pp. 182 and 185.

FOREIGN-BORN WHITE OFFENDERS BY NATIVITY

	MAJOR OFFENSES	PER CENT	MINOR OFFENSES	PER CENT
Austria	48	4.5	259	3.2
Canada	68	6.3	435	5.3
Denmark	5	0.5	28	0.3
England and Wales	67	6.2	655	8.1
France	19	1.8	119	1.4
Germany	212	19.7	1,136	13.9
Hungary	15	1.4	83	1.0
Ireland	148	13.7	3,569	43.9
Italy	255	23.7	601	7.3
Mexico . . . . .	....	....	6	0.1
Norway	7	0.7	46	0.5
Poland	30	2.8	232	2.8
Russia	119	11.0	392	4.9
Scotland	17	1.6	220	2.7
Sweden	14	1.3	163	2.0
Switzerland	4	0.4	43	0.5
Other countries	47	4.4	171	2.1
Totals	1,075	100.0	8,158	100.0

PAUPERS ADMITTED TO ALMSHOUSES IN NEW YORK STATE
DURING YEAR 1904, BY NATIVITY AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE
IN THE UNITED STATES

All paupers admitted	10,272
Per cent of white paupers admitted :	
Native	44.0 per cent.
Foreign-born	56.0 per cent.

FOREIGN-BORN WHITE PAUPERS ADMITTED IN 1904, BY NATIVITY

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	PER CENT	PER CENT
Ireland	54.3	88.6
Germany	18.7	
England and Wales	6.4	
Canada (including Newfoundland)	4.3	
Scandinavia	2.0	
France	0.9	11.4
Scotland	2.0	
Italy	3.5	
Hungary and Bohemia	0.6	
Russia and Poland	3.3	
Unknown	4.0	100.0
Grand total		

What is more striking still is the following table which seems to prove that the new immigrant does not increase his percentage in the criminal column materially, in fact that there is a slight tendency to decrease it.¹

FOREIGN-BORN OFFENDERS ACCORDING TO YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES

YEARS	MAJOR OFFENSES	PER CENT	MINOR OFFENSES	PER CENT
Under one year	36	3.3	86	1.0
One year	79	7.2	229	2.8
Two years	63	5.8	297	3.6
Three years	52	4.8	285	3.4
Four years	40	3.6	177	2.2
Over four years	824	75.3	7,143	87.0
Totals	1,094	100.0	8,217	100.0

I am not trying to prove that the old immigration was worse than the new; I do not believe that these statistics prove it, in spite of their appearing to. But they do prove conclusively that statistics of this kind are absolutely unreliable in furnishing tests of the moral fiber of this or that group.

Far more reliable is the verdict of various communities after twenty-five years' experience with the new immigrant.

Take for example the city of Streator, Ill., which has steadily grown in size and in the number and variety of its industrial establishments; a development which could not have taken place without the new immigrant. There are certain unprofitable seams in the mines which the English-speaking miners would not have worked; even as there are less profitable veins which the Slav does not care to touch and which are being worked by Sicilians, new upon the scene.

It is true that out of the 500 Welsh miners there are only about fifty left; but the 450 were pushed up and not out, and are in no position to complain. They have moved on to farms and have grown prosperous, while some of the most lucrative business in the city is theirs.

It does seem a great pity that a skilled trade like mining should have passed into the hands of unskilled laborers; but for this,

¹ Report of Commission of Immigration of the State of New York, p. 183.

the invention of machinery is to blame, and not the foreigner. Had comparatively cheap labor been unavailable, the genius of the American would not have stopped until he had all but eliminated the human element, as he has done in many other trades in which unskilled foreign labor is not a factor.

Twenty-five years ago I "squatted" near mine No. 3 with my men from Scharosh. It was as wretched a patch as miners' patches always are. We bunked twenty in a room and took as good care of our bodies as conditions permitted; so that when we went down-town we were cleanly if not stylish.

My men soon learned to drink whisky like the Irish, swear like the English, and dress like the Americans.

After twenty-five years the patches around the mines in Streator are practically gone, and the homes there are as good as the Welsh or English miners ever had. Some of the newer additions in that growing city are occupied entirely by Slavs and do them credit.

Nor has the Slav been content to remain in the mines; he, too, has begun to move out and up. He owns saloons and sightly stores in which his sons and daughters clerk, and it would take a very keen student of race characteristics to distinguish the Slavs from the native Americans.

"Do you see that young man at the entrance to the Chautauqua?" said Mr. Williams, its public spirited secretary.

"Racially, his father is as sharply marked a man as I have ever seen, and the son, a graduate of Harvard, looks as if his forefathers had all grown up in the salt air of the New England coast."

Here in Streator were the people who have lived with the new immigrant a quarter of a century and more, and I have spoken to them three times, in my most optimistic vein; many a man and woman have said:

You are right, they make splendid citizens.

They are good neighbors.

They are as human as we are, and they are proving it.

This, in spite of the fact that in Streator as in Connellsville and in hundreds of industrial towns, they have been met with suspicion and have been treated with injustice!

"They are a great strain upon our political institutions," said Mr. Williams, himself once a Welsh miner, pushed out of the mine by the Slav and now one of the leading citizens of Streator.

But Mr. Williams knows that the year I lived in Streator, when the Slav had no vote or influence, politics in that city were already corrupt and that the corrupters were native Americans, whose ancestors harked back to the *Mayflower*, and who were rewarded for their corruption by high political offices. In truth, when the Slav came to this country, there was nothing left to corrupt, in Scranton or Wilkes-Barre, in Connellsville or Streator; or, indeed, in all Pennsylvania and Illinois. The Slav now has some political power; but as yet he has not produced the "grafter." I do not say that he *will* not; but when he does, small blame to him.

In one of the four cities which I have mentioned, I shared with a group of Poles the vicissitudes of the first few weeks in a boarding-house, a combination of saloon and hotel, common in Pennsylvania, and usually offering more bar than board.

One evening an American came among us, a splendid type of agile manhood. When my men saw him, they said, "This is a prince!" They did not know that he was a politician. He shook hands with every one of us, and I said to the men, "This is democracy!" Poor fool! I did not know that it was the day before election.

Then he marched the men to the bar, and said to the barkeeper: "Fill 'em up." And as they drank the fiery stuff, no doubt they thought they were in Heaven, and forgot that they were in Pennsylvania. When the whisky took effect, they were marched into a large hall, where other Poles, drunk as they, were congregated; speeches were made, full of the twaddle of political jargon which they did not understand, and when morning came, these Poles, so intoxicated that they did not know whether they were North Poles or South Poles, were marched to the voting-place and sworn in.

I have told this story in each of the four places referred to, and in the place where it occurred, a judge, who was among my audience, said to me:

"Don't tell that story again."

"Why not? It is true," I replied.

"Yes," he said, "it is perfectly true; but you'd better save your strength. In this city, not only the foreigners, who are not citizens, vote; but the dead vote, long after they have become citizens of Kingdom Come."

One of these same Poles recently took me through the Capitol of Pennsylvania at Harrisburg. With great pride he guided me from foundation to dome, pointing out those objects of interest which every stranger must see, as if they were the memorials of noble deeds of valour.

They consist of wood, painted to imitate marble, chandeliers of base metal, to be sold by the pound, at fabulous prices, and among many other spurious things, a safe, supposed to be fireproof and burglar-proof, but which was not politician-proof, for an ordinary gimlet bored a hole into its corrupt heart.

What was distressing to me was not so much that the State paid millions for this veneered and varnished fraud, but that my Polish guide pronounced the word *graft* with evident relish and without fear or shame.

I do not doubt that the presence of the new immigrant is "a great strain upon our political institutions"; but not greater than the old immigrant was, and still is. This certainly is true of Pennsylvania; for there are counties in that state, into whose wilds the new immigrant has not yet penetrated, and where those who have been living off its fat acres since their birth — the sons of immigrants who came two hundred years ago — hold their right of franchise cheap. I am told that in these counties nearly every vote can be bought for five dollars.

This may be idle rumor; but the fact remains and can be proved by any one who chooses to investigate, that Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, Connellsville and a hundred other cities and towns, are better governed now than they were before Slav, Latin, and Jew came to live in their Patches and Ghettos. This is true in spite of our having tried to corrupt these new citizens from the very hour when they received their political rights, and that, when they had no rights, we treated them with neglect and scorn.

The mayor of Greensburg, Pennsylvania, a man of the newer and better type of administrators, whose territory is completely

enviored by the coke regions and has an almost totally foreign population — says :

They make reliable citizens. They can be trusted absolutely. Their worst enemy is drink ; but when a foreigner comes before me and is fined, if he has no money and I let him go home, he will come the next day to pay his fine even if he lives ten miles from town. Yet in spite of the fact that the “Hunkey” and the “Dago” have helped build up Greensburg and have enriched its citizens, they are still held in contempt by the majority of its people.

This same official told me that a few years ago when the Italians celebrated their Independence Day, the *High School* boys of that city threw decayed vegetables at them and their national flag.

Without the slightest reserve I can say this : Wherever an enlightened official, like this mayor, or teachers of the public schools, ministers of the Gospel and business men, have come in real contact with the new immigrant, their verdict was entirely different from that of Mr. Edwards and many of the professional writers upon the problem which the foreigner represents.

There are some places in the United States where I have found the immigrant a menace, and one of them is in Pittston, Pennsylvania. There the Italian is really bad ; there he is an Anarchist and a murderer. But in Pittston I discovered the really bad American, an Anarchist and a murderer ; although he may be the owner of some of the mines or a high official in the town. In that city, every law which governs mining has been openly violated, and there is at least one mine in the place which is nothing but a deep hell-hole and is known as such by the men compelled to work in it. It is a mine in which anything may be had for a bribe and anything may be done without fear of punishment. In one of the last communal elections, the candidate for its highest office kept open house, with beer and “booze” in one of the miners’ shacks ; young boys, not out of their teens, were allowed to drink to intoxication, and the candidate already mentioned was not an Italian or a Slav or a Jew ; but an American, unto the tenth generation, and a member of a Protestant church.

I do not rejoice in writing this or in telling it as I have had to

tell it in the towns affected, and to the very men who have thus offended.

It is painful to me, because, after all, I do not feel myself so closely identified with the immigrant as with the American. While my sympathies are with the immigrant, they are much more with this, my country, and with that circle of the native born, whose ideals, whose hopes, and whose aspirations have become mine.

I am not greatly concerned with immigration, *per se*; that is a subject for the economist, which I am not. It is for him, if he is skilled enough, to know whether we can afford to keep our gates open to the millions who come, or when and to whom to close them.

Narrowly, or perhaps selfishly, I am concerned for those who are here; that they be treated justly, with due appreciation of their worth, and that they may see that best in the American which has bound me to him, to his land and to its history; to its best men living, and to those of its dead who left a great legacy, too great to be squandered by a prodigal generation.

Knowing how great this legacy is, and yet may be for the blessing of mankind, I am pleading for this new immigrant. If we care at all for that struggling, striving mass of men, unblest as yet by those gifts of Heaven which have blessed us, let us prove to these people of all kindreds and races and nations, that our God is the Lord, that His law is our law and that all men are our brothers.

IMMIGRANTS IN CITIES¹

E. A. GOLDENWEISER, EXPERT IN CHARGE OF CITY INQUIRY,
UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION COMMISSION

SEVEN cities were included by the Federal Immigration Commission in its study of conditions: New York, which with its hundreds of thousands of tenement houses and with an equal number of pages describing their evils is preëminently the congested city; Chicago, which in lifting itself out of a swamp left behind many a basement where the poor seek shelter, and many a yard which is dry only in the hottest season; Philadelphia, with its network of narrow alleys with surface drainage, its three-room houses with insufficient water supply and sanitary equipment, in a word, with its "horizontal tenement houses"; Boston, where "Americans in process" succeed each other in the restricted area of the North and the West Ends, and where the one-family dwelling, converted for the use of several households, emphasizes the rapid change of conditions; Cleveland, which awoke to find itself one of the leading cities in America and has not had time to think of the necessity of protecting itself from the slum; Buffalo, with its enormous colony of Poles who have come from farms in Europe and have to learn the solution of the problem of existence in a city; and Milwaukee, the most foreign city of them all, where there is no limit of space, and where in spite of that, economic pressure frequently results in crowding of houses on a lot and of persons in a house.

It was felt that an inquiry covering representative districts in these seven cities could safely be accepted as indicative of what may be found elsewhere in the United States, in the poorest environment and most congested quarters. This also would afford a much broader basis for judgment than the study of a single locality. For many reasons the problem of the

¹ From *The Survey*, January 1, 1911.

immigrant in large cities has for almost a generation attracted a great deal of attention. The vast majority of immigrants land in two or three seaports, and large numbers remain there, for a time at least. The phenomenal growth of cities and the difficulties accompanying their growth have been intensified by the influx of millions of aliens, who for the most part are unacquainted with urban conditions in their own countries, and are dazed by the complexity of existence in the great American cities. And it must be remembered that writers, like immigrants, congregate in large cities, and their proximity to the foreign colonies has had its natural result. The social reformer who wishes to remedy preventable evils, as well as the journalist who is anxious to present readable material, has consistently dwelt on the crowding and filth, the poverty and destitution, of which there are such extreme instances in the poorer quarters of every city. Public opinion has been aroused, and legislation enacted which has tended to minimize the evils of overcrowding in many of the older cities, and to inform the younger cities of the dangers of unregulated growth. But the result also has been to create in the popular imagination an impression that the extreme instances cited are the whole story, and that the congested quarters of large cities, full of filth, squalor, and depraved humanity, are a menace to the nation's health and morals. Moreover, the responsibility for these conditions is almost universally placed by old residents on the immigrant, and primarily on the recent immigrant, from the South and East of Europe. The Italian, the Hebrew, and the Slav, according to popular belief, are poisoning the pure air of our otherwise well-regulated cities; and if it were not for them there would be no congestion, no filth, and no poverty in the great industrial and commercial centers of America.

Once the cities were selected, the problem was to choose the districts. The method of study agreed upon was to canvass a certain number of blocks, representing the most important races in each city and the worst representative conditions. After the blocks had been selected every household living there was visited, and schedules were secured from them. In this way the study was not confined to individual cases showing extremes of poverty or of prosperity, but included every family that resided within the chosen quarter. In most cases the blocks studied were uniformly

populated by one race. It was no easy problem to find blocks of that description. The population of the districts in many instances changes so rapidly, that the race which predominates in one of them to-day may constitute but a small minority to-morrow. City officials and settlement workers were helpful in locating foreign colonies, but in addition we interviewed physicians, district nurses, grocers, letter-carriers, priests, and saloon-keepers. It was especially difficult to find solid blocks of Irish and of Germans, and it is only fair to add that the households of these older races often represent the failures which were left behind when their more successful countrymen moved to better neighborhoods. For the sake of comparison, it was felt that some American households ought to be included; but that was a still harder proposition. What was meant by Americans were households whose heads were natives of native fathers. Few such households were found in crowded districts, and never did they form the majority of the population of a block. They were studied whenever found within the specified areas inhabited by working people. In Boston, to secure one hundred family schedules from such native stock, about 700 homes were visited. It is worthy of note that the search for Americans in the poorer quarters of American cities was an arduous task.

To secure the desired information from every family visited was not always an easy undertaking. The recent immigrants, who are more accustomed to a paternalistic government and have not learned the hall-marks of American liberty, were the easiest to interview. Some of the old residents, who have learned to look upon themselves as the sovereign people and consider the government as their agent, were unwilling to answer the questions. I shall never forget my own experience with an Irish woman, twice my size, but as it turned out with a bad memory for faces, who not only refused to answer my timid questions, but took the trouble to escort me downstairs and to threaten violence should I come "nosing around" again. This was at the very outset of the work. A month or two later, fortified by accumulated experience, I returned to the same house and obtained schedules from all the tenants, including my formidable antagonist, who this time was quite accommodating and confided that she knew the difference between a real government agent

and a fraud. As proof, she told of the treatment she had recently accorded to a "mutt" who wished to impose upon her. One of the women agents had an exciting time in a "Krainer" household in Cleveland. The owner of the house, a man of consequence in the community, refused point blank to answer any questions, grabbed the agent by the arm and put her out. The agent referred the matter to the United States marshal who accompanied her on her next visit. The "Krainer" was impressed, helped fill out the schedule, and ended by a proposal of marriage which was taken as a great compliment by the canvasser. Another schedule worker was one time surrounded by a crowd of irate Italians, who would not let her leave the premises until she had destroyed the records which she had taken great pains to obtain. Incidents of this nature were not unusual, but every agent who worked in this investigation will agree with me, that the proportion of "difficult" families was surprisingly small, when the large number of questions asked and the personal character of some of them are taken into consideration, and that the investigators owe a great deal to the willingness and courtesy of most of the families canvassed.

The inquiry covered over 10,200 households and over 51,000 individuals. The largest number of households, 2667, was studied in New York, and the smallest, 687, in Buffalo. It is apparent that this total represents only a small proportion of all families living amid congested conditions in the United States. Yet those studied were representative of many times as many households living under substantially similar conditions in the seven cities chosen. It seems fair, therefore, to say that what the study reveals are the worst living conditions existing on a large scale in any of the large cities of America.

What then are some of the vital facts disclosed by the investigation? First of all, it reaffirms that crowded districts are largely populated by immigrants, and more particularly by recent immigrants. In the eastern cities, New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, the Russian Hebrews and the south Italians are the largest elements in congested foreign colonies. In the cities on the Great Lakes, Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, and Milwaukee, the various Slavic races, the Poles, Slovaks, and Slovenians, are found in large numbers. About two thirds of the

foreign-born in the selected districts have been in this country less than ten years, and one fifth has immigrated within the past five years.

A noteworthy fact in this connection is that about one family out of every ten visited owns its home. Of course, this does not mean that the families have clear titles to the property; but it is indicative of thrift and of the intention on the part of the immigrants to settle permanently in this country. The proportion varies greatly from city to city; in Milwaukee, it is one in five; in Buffalo, one in six; in Chicago and in Cleveland, about one in seven; in Philadelphia, one in fourteen; in Boston, one in twenty, and in New York, one in two hundred.

In connection with the prevailing opinion about the filth, which is supposed to be the natural element of the immigrant, it is an interesting fact that, while perhaps five sixths of the blocks studied justified this belief, so far as the appearance of the street went, five sixths of the interiors of the homes were found to be fairly clean, and two out of every five were immaculate. When this is considered in connection with the frequently inadequate water supply, the dark halls, and the large number of families living in close proximity, the responsibility for uncleanness and insanitary conditions is largely shifted from the immigrants to the landlords, and to the municipal authorities who spare no expense in sprinkling oil to save the wealthy automobilists from the dust, but are very economical when it comes to keeping the poorer streets in a habitable condition. The water supply, the drainage, and the condition of the pavement are also outside the jurisdiction of the tenants; and yet their neglect results in bad conditions for which the resident of the crowded districts is blamed.

Congestion itself is a relative term, and hard to measure statistically without going into more details than any extensive investigation can afford to do. And yet it does seem like something of an anti-climax to the cry about terrible congestion, when the fact is stated that the average number of persons per room in the 10,000 households studied by the commission is 1.34. The average is higher in Boston, Philadelphia and Cleveland than in New York, and is lowest in Milwaukee, where the figure is 1.15. Some races show averages far higher than those

for all the households studied, and yet the highest figure which is found among the Slovenians does not exceed 1.72 persons per room. These figures are significant, because they indicate that the pictures of six or more persons per room, which are frequently given to the public, do not represent general conditions, but are exceptional. It is also interesting that New York shows lower averages than Boston and Philadelphia. This suggests that after all, when a certain density of population is reached, the building of tenement houses tends to increase the amount of floor area per acre and reduce the number of persons per square yard of floor space, and presumably per room. Not that congestion per acre is devoid of evils, such as traffic congestion, lack of breathing space or of playgrounds for the children; but this problem is part of the general problem of the growth of large cities and is not confined to foreign quarters.

Another current belief is that all of the foreigners in poorer sections of cities keep large numbers of boarders or lodgers, and sacrifice comfort and decency to their inordinate desire to save money, in order presumably to return home and live on what they have earned in America. I shall not stop to consider the economic fallacy involved in this reasoning, and in the theory that these savings when sent abroad are a loss to America; I shall only point out that the study of immigrant homes has shown that only about one out of every four keeps boarders or lodgers at all, so that three fourths of the households consist of what may be called the natural family. It is further noteworthy that crowding in larger apartments is never as great as in smaller apartments, which suggests that the immigrant household is crowded either because, having a large family, the head cannot afford a sufficient number of rooms; or because, having taken an apartment of standardized size, he finds himself unable to pay the rent and support his family without the help of one or two lodgers. There is no evidence of boarders or lodgers being kept as a business nor of a sacrifice of comfort or decency to cupidity, as it is called in the immigrant, or even to thrift, as it is called in the native. Crowding, when it appears, is the result of grim economic necessity, and as a rule it disappears as soon as the pressure relaxes.

In studying foreign colonies in cities, one is constantly reminded of the forces which create them and keep them together. Most

immigrants come to join friends or relatives and thus form the nucleus of a colony; the first few families attract more, and in a short time a racial island is created in the city. Once the colony is established there are many reasons for its continued existence and growth.

It is expensive to move; it is sometimes hard to find a position in a new environment or to pay car fare, or even to be deprived of the possibility of coming home for lunch. Furthermore, friendly relations, kinship, language, religious affiliations, dietary laws and preferences, and the greater ease of securing boarders in districts where immigrants of the same race are centered, tend to keep the families where they have once settled.

But when the immigrant becomes accustomed to American conditions, when he has gained a firm economic footing, when his children have gone to American schools, the desire for better surroundings overcomes the economic and racial reasons for remaining in congested districts. The stream of emigration from the foreign colonies in large cities is continuous; some move up-town when they marry, some seek new places to establish their own business; others look for cleaner streets, and still others follow the current for no conscious reason. The older immigrants do not often form colonies in American cities any longer, and the newer arrivals clearly tend to follow the example of their predecessors in congested districts, gradually scattering over the city of residence and often leaving that city altogether.

In conclusion, I wish to say that this study has not touched the general problem of the distribution of immigrants and their concentration in cities. What it has done is to show that the immigrants in cities in a large majority of cases live a clean and decent life, in spite of all the difficulties that are thrown in their way by economic struggle and municipal neglect. The study strongly indicates that racial characteristics are entirely subordinate to environment and opportunity in determining that part of the immigrant's mode of life which is legitimately a matter of public concern; and finally, it shows that foreign colonies in large cities are not stagnant, but are constantly changing their composition, the more successful members leaving for better surroundings, until finally the entire colony is absorbed in the melting pot of the American city. The population of congested

quarters constantly changes, but the quarters themselves remain congested and will remain so as long as new immigrants continue to arrive in large numbers. It is vitally important for the city to keep her crowded quarters clean and her tenement houses sanitary; but it is just as important that the public understand that congested quarters of large cities are temporary receptacles of newly arrived immigrants, rather than stagnant pools of filth, and vice, and destitution.

THE IMMIGRANT WOMAN¹

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THE consideration of the subject of immigration is not new. Ever since the days of the Athenian Republic, nations have had the subject to deal with in some form.

The United States has passed through several stages in its attitude on the subject. In early colonial days immigration was so earnestly desired that enforced immigration was resorted to and unwilling lawbreakers were deported from England to this country and shiploads of slaves were brought from Africa. Let us not forget that one of the most conspicuous problems that this country has to face in regard to aliens dates from this latter source.

One of the charges made against King George in the Declaration of Independence was that he interfered with immigration, and yet as early as 1780, Benjamin Franklin declared that unless the immigration from the continent is stopped the English language will cease to be the language of the country. Also in spite of the fact that William Penn showed himself to be an able forerunner of the present day immigration agent in the manner in which he advertised the advantages of Pennsylvania, we find that at that early day others were deploring the fact that those who were coming were very inferior to those who had come with the first ships. It is remarkable what virtues priority seems to give in the eyes of many!

After the country became fairly well populated there was a period of indifference to the subject and it was only in 1882 that any effort towards regulating immigration was undertaken by the government.

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At the present time I might characterize the attitude of most of our citizens as one of questionings if not of hostility, toward unrestricted immigration.

In spite of the attention which has been directed to the subject in the past ten years when we have been receiving annually over one million aliens, most legislation has been abortive and unrelated to the crux of the matter. The cause of this confusion in legislative enactment is due largely to the fact that none of the political parties and no candidates for election have had the courage to define their position upon this subject for fear of losing the naturalized vote. To my mind the hyphenated American citizen is as much interested in a sane and intelligent solution of this question as the native-born. He has sought this country for larger social or economic opportunities and frequently has a greater appreciation of American institutions than those born under the Stars and Stripes. A pertinent question for every native son of the United States to ask himself, especially those of colonial descent, whose fathers' blood made possible this government and who with bloodless effort availed themselves of the treasures that nature had stored up in geological periods, is: If I had not been born to this heritage of freedom would I have had the courage to claim it? Upon his ability to answer this subject in the affirmative rests their position as the leaders of the future destinies of this republic; if answered in the negative, no adventitious circumstances, no pride of birth, no unjust laws can build a fortress around them sufficient to protect them for long against the onward and irresistible march of progress. I never see an alien woman in the street, in her peasant costume, with the look of anxiety and often fear on her face, that I do not mentally make obeisance to her, for I question if I would have the bravery to do what she has done.

What she has done, it did not matter how circumstance pressed. And so we pay, one way or another, for all that we have, it does not matter in what form it comes. Now that Nature has been tamed, the only way that we can hope to keep alive the splendid pioneer spirit of our ancestors is to stand on the frontiers of moral reform and to be the adventurous bowman for civil economic and religious liberty.

Easy living, easy dying is as true of the national as of the physical body.

While there is nothing startlingly new in the general subject of immigration the problem of the unattached alien woman is new in its present form.

We who trace our ancestry back to the colonial days, rather resent having our attention called to the fact that large numbers of women who were deported from Great Britain to the colonies and whose progeny were doubtless absorbed into some of the first families for eligible females were rather scarce in those days. A picture of what the inhumanity of man caused some of those first alien women to suffer has come down to us in that wonderful classic "*Manon Lescaut*." If you want to know what our civilization has cost alien women, read some of the official manuscripts preserved in the Library at Paris, of the settlement of Louisiana. A young friend of mine went to Paris to prepare a thesis upon the settlement of Alabama, and she told me the horrors that were revealed to her in those musty documents were unbelievable.

Let us not forget that much of the civilization of America was built upon the sufferings of alien women and that the ties which bound together the thirteen colonies were cemented with their blood.

But it is with the alien woman of to-day that I have to deal.

The movement of unattached women of every nationality is a significant feature of the day. It is an unmistakable sign of her unrest and dissatisfaction of the old order. Even our own daughters prefer occupation far from their home in the majority of cases. This practice on the part of American women has affected European women. Formerly men of the family came first. Now it is not at all unusual to find women coming first and sending back for the men of the family. Many have said to me that American women do not have to have a home. Why should they? A boarding house answers every purpose.

In considering the alien woman it is safe to say that if you multiply the injustices which alien men are subjected to it will not exaggerate her plight. All that he suffers she suffers also and added to it the burden incident to her sex.

If the injustice is economic and he is a married man, the woman must stretch the family purse to meet the demands of the family,

and if any member must go without, it is always the mother. Is it any wonder that foreign children are so often ashamed of their mothers because they are so different from other children's mothers and because of this drift away from her wholesome influence? If we believe that in a well-ordered American home, the mother should be the center, is it not time we took some forward step which will lead to some permanent constructive measures that will dignify the alien mother who is often an uncrowned heroine? Something has been done at Hull House by establishing a museum of hand industries, but every locality should perfect some machinery where the alien mother might have just recognition without having to wait to get to heaven to receive it.

The economic injustice to which the self-supporting alien woman is subjected is well known. Usually unskilled and incapable of initiative, there are practically no labor unions which are open to her and she has practically no redress from greedy employers. Frequently I have had in my charge, in New York, girls who had been employed in a private family for several months and then have been taken out on the street and left, in order that they might not be forced to pay them their earnings. Sometimes it has taken weeks to find where the parties lived, for as strange as it may seem, these girls often stay for months in a house and never learn the name of the street. The number of girls thus cheated must be enormous for their fear of the invisible government often makes them afraid to make complaints, and it is only the few cases that fall into the hands of some philanthropic organization that are ever heard of.

Social injustice is the alien woman's reward at every turn. Even the legislation which is passed to protect her often becomes a boomerang. The deportation acts of the Federal Department of Immigration cover the punishment of those who contribute to her delinquency as much as they punish her. In spite of this fact and although the sympathy of the heads of the department has always been with the friendless woman, minor officials have seen in this law an opportunity to magnify their importance and to swell the amount of work they have accomplished, have been indefatigable in arresting women, but strange to say are very unsuccessful in finding the guilty male partner. A well-merited rebuke was administered by a federal judge in San Francisco

lately when he declined to hold the woman until her partner in crime was also arrested.

Nothing is more in keeping with the wishes of man when he has gotten a woman in trouble than to have her deported and thus put the ocean between them, thus ridding him of his incumbrance. But I am glad to say that the recent order of the secretary of labor and Commissioner-General Camineti, placing all women held for deportation in the hands of a woman officer and in the custody of some private society, preferably of her own nationality and religion, assures every woman of having friends who will see that justice is done her.

The difficulty of alien women getting in touch with the best class of her countrymen is another source of social injustice and often sheer loneliness and the desire to talk to someone who speaks her own language will cause her to seek companionship among those, who, if other avenues were open to her, would not attract her. In every city there are groups of those of the same nationality, segregated into clubs, with different objects, all giving opportunities for social companionship and development, but these organizations are all for men. I know of none such for women. True, there are national organizations for women but they are invariably exclusive and the woman who needs them most is not eligible for membership. If they are not exclusive the best women of that race don't go to them. But it does not matter how democratic a man's club may be you will find the leading citizens of that nationality in the city belonging to them.

The importance of reaching the alien woman is paramount if we are going to Americanize our foreign population. She is the crux of the whole subject. It is she who selects the neighborhood and the house in which the family live and the church which they attend. She has the opportunity to supplement the lessons at school and her attitude towards the problems of daily life unconsciously are reflected in the other members of the family. In the states in which women have the ballot she will be sought for by the ward politician and her ideals of the ballot will reflect the attitude of her teacher.

As some practical suggestions as to the means, I would recommend that every state pass a law similar to the California law whereby teachers may be sent into the home to instruct the

mothers. That efforts be put forth by the men's clubs to form national centers to which the mothers may be gathered and where they will be addressed in their own language. That our national holidays be set aside especially for the education in American ideals. That special occasions of joy be participated in on the national holidays of that nationality. That we educate ourselves in the contributions that each nation has made to our literature and that we voice our appreciation of these contributions. That we see to it that the municipality is not lax in enforcing the health laws in the foreign community and that if any part of the municipality must suffer at the hands of the street cleaning department it shall be other than the foreign district where frequently the streets and alleys are often the only playgrounds or parks. Neighborliness on the part of the women of the community who have a recognized standing will do more to wipe out the injustices than any other one thing. When the exploiters find they have the club women of the community to deal with they will be more careful or at least more guarded in their approach. That the inferior courts, particularly the police courts, be dignified and organized upon a basis that will command for them the same respect as the superior courts, for it is in the police courts that the alien usually gets his introduction to the legal machinery of this country and his first impressions are the most lasting.

That in each locality the district attorney's office set aside a particular time, putting in charge one of his most efficient assistants with a good interpreter, to hear the complaints of alien women. That where there are juvenile courts, special probation officers are detailed to get in touch with the foreign districts and enlighten the mothers upon the scope and value of the juvenile court, in order that when necessary she can use the court unofficially. In this way the arrest of many children would be prevented and the court would assist in upholding parental authority.

Many things which make for national deterioration are laid at the door of the alien which do not rightly belong there. I was interested to note at a recent disgusting performance I attended there was not apparently a foreigner there. The audience was composed of well-dressed American boys and girls. I could not help but think that if such a performance had been

given by foreign element the whole city would have rung with the cry that our American institutions, our American Sunday, were being murdered by foreign influence.

The above suggestions are based upon the belief that it does not matter how much we may disagree upon the policy of immigration, that we are all agreed that after the alien has been admitted into this country he is entitled not only to be given his just right but also to have the best opportunity to become a good citizen.

V. EFFECTS

RACIAL EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION¹

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SPEAKING in broad general terms, this country has experienced the inflow of three great sections of the human races — European, African, and Asiatic. In the one we have a case of voluntary immigration, and in the second a case of forced immigration, and in the third a case of exclusion.

As the result of the forced immigration we have in the negro an element containing 11.6 per cent of our total population, or more than one in ten, that for some reason or group of reasons — whether historical accident or inferior ability or the ban of race prejudice — has failed to be assimilated and now forms a most serious problem in a democracy. We are far from the day when arguments of either industrial development or mistaken self-sacrifice would tempt us to repeat this particular experience.

In the case of the excluded element, the Chinese, we have a race with many estimable qualities, a race furnishing excellent material for self-sacrificing effort upon our part, a race anxious to aid our industrial development by coming in what would have been perhaps the largest tides of immigration we have ever experienced. Nevertheless they are a people that for racial, social, political, and economic reasons we have decided to exclude.

Between these two extremes, — a race forced to immigrate and one forbidden to immigrate, stand, or rather come, the European races. Our prime concern is with them. With no other defense for my classification than that it serves well for discussion purposes and cannot be charged with inaccuracy or misrepresentation, — when its difficulties have been frankly acknowledged, — and with the further defense that this classification is coming

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to be accepted by many of the best scholars, I shall speak of three races of Europe, the Baltic, the Alpine, and the Mediterranean.

The Baltic race occupies the British Isles, Scandinavia, the southern and eastern shores of the Baltic in Russia, the northern half of the German Empire, northeastern Holland, northern Belgium, and northeastern France. In short, as the name indicates, this race is concentrated around the Baltic sea and includes the peoples of northwestern Europe.

The Alpine race dwells in Switzerland, northern Italy, central France, southern Germany, and the greater part of Russia and of the Balkan Peninsula. In short, it occupies the great highland region of central Europe.

The Mediterranean race has as its habitat Spain, Portugal, the islands of the Mediterranean west of Italy, a strip of the southern shore of France, and southern Italy. In a badly mixed state it is to be found in Greece, and, mixed with Arab and Negroid strains, it is to be found in Africa north of the Sahara and west of Tunis. In brief, this race is concentrated in the subtropical region around the Mediterranean.

It is evident that in dealing with the effects of the immigration of these races we shall have to consider three matters:

1. The composition and quality of the population of this country before the great tides of immigration began.
2. The volume and character of the immigration.
3. The results, both present and future, of the interplay of these forces.

Taking up these matters in turn, what was the character of our population in 1790, the date of the first census? As we look back over our colonizing agencies, we might at first glance think of this population as being very heterogeneous. In New England there were the Puritans; in Virginia, the Cavaliers; in Maryland, the Catholics; in New York, a strong Dutch element, stronger than is generally supposed; in Pennsylvania and Delaware, one third of the population German or German descent; along the Delaware river, the descendants of the Swedes; in the Carolinas, many villages of Highlanders and Huguenots, — apparently a population varied in race, nationality, religion, tastes, and speech. And yet, a careful view of the evidence will cause a reconsideration of that opinion.

After all, this 1790 population was mainly of English descent. The foreign element was a considerable portion in only a few of the colonies, while in New England, then comprising in itself about one third of the total 1790 population, there was perhaps the purest representation of the English people in the world. But whether of English descent or no, this 1790 population was emphatically of Baltic origin. It may almost be said to be exclusively Baltic, for the other elements are negligible, so much so that it is difficult to enumerate any non-Baltic elements of the whole population. Further, this population was, in the main, of most excellent stock. It is true that many of the early comers were mere adventurers and in some of the southern colonies worse than adventurers; it is true that in some of the colonies there were convicts and indentured servants. Nevertheless the fact of the excellent stock remains. The influence of the undesirables and adventurers was never dominant and diminished as time went on; the convicts were often merely political offenders — men who had reserved the right to think for themselves and so were the very best of colonists; an important section of the indentured servant class was composed of thrifty, ambitious, progressive people who served out an indenture in order to better their condition, and these were excellent colonists. The rest of the population was well sifted indeed. It was composed of men who had left their European homes because their religious, social, political, or economic ideals were too large for their surroundings, men who were sufficiently sturdy in mind and body to overcome the perils and hardships of voyage and settlement. The evidence is clear that in mental capacity, physical qualities, and moral stamina these settlers were among the best of their race and that the 1790 population was, in the main, of excellent stock.

Finally, the conditions of life were such that this population was not merely assimilated, but fused. The frontier life with its dangers, hardships, and informal society; with its cultivation of the capacity for self-government and of the spirit of self-reliance; with its necessity for the breaking away from old world traditions and performing tasks under American conditions, took but a generation to weld the population into one people, and even in the more settled regions the same forces served as a strong fusing agent.

Such was the 1790 population. Mainly English, certainly Baltic, of excellent stock, rapidly becoming fused and amalgamated, for one half century these people reproduced their kind and developed a national life and character. They increased with great rapidity — an average rate of over 34 per cent decade by decade — until the population that had numbered but 3,900,000 in 1790 was over 17,000,000 in 1840. In this entire period the immigration they received was of the same Baltic type and was insignificant in amount, for the total immigration from 1776 to 1820 did not exceed 250,000 and the great immigration did not begin until 1845.

This, then, is the people upon whom immigration is to work its racial effects. Our next task is to estimate the volume and character of the immigration. It is evident that our immigration has come in waves, each larger than its predecessor, and since so much of the total inflow since 1820 is recent, the more far-reaching effects are to be realized in the future. It is further evident that a great change has taken place in the character and conditions of immigration. This question of changed character opens a bitter controversy. Upon the one side are those who point out that in the early immigration there were many unsatisfactory elements. Upon the other side are those who contend that to-day we are not only receiving inferior races, — we are getting the inferior classes of these races, and they refer to the immigrants of to-day as the beaten men of beaten races. Let us, if possible, steer clear of this controversy. Both sides will, of course, agree that there has been a change in the racial origin of our immigration. Both sides will, probably, further agree that the earlier immigrants were subjected to a sifting process that does not apply to those of to-day. The nature of the causes of the early immigration and the hard conditions of voyage and settlement produced that sifting and sorting of the earlier period which, according to Professor Ripley, resulted in our securing immigrants physically above the average of the peoples from whom they came and which must have similar effects upon mental and moral qualities.

Both sides will probably further agree that a change has occurred in the conditions in this country. For, while we still have many forces making for assimilation and while some of

these forces are stronger than ever, nevertheless the immigrant of to-day comes to a land where there is a labor problem, where the free public lands which permitted the dispersion of his predecessors and were the escape valve of the nation, are no longer available, where such development has taken place that we are now turning back upon ourselves, where the social organism has become so large that the formation of inner classes is readily possible, and where such concentration of nationalities has already taken place that many assimilative forces have been seriously impeded. In this connection it should be noted that the changes which have taken place in this country are of such a kind and character that they will be more and not less pronounced in the years to come.

In our discussion thus far we have seen the character of the population upon which immigration was to work its effects and we have seen the volume and the changed conditions of that immigration. We come now to our third problem, the outcome, the race effects. Let us again avoid controversial matters as far as may be. Clearly there are but two great elements to be considered. One of these is heredity; that is, the permanent race traits and characteristics of those who form and are to form our population. The other is environment, both social and physical.

Now since the changed character of immigration has been a thing comparatively recent let us hinge our further discussion upon this fact of changed character and inquire: 1st. What were the effects of the earlier immigration? 2d. What are to be the effects of the present and future immigration?

As to the racial effects of the earlier immigration time will only permit a couple of propositions that I am content to let stand or fall according to their own inherent reasonableness.

The first of these propositions is that the early immigrant did not produce any very serious racial change. (1) His environment was such as to render him entirely American. The qualities possessed both by him and by his new home rendered assimilation easy and rapid. (2) His racial traits were practically identical with the racial traits of those whom he found here. He was Baltic (undoubtedly there were some bad elements in this early tide, however) and he was but added to a Baltic population. (3) His method of selection was, upon the whole, most excellent.

We have already seen that, by the very force of circumstances, those early immigrants were physically, mentally, and morally the pick of the nations from which they came. True it is that at certain times undesirable classes came, but perhaps this may not have been so much an argument against the entire body as an argument for some sane restriction or regulation of immigration even at this early period.

The second proposition is that while the earlier immigration did not, in the elements it contributed, produce serious racial change, it is at least an open question as to whether it did not check the increase of the population of colonial descent. That there has been a great decline in the birth rate of the original (colonial) stock there can be no possible doubt. Had no decline taken place, our population from native stock alone would to-day amount to some 100,000,000 and the element of "colonial descent" would to-day be three times as large as the element of "immigrant descent," according to some authorities.

But was this decline due to immigration? In answering this question, it should be frankly recognized upon the one hand that if immigration did so operate, it was doubtless but one of several forces acting in the same direction, though possibly a very important one. It should be as frankly recognized, upon the other hand, that it is never possible to establish with mathematical exactness a relation of cause and effect in elusive social phenomena. All that can be done is to present the usual evidence and each must be convinced or not convinced according to his estimate of the value of the evidence.

1. Part of this evidence is the evidence of authority, that is, the statements of many families and many earnest students, in short, those in a position to know, as to what has taken place. There may be said to be a very considerable agreement upon this matter.

2. But aside from the evidence of authority, it is urged that what little we understand of the laws of population and its increase renders it quite probable that a causal connection should exist between immigration and the checking of native increase. It is argued that the presence of the immigrant and his competition should be expected to give a sentimental and an economic cause for a check to the increase of population,—a generalization

that would apply with particular force to our original Baltic stock which had great race pride and a strong desire to give its children every advantage.

3. It is further pointed out that the decline of the native stock began and kept pace with the flow of immigration. This may, of course, have been a coincidence, but the facts are beyond dispute that in the period from 1790-1830, a period of practically no immigration, our population increased decade by decade at an average rate of 34.5 per cent, while in the period from 1830-1860, a period of great immigration, the native stock retarded its increase so that the average rate of increase of the whole population was only 34.7 per cent.

4. Again, it is urged that, as far as can be determined, this decline in the native stock took place mainly in those regions in which the immigrants concentrated. This, also, may have been a coincidence, but it does seem possible to trace a connection between large families of native stock and districts not invaded by immigration. It seems to be true of whole sections such as the South, of single states such as West Virginia, and even of small districts within states.

5. Another argument that is advanced is that in the period 1830-1860, the time when the checking of the native stock began, other causes for this checking are hard to establish. It is pointed out that this was a period more favorable to life and reproduction than was the period before 1830. The pressure of city life was not yet heavily felt, for even in 1850 the urban population was but 12.5 per cent of the total; the average density of population was only 7.9 per square mile; there were great areas of public lands open, and, further, great progress had been made in medicine, food, and clothing. And yet it is in this period that the native stock begins to limit its increase.

6. A final bit of evidence rests upon the recent investigations of population in the coal fields. These investigations seem to indicate that even as the earlier immigrant checked the increase of native stock, so the immigrant of to-day is checking the increase of the earlier immigrant stock. If this be true, its importance can scarcely be overestimated, for it would indicate that immigration not only has been, but will continue to be, a process of replacement rather than of addition. It puts us face to face

with a vital question as to the future composition of our people.

By way of final statement as to the effect of our early immigration it seems pretty clear that, while undoubtedly it contained elements not ideal, it did not produce racial change because, Baltic itself, it was added to a Baltic population in such a way and under such conditions that it was readily assimilated. It is not so certain, however, but that it did cause a decline of the native birth rate and so served to replace our native population, and whether this was desirable or no each must decide for himself.

We come now to the effects, present and future, of the Alpine and Mediterranean immigration to-day. Time will permit only a series of short propositions concerning this recent immigration.

1. As far as can be predicted to-day, the change in the character of immigration is to become more marked and its volume is to increase. The origin of our immigration is swinging more and more to the east and, judging from the data now at hand, such as the trend of statistics, the lines of steamship development, the tapping of new centers of population in Asia by railroad lines, the attitude of the immigrants, and investigations such as those of Mr. Brandenburg, — judging from this and other data, *unless conditions change or restriction takes place*, it is not merely present immigration but that of ten or fifteen years hence that should command our attention. Under present laws and regulations this immigration will doubtless continue to flow as long as there is any difference of level in the status of Europe and America. Mr. Bryce called this "drainage," and Prof. Walker referred to it as "pipe line immigration." We need not commit ourselves to these rather offensive terms, but we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the essential features of the proposition are fairly defensible. Inasmuch as there is great doubt whether emigration from Europe has in the least diminished the pressure of population or has greatly raised the standard of living there, the possible proportions of the problem are fairly clearly indicated.

2. Assuming these conditions of changed character and increased volume, there will undoubtedly be considerable racial change. Indeed, competent authorities assert that a change is

already noticeable in regions in which our newer immigrants have concentrated. If this be true to-day there can be little doubt but that the future has in store considerable changes if the tide of immigration flows unchecked. And this will be especially the case if it be true that immigration so affects the principle of population that our present stock is *replaced* rather than supplemented by the new arrivals.

3. The third proposition must be put in the form of a question. Will this change be a good or a bad one? Here, of course, is the crux of the whole matter. In order to avoid a controversy that could not possibly be satisfactorily treated in the time at my disposal, I am sure I shall be pardoned if I merely indicate some of the questions to be answered if one is to arrive at a sane judgment on this matter. Discussion of these questions may the more readily be omitted since practically every one has already reached some conclusion as to most of them.

But before proposing this series of questions it should be noted that it is not safe to try to reach any conclusion by that overworked argument as to the mixture of races. The trouble with the argument is that it proves nothing either way. It proves nothing historically, contrary to public opinion, for while some mixed races have been successful, others have been most wretched failures. Further, anthropology and ethnology frankly admit they can predicate nothing from mixture of races, nothing optimistic, nothing pessimistic. It is simply an argument of little or no scientific value.

We must abandon the popular mixture of races argument and turn to the fundamental elements of the problem; upon the one hand environment, both social and physical, upon the other hand race characteristics. Since the physical environment is a matter which we can control but little and one that operates upon all, we may omit it in this discussion and then the questions to be answered are fairly obvious. Are the permanent racial characteristics, — those they will retain after they have changed nationality, religion, tongue, and customs, — are these permanent racial characteristics of the newcomers such as will be satisfactory to a democracy? Are they by racial disposition fitted or unfitted for the exercise of political rights? Undoubtedly, they, like all other peoples, have some bad qualities. Will these qualities

change with a change of environment, or are they inbred and permanent? Suppose, for the sake of the argument, that immigration means replacement, are we willing to turn over to elements other than Baltic the control of the future of the nation? Would it be a good, a bad, or an indifferent thing if in the future the race composition of this nation should be such that the Baltic element would, compared with the other elements, hold some such position as the descendants of colonial stock hold? In a word, are the permanent race traits of the newcomers equal in quality to those of the present stock? We must remember that, as Professor Commons says, "race and heredity form the raw material, education and environment form the tools to fashion social institutions."

And as to environment. Here a series of questions arises, and to discuss any one of them in even a cursory manner would require a whole paper in itself. It deals with the effect of the present immigrant upon a list of matters ranging through disease, illiteracy, pauperism, crime, tendency to form classes, standard of living, and a host of others, not the least important of which is the fact that since the so-called lower classes are the classes with large families, from the racial point of view it is highly worth considering who are to compose the lower classes. Then, too, we should not forget that the future aspects of this problem are the important ones. Suppose, for the sake of the argument at least, that the number coming is to increase and the change in racial origin to become more marked, what then? These are some of the questions to be considered.

And must the whole discussion end with a question? Yes and no. As far as it can be treated in a short paper merely intended to outline the nature of the problem — yes, though that is doubtless displeasing to the mind that demands a short, satisfactory answer, whether true or false. But the matter is not altogether indefinite. Some few things are pretty clear: (1) This people, before the great tides of immigration began, was mainly Baltic and mainly of excellent stock. (2) This people has been influenced to a considerable degree by immigration. Probably the racial effects of the early immigration were not great, but to-day conditions are different. There has been a change in the racial origin of our immigration, a change in the method of

selection, and a change in the conditions of this country. (3) If present conditions, laws, and tendencies continue (a large "if," this), there will clearly be considerable racial change in the future.

Whether such a change would be a good or a bad thing, each must decide for himself, and it rests with the American people to decide whether for their own interests and for the interests of the world in general they desire the change.

Christen Jensen

IMMIGRATION AND THE MINIMUM WAGE¹

PAUL U. KELLOGG, A.M., EDITOR, *The Survey*

THE line of least resistance in extending the protection of the state over labor conditions has been to enact laws with respect to women and children. The world-old instinct of the strong to shelter the weak has led the conservative to join forces with the radical, in prohibiting child labor and in shortening the hours of women's work. On the other hand the liberty loving tradition of a male democracy has more often than not thrown the balance on the other side of the scale when the exercise of public control over men's labor has been under discussion.

This tendency has been repeated in the movement toward minimum wage legislation. The voluntary Massachusetts law which goes into effect this year concerns women and children; and so, too, does the compulsory statute which has just passed the Oregon legislature. Public discussion the past winter has centered around relation between the low wages paid working girls and prostitution.

Accident legislation is an exception to this tendency in the field of labor legislation. We do not think of limiting compensation laws to the girls who lose an eye or a hand; we are perhaps even more concerned that industry bear its human wear and tear when workingmen are crippled or their lives snuffed out. The explanation is; of course, a simple one; in this connection we conceive of the workingman as the breadwinner of a family group; and in self-protection American commonwealths are belatedly devising schemes of insurance which will safeguard those dependent upon him.

As we come to look at the problem of living wages more closely, my belief is that legislatures and courts will increasingly take

¹ From the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, July, 1913.

cognizance of the household and community well-being which hangs on the earnings of men. It is this aspect which makes the question of the minimum wage as it concerns common labor — and as it is aggravated by immigration — if anything, more serious than the question of the minimum wage as it concerns women.

We have seen whole cities scotched by the floods. Our self-engrossed neglect of the water courses of the midwestern basin, the encroachments of private holdings upon the beds of streams, and the persistent stripping of their woodsy sources have brought a retribution. The nation leaps to tardy relief as the waters burst the dams, strangle men and women, and swamp the cities in their course. Dwellings go under before men's eyes and whole communities which have taken their security for granted see store and street and familiar meeting place sunk in currents over which they have lost control. It has all been spectacular and vivid. The laws of gravitation and of fluids, the "Mene, Mene, Tekel" of narrow private ends and of public preoccupation have been written large in mud and privation. Misery has daubed its lesson up and down the river valleys for all men to read.

The economic ebb and flood of our common life has usually no such spectacular appeal to the imagination; yet, if we turn to the forty volumes of the federal immigration commission — volumes which, seemingly, Congress has done its best to keep from general reading — we find a story of household wreckage and of the slow undermining of community life as real as this seven days' wonder of the Ohio Valley. They show us that in the states east of the Rocky Mountains the basic industries are to-day manned by foreigners three to two; that there are as many names on these pay-rolls from eastern Europe and Asia as there are names of native-born and second generation Americans put together. They do not show that the new immigrants have hired out as common laborers for less pay than the old did in their time, for the revolutionary rise in prices throughout the period under discussion must be taken into account. But they go far to show that the newcomers have at least kept down wages and have perpetuated other standards against which the older men were ready to protest. Of the heads of foreign households tabulated by the commission, seven out of ten earned less than \$600 a year,

while among the native-born the proportion was only four out of ten. Of the foreigners very nearly four out of ten earned under \$400 a year, or an average, this last year, of less than \$1.50 per working day. In less than four out of ten of the foreign-born households were the husband's earnings depended upon as the sole sources of family income.

In a word, the immigration commission's report was an extensive exhibit that the American day laborer's pay is less than a living wage for a workman's family by any standard set by any reputable investigation of the cost of living; that the bulk of day laborers are immigrants; that their numbers and industrial insecurity are such as to perpetuate these low pay levels and to introduce and make prevalent lower standards of living than customary among the workmen they come among.

The commission's figures are such as to give strength to the searching charge of the immigration restrictionists that "so long as every rise of wages operates merely to suck in unlimited thousands of the surplus population of Europe and Asia, no permanent raising of our own standards can be hoped for."

Nine out of ten of the common laborers of America are to-day of the new immigration. A light is thrown on why they lend themselves to exploitation by the facts that before coming only a third of these eastern Europeans and Asians can read and write; that half are peasants and farm hands; that only an eighth are labor unionists; and that nearly a fifth have never in their lives worked at wages. Neither in literacy, industrial skill, money-wisdom, nor cohesive strength are they as self-resourceful as the men of the immigration which preceded them, much less of the native-born. More important to my mind than the fact that before coming a third are unlettered, is the fact that nearly a fifth have never worked for wages before coming.

We have assumed that the economic law of supply and demand would bring a wholesome equilibrium to this inrush of the terrible flood. As well count on the law of gravitation to solve the flood problem of the Miami. That law is, to be sure, the ultimate rule of physics on which any scheme of flood prevention must be based. Water is health-giving, thirst-quenching, power-giving, beneficial; gravity holds the world to its course; but left to their own devices water and mass attraction may become brute forces

for destruction. So, too, the unregulated forces of an economic immigration.

Let us consider some of the social reactions which these forces, left to their own devices, have exacted.

They have changed the make-up of entire communities among us. During the Westmoreland coal strike, whole villages of miners were evicted with their families from the company houses and new miners installed. But what happened thus overtly in strike time has been going on slowly and half-noticed throughout western Pennsylvania for twenty years. The function of the old pick miners has been largely done away with. With the coming in of new methods and mine machinery, their labor organizations have been driven out, and they, themselves, have left the Connellsville region for the new fields of the middle West and Southwest, where the pressure of competition by recent immigrants is not so strong. Churches, lodges, the whole slow-growing fabric of English-speaking community life, have been supplanted by a new order. And not only have the immigrants dislodged the earlier races from their footing, but their own industrial tenure is insecure. Dwellers in company houses, whole communities, live by sufferance of the mine operators who can call in new greeners to take their places.

The effect on household life has been as disturbing as that upon community life. At these low economic grades people live on the boarding boss system, one woman cooking, washing, and keeping house for from two to twenty lodgers who sometimes sleep two shifts to a bed.

It might be thought that the immigrants' desire to save is responsible for these results. In part that is true. As the Pittsburgh survey pointed out, a single man can lay by a stocking full at this barracks life; a boarding boss can get ahead at cost of a dead baby or two, or his wife's health; a whole family can eat, sleep, and live in a single room; but the foreigner who takes America in earnest and tries to settle here and support a family, must figure closer than our wisest standard of living experts have been able to do, if he succeeds in making good on a day labor wage. The Buffalo survey found \$1.50 as the common labor rate in that city in 1910. The maximum income which a common laborer can earn working every day but Sundays and

holidays at \$1.50 per day is \$450 a year; bad weather, slack work and sickness, cut this down to \$400 for a steady worker. Yet the lowest budget for a man, his wife and three children which Buffalo relief workers would tolerate was \$560. There is a deficit here of \$160 which must be made up by skimping or by income from other sources, and that deficit is as much as the man himself can earn by four months' solid labor. Yet this budget called for but three small rooms, for five people, to sleep, eat, and live in; called for but 5 cents a week for each one of the family for recreation and extravagance. How people make shift against such odds was illustrated by one household where in a little room 6 feet by 9, a room which had no window at all to let in air, they found two cots each with a man in it, and a bed which held two young men and two girls, one of whom was thirteen years old. This was not a house of prostitution. It was a family which had taken in lodgers to increase its income.

Household and community life are further affected by the infiltration of women-employing trades in centers of immigrant employment; and with it the spread of the family wage, not the family wage earned by the man, but the family wage earned by man, woman, and children all together, such as is the curse of Fall River and the cotton towns of Massachusetts.

The New York bureau of labor statistics has just issued its report on the Little Falls strike, the first adequate pay roll investigation ever made in New York at the time of a strike against a reduction in wages. Nearly half of the men were found to be receiving \$9 a week or less. Nearly 24 per cent were receiving not over \$7.50 per week; 48½ per cent of all the women employed were receiving \$7.50 or less and 30 per cent received \$6 or less. The official figures taken from the pay rolls by the bureau of labor statistics tended to justify substantially what the strikers had alleged as to their wages. The testimony of the employers before the bureau of arbitration that the wages paid in Little Falls were not less than those paid in other mills in the district indicates that here is a problem not of one locality alone. "The one outstanding and unavoidable conclusion of this report," says the bureau of labor statistics, "is that there is need of a thorough and general investigation of the cost of living among the textile workers of the Mohawk Valley."

This trend toward the family wage is a matter of much concern to the state of Pennsylvania in the years ahead, with the coming of textile mills to the coal regions, and with the widespread development of the state's water power. I was told at the time of the strike in the railroad shops at Altoona — it may be hearsay, but there was truth in the underlying tendency — that in the councils of the local Chamber of Commerce the Pennsylvania Railroad had been averse to inducing any metal trades establishments to settle in Altoona. The reason ascribed by my informant was that these establishments would have competed as employers in hiring mechanics and the men's wages would have gone up locally. But invitation to textile mills was encouraged — textile mills which would employ wives and daughters and increase family incomes while lessening the tuggings at the car shop pay roll.

Let me cite a case brought out last year at a hearing before the New Jersey immigration commission. This was an account book of a methodical German weaver in a Passaic woolen mill. It illustrates the soil in which the revolutionary labor movement is taking root so fast and which the sanctioned institutions of society, in more than this solitary instance, have failed to conserve. The man is forty-five years old, a weaver of twenty-seven years' experience, and his expertness as a workman is, it was said, shown by the fact that he had seldom or never been fined for flaws in his work — one of the grievances most keenly felt by a majority of the strikers. The record showed a total income of \$347.40 for nine months. And a careful estimate put the annual earnings on which this father of thirteen — three now "under the ground," three now old enough to work — could count upon from his own efforts in bringing up his family, as less than \$500.

The record revealed much else, good and bad, besides this blighting total. In the first place it showed the seasons. Except in bad years the woolen trade is said to have no period of shut down. But July and August are slack months and the short hours worked flattened out his pay envelopes for weeks at a time. Settlement and charity organization workers know that there is nothing that tends toward demoralization in a family like an unsteady income — up and down. No pay at all was received by

this weaver for the week of June 12 (fifty-five hours' work). His explanation was that some wool is bad and requires constant mending, keeping the output low, that pay was strictly based on the number of yards turned out, and that no payments were made until a certain quantity was on hand. This no-pay week was followed by a low pay week of June 19. That is, after two weeks' work amounting to 110 hours at the looms, with practically no fines for flaws, a weaver of twenty-seven years' experience took home \$6.65. It is this sort of pressure which sends the women and children of a household to the mills.

We may differ as to the desirability of the entry of women into industry, and as to its effect on the women and on the home; but we should be united in holding that if the women go into the world's work, their earnings should lift the joint income to new and higher levels, and not merely supplement the less than family wage paid the man; add two and two, only to find that the resulting sum is two.

It is to be said for this onrush of international workmen that they have supplied a flexible working force to American manufacture and have stimulated industrial expansion beyond all bounds. But against these gains must be set off the fact that they have as powerfully accentuated city congestion and all its attendant evils, and have aggravated unemployment. The immigration commission found that in some industries the oversupply of unskilled labor had reached a point where a curtailed number of working days results in a yearly income much less than is indicated by the daily rate paid.

A more serious aspect of the situation is that changes in machinery are adapted to the permanent utilization of these great masses of crude labor — 60 per cent of the whole force in steel production for example. The old time ditch diggers and railroad construction gangs paved the way for our city trades and train crews. They were building foundations for normal work and life. They appealed to the get ahead qualities in men. The new day labor is a fixed, subnormal element in our present scheme of production; it stays; it will continue to stay so long as back muscles are cheaper than other methods of doing the work.

My own feeling is that immigrants bring us ideals, cultures, red blood, which are an asset for America or would be if we gave

them a chance. But what is undesirable, beyond all peradventure, is our great bottom-lands of quick-cash, low-income employments in which they are bogged. We suffer not because the immigrant comes with a cultural deficit, but because the immigrant workman brings to America a potential economic surplus above a single man's wants, which is exploited to the grave and unmeasured injury of family and community life among us.

I have reviewed the situation much along the lines in which it impressed me two years ago, at a time that the immigration report was first given to the public. What have we done about it in those two years — or for that matter, in the last decade?

What have we Americans done? I am afraid the cartoonist of the future is going to have good cause to draw the present day manufacturer pleading with one hand for federal interference against his foreign competitors, and with the other beckoning to the police to protect him against strike riots; but resisting with both hands every effort of the public to exert any control whatever over his own dealings with his work people. Petty magistrates and police, state militia and the courts — all these were brought to bear by the great commonwealth of Massachusetts, once the Lawrence strikers threatened the public peace. But what had the great commonwealth of Massachusetts done to protect the people of Lawrence against the insidious canker of subnormal wages which were and are blighting family life? Do not mistake me: The exceptional employer has done courageous acts in standing out for decent wages in the face of competition from those who are not squeamish in their treatment of their help; but employers as a body have quite failed to impose minimum standards on the whole employing group; and the exploiters have brought whole trades into obloquy.

Nor have the trade-unions met any large responsibility toward unskilled labor. Through apprenticeship, skill, organization, they have endeavored to keep their own heads above the general level. Common labor has been left as the hindmost for the devil to take. The mine workers and brewers and some few other trades are organized industrially from top to bottom, every man in the industry; but for the most part common laborers have had to look elsewhere than to the skilled crafts for succor.

They have had it held out to them by the I. W. W., which stands for industrial organization, for one big union embracing every man in the industry, for the mass strike, for benefits to the rank and file here and now, and not in some far-away political upheaval. This is what has given the revolutionary industrialists their popular appeal, so disturbing both to the old craft unions and the socialist party. We may or may not like the temper of Mrs. Pankhurst's methods, but we recognize the suffrage cause as something which transcends the tactics of the militants. In the same way it can be said for Haywood and his following that they have sounded the needs of common labor and held up hope for its rank and file with greater statesmanship, sympathy, and structural vision than all the employers and craft unions put together. At such a juncture the ordinary American may well ask himself if a general upheaval of society is the sole way open in which the evils of unskilled, low-paid labor can be mastered by a resourceful people.

The only recent schemes of trade organization which match the I. W. W. in democratic promise are the protocol agreements in the women's garment trades in New York. These are open to all workmen in the trades; they stand for minimum standards, and they employ the joint force of organized employers and organized employees, to whip the black-sheep shop into line. Yet as I see it, here again the pressure of immigration is a twofold threat to the permanence of these plans — the competition with New York by outside garment centers where immigrants can be exploited without let or hindrance; and the retardation of wage advances at New York due to the glut of immigrant labor at the great port.

So much for voluntary action. What has the state done to throw social control over common labor? Very little. Child labor legislation staves off a season or two the inflow of immature workers into the unskilled labor market. Laws prohibiting the night work of women have eased the sex-competition for jobs at some few points. As already stated, minimum wage legislation has been limited to date to women and children. When by indirection the new 54 hour law for women tended to raise pay for both men and women in the mills of Lawrence, the manufacturers risked the great strike rather than raise it. Political

advantage has led city administrations to pay common labor more than private employers, but in general the public has done nothing to control the wages of common labor.

The measure calculated to affect them most markedly has been the immigration restriction legislation which passed both houses of Congress at the last session, but which was vetoed by the President.

The immigrant commission held that to check the oversupply of unskilled labor a sufficient number of immigrants should be debarred to produce a marked effect. This was their major recommendation, and as the most feasible method to carry it out they favored the exclusion of all those unable to read and write some language.

As a quantitative check this literacy test can be successfully defended. It will unquestionably shut out large numbers of immigrants and that reduction in the gross number of job-hunters could scarcely fail to raise common labor pay and improve conditions of life at the lowest levels.

As a selective method the literacy test has been sharply and I think successfully challenged. The people let in and those shut out could not be confidently described, the one group as desirable, the other as not.

As an obstruction to the political and religious refugees, who in addition to their other oppressions have been deprived of schooling, the literacy test arouses the opposition of social and liberty-loving groups on all hands. On this rock restriction legislation split on the last Congress, as it has split for years past.

In its failure, in the failure of any other proposal to materially improve common labor standards I venture to put forward a plan which has not been combated in any quarter in ways convincing to me either as to its illogic or its impracticability.

My plea is to apply the principle of child labor legislation to our industrial immigration — to draft into our immigration law the provision that no immigrant who arrives here after a specified date shall be permitted to hire out to a corporate employer for less than a living wage — say \$2.50 or \$3 a day — until five years are elapsed and he has become a naturalized citizen. When he is a voter, he can sell his American work-right for a song if he must and will, but until then he shall not barter it away for less

than the minimum cash price, which shall be determined as a subsistence basis for American family livelihood. I would make this provision apply also to all immigrants now resident in the United States who have not filed notice of their intention of becoming citizens by the date specified.

It would not be the intent or result of such legislation to pay new-coming foreigners \$3 a day. No corporation could hire Angelo Lucca and Alexis Spivak for \$3 as long as they could get John Smith and Michael Murphy and Carl Sneider for less. It would be the intent and result of such legislation to exclude Lucca and Spivak and other "greeners" from our congregate industries, which beckon to them now. It would leave village and farming country open to them as now. And meanwhile as the available unskilled labor supply fell off in our factory centers, the wages paid Smith, Murphy, Sneider and the rest of our resident unskilled labor would creep up toward the federal minimum.

First a word as to the constitutionality of such a plan. It would be an interference with the freedom of contract; but that contract would lie between an alien and a corporation, between a non-citizen and a creature of the state. I have the advice of constitutional lawyers that so far as the alien workman goes, the plan would hold as an extension of our laws regulating immigration. On the other hand, the corporation tax laws afford a precedent for setting off the corporate employer and regulating his dealings. Recent decisions of the supreme court would seem to make it clear that such a law could be drafted under the interstate commerce clause of the constitution.

For three special reasons my belief is that the general enforcement of such a law would be comparatively simple. Sworn statements as to wage payments could be added to the data now required from corporations under the federal tax law. This would be an end desirable in itself and of as great public importance as crop reports. In the second place, every resident worker would report every violation that affected his self-interest or threatened his job. For my third reason, I would turn to no less a counsel than Mark Twain's "Pudd'n Head Wilson," and with employment report cards and half a dozen clerks in a central office in Washington, could keep tab on the whole situation by means of finger prints. Finger prints could be taken of each immigrant

on entry; they could be duplicated at mill gate and mine entry by the employer, filed and compared rapidly at the Washington bureau.

As compared with joint minimum wage boards affecting men and women alike, as do those of Australia and England, the plan would have the disadvantage of not being democratic. The workers themselves would not take part in its administration. But such boards might well develop among resident unskilled labor, once the congestion of immigrant labor was relieved. And the plan would have the signal advantage of being national, so that progressive commonwealths need not penalize their manufacturers in competing with laggard states.

As compared with the literacy test the plan would not shut America off as a haven of refuge and would not, while it was under discussion, range the racial societies and the internationalists alongside the steamship companies and the exploiters of immigrant labor. And it would have an even more profound influence on our conditions of life and labor.

What then are the positive goods to be expected from such a program?

1. It would, to my mind, gradually but irresistibly cut down the common labor supply in our industrial centers.

2. Once the unlimited supply of green labor was lessened in these industrial centers, a new and more normal equilibrium would be struck between common labor and the wages of common labor. Now it is like selling potatoes when everybody's bin is full.

3. It would tend to stave off further congestion in the centers of industrial employment and give us a breathing spell to conquer our housing problems and seat our school-children.

4. It should shunt increasing numbers of immigrants to the rural districts and stimulate patriotic societies to settle their fellow-countrymen on the land.

5. It would tend to cut down the accident rate in industries where greeners endanger the lives of their fellows.

6. It would cut down the crowd of men waiting for jobs at mill gate and street corner, correspondingly spread out rush and seasonal work, and help along toward that time when a man's vocation will mean a year-long income for him.

7. It would give resident labor in the cities a chance to organize at the lower levels and develop the discipline of self-government instead of mob action.

8. It would put a new and constructive pressure on employers to cut down by invention the bulk of unskilled occupations, the most wasteful and humanly destructive of all work.

9. It would bring about a fair living, a household wage, in such routine and semi-skilled occupations as remained.

10. It would tend to change mining settlements and mill towns from sleeping and feeding quarters into communities.

IMMIGRATION AND THE LIVING WAGE

JOHN MITCHELL

THE present year has witnessed an immigration to this country greater than any that has ever occurred in the history of any nation. During the year ending June 30, 1903, 857,000 people from various parts of the world landed at the ports of the United States and either settled in the seaboard cities or made their way into the interior. At no time in the history of the world has a movement of such stupendous proportions taken place. The immigrants to this country in the single year 1903 were probably much in excess of the total number of arrivals in the present territory of the United States during the two centuries from 1607 to 1820.

The movement of immigrants from Europe to the United States during the last three generations has dwarfed by comparison all former movements of populations. During this period over twenty million immigrants have landed on these shores. These men, hailing from all the countries of Europe and of the world, have peopled the vast territory of the United States, have intermarried with one another and with the native stock, and have formed the American nation as it exists to-day. In the cities of our seaboard, in the Middle West, on the trans-Mississippi prairies, and throughout the broad expanse of our Northwest, in almost every state north of Mason and Dixon's line, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, large sections of the population are either foreign-born or the children of immigrants. In the year 1900 there were over ten million persons in the United States of foreign birth and over twenty-six million of foreign birth or foreign parentage. About two fifths of all the white inhabitants of the United States are the sons or daughters of parents one or both of whom are foreign-born. These immigrants and children of immigrants represent some of the best elements in the American population, and the American

citizens of foreign birth and parentage are, on an average, as patriotic, as loyal, and as valuable citizens as those of native ancestry.

The tide of immigration to the United States has had many ebbs and flows. Immigration has steadily increased, reaching a maximum point in periods of prosperity and falling off greatly in periods of depression. In the year 1854 immigration reached a high water mark with the arrival of 428,000, and in 1882 789,000 landed. This point was not again reached until the present year, 1903, when 857,000 immigrants arrived.

Within the last two decades a change has taken place in the character of immigration, which in the eyes of many people portends evil for American workmen. In the early years of immigration, when it was difficult, if not actually dangerous, to come to the United States, there was a natural selection of the best and hardiest inhabitants of the old world, men willing to risk their all in going to a new country. The greater ease and cheapness of transportation have now given a stimulus to large classes of persons who in former years could not have come. The cost of transportation and the time required have, upon the whole, been reduced, and the sources of immigration have also shifted. Formerly, the great majority of immigrants came from England, Ireland, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries, from countries, in other words, where conditions of life and labor were, to some extent, comparable to those of the United States. At the present time, the source of immigration has shifted from northern and western to eastern and southern Europe, and from men with a higher to men with a lower standard of living. I do not desire to state that the moral character and mental capacity of the new immigrants are lower than those of the immigrants of former days; but it is quite clear that the standard of living has been reduced in consequence of the change in the source of immigration from countries in which wages are high to countries in which wages are low. The amount of money which the average immigrant brings with him has steadily decreased, and the immigrant from southern and eastern countries has, at the start, a smaller sum to protect him from starvation or the sweatshop than has the immigrant from northern or western Europe. The illiteracy of the immigrant has also become

more pronounced. This illiteracy, amounting in some cases from sixty-five to seventy-five per cent, debars the newly arrived immigrant from many trades, makes it more difficult for him to adapt himself to American conditions and American manners of thought, and renders it almost inevitable that he fall into the hands of the sweater and exploiter. The efforts made by steamship companies to incite and overstimulate the immigration of thousands of illiterate peasants tend to inject unnaturally into the American labor market a body of men unskilled, untrained, and unable to resist oppression and reduced wages.

The practically unrestricted immigration of the present day is an injustice both to the American workingman, whether native or foreign-born, and to the newly landed immigrant himself. As a result of this practically unrestricted and unregulated immigration, the congestion of our large cities is so intense as to create abnormally unhealthy conditions. In New York, which has at present a foreign-born population of over one and one quarter millions, the congestion has resulted in the erection of enormous tenement buildings, in the fearful overcrowding of the slums, and in the normal presence of an oversupply of unskilled labor. The arrival in great numbers of immigrants without knowledge of English, without the ability to read or write the language of their own country, without money, and sometimes without friends, renders it inevitable that they accept the first work offered them. The average immigrant from eastern and southern Europe brings with him from eight to ten dollars, which is about the railroad fare from New York to Pittsburg and is hardly sufficient to support him for two weeks. It is inevitable, also, that he remain where he lands and take the work offered him on the spot. The result is a supply of labor in the large cities in excess of a healthy demand, and a consequent lowering of wages, not only in the cities in which the immigrants remain, but in those in which the articles are produced that compete with the sweatshop products.

From the point of view of the great employers of labor there is an apparent advantage in keeping the doors wide open. The great manufacturers of the country, while anxious to shut out the products of the pauper labor of Europe, desire to have as much cheap labor within their own factories as possible. The

great mine owners have eagerly taken advantage of the ever flowing current of low-priced labor, not only to reduce wages, but to hold this reserve army of unskilled workers as a club over the head of the great mass of employees. The immigrant who comes here in the hope of bettering his condition, is subjected to the exhausting work of the sweatshop, is forced to toil excessively long hours under unsanitary conditions, or is compelled to perform work under the *padrone* system, and is liable to be exploited and defrauded in many ways. The apprenticeship of the newly arrived immigrant is hard indeed, but it could very well be remedied if the state should so regulate immigration as to enable the newcomer to protect himself from extortion and exploitation.

The extent to which immigration, if unrestricted, might go was foreshadowed by the influx of Chinese which began about a generation ago. For a number of years the doors of the United States were thrown wide open to the importation of immigrants, practically, if not legally, under contract, from a country with a population of four hundred millions. The result of this immigration was seen in a reduction of the wages of labor upon the Pacific coast; and there can be no doubt that the admission of Chinese, if unchecked, would have resulted in the creation of an enormous Mongolian population in our West and the practical industrial subjugation of that portion of the country by the Chinese. It is a well-known fact that the cheaper worker, when he is able to compete tends to drive out the better, just as in the currency of a nation, bad money will drive out good money. Through the activity of the trade-unions, however, the Chinese were, in 1882, excluded and in 1902 this law was reënacted.

The trade-unions also secured, in the year 1885, the enactment of a law rendering illegal the importation of workmen under contract. Formerly, in the case of a strike, the employer was able to contract for the importation of large numbers of foreigners, who, with lower ideals and without any knowledge of American trade-unionism, took the places of the strikers and effectually aided the employer. The trade-unions have also been energetic in their attempts to secure a further regulation of the conditions of immigration in such a manner that both the present inhabitants of the United States and the immigrants who come

will be in a better position to resist exploitation by employers in the sweated or unskilled trades.

The attitude of trade-unionists upon this question favors not prohibition, but regulation. The trade-unions do not desire to keep out immigrants, but to raise the character and the power of resistance of those who do come. There is no racial or religious animosity in this attitude of unionists. The American trade-unionist does not object to the immigration of men of a high standard of living, whether they be Turks, Russians, or Chinese, Catholics, Protestants, or Jews, Mohammedans, Buddhists, or Confucians, whether they be yellow, white, red, brown, or black. In certain cases, as in that of the Chinese, it was absolutely essential to the success of the law that it discriminate against the whole nation, but the attitude of the unionist was not hostility to the Chinaman, but a determination to resist the immigration of men with a low standard of living.

The trade-unionist believes that the policy of regulating immigration is justifiable on both ethical and economic grounds. It is admitted that the immigration of the past has to a large extent and for a long period benefited the American workingman. Especially was this true during the period before the public domain was exhausted, when men could secure a homestead for the asking. The trade-unionist also realizes that a large percentage of the most worthy citizens, and probably a majority of the white manual laborers of the United States, are either foreigners or sons of foreigners. The American unionist sympathizes with the oppressed workingmen of foreign countries and feels that everything should be done to ameliorate their condition, provided it does not hinder the progress of the nation and the welfare of the human race. Cosmopolitanism, like charity, begins at home. The American people should not sacrifice the future of the working classes in order to improve the conditions of the inhabitants of Europe, and it is even questionable whether an unregulated immigration would improve the conditions of Europe and Asia, although it is certain that it would injure and degrade the conditions of labor in this country.

This point might be illustrated by the supposition of an unrestricted immigration from China. That country has a population of about four hundred millions and a probable birth

rate of about twelve millions a year. It is quite conceivable with unrestricted immigration and with the cheapening of fares from Hong Kong to San Francisco that within fifty or a hundred years a third of the people of the United States could be Chinese, without in any way reducing the population of China. The creation of an outlet for a million or two millions of Chinese immigrants each year would merely have the effect of increasing the birth rate in that country, with the result that within a century a majority of the working people of this country would be Chinese, while the congestion of population in the Celestial empire would be as great and as unrelieved as ever. To a large extent the progress of nations can best be secured by the policy of seclusion and isolation. By means of barriers which regulate, but do not prohibit, immigration, the various countries of Europe and America can individually work out their salvation, and a permanent increase in the efficiency and remuneration of the workers of the world can thus be obtained. By the maintenance of these barriers the best workingmen in each country can rise to the top, and the great mass of the workingmen can secure a larger share of the wealth produced. If, however, it is within the power of employers to draw freely upon the labor of the world, while protecting their products from the competition of foreign manufacturers, the result will be that the workingmen of the world will have their wages reduced, or, at all events, will not have their remuneration increased, as would be possible under a policy regulating the importation of immigrants.

The trade-union desires to regulate immigration partly in order to prevent the temporary glutting of the market, but to a much greater extent in order to raise the character of the men who enter. The glutting of the labor market through immigration is, I believe, temporary, and not permanent. It causes a temporary oversupply of labor in the large cities, a breaking down of favorable working conditions, a disintegration of trade-unions, and a widespread deterioration and degradation in large circles of the community. Gradually, however, the market absorbs the fresh supply of labor, and the newly arrived immigrants create a demand for the products of their own work. While this temporary glutting of the market is disadvantageous and may result in a deterioration of the caliber of the workingman, the injury

that comes from permitting the inflow of vast bodies of men with lower standards of living is infinitely worse. The policy of trade-unions in this matter of immigration is in perfect harmony with other features of trade-union government. Trade-unionism seeks not to restrict the numbers, but to raise the quality, of workingmen. Any one may become a bricklayer in New York city, whether there be a hundred, a thousand, or five thousand, but whosoever enters the trade as a unionist must agree not to accept less than a certain rate and must, therefore, be an efficient worker with a high standard of life. The American workingman believes that there is ample room in this country for all men who are able and willing to demand wages commensurate with the American standard of living.

By a wise policy of restriction of immigration and by a careful sifting of immigrants according to their ability to earn and demand high wages, the country would secure annually, let us say, two or three or four hundred thousand good immigrants, instead of being forced to absorb, as at present, six or eight or ten hundred thousand immigrants, many of them undesirable. The result of this policy might lead eventually even to an actual increase in the number of immigrants, owing to the fact that if there were a wise selection of immigrants with a high standard of living, wages in the United States would rise to a point which would attract the most capable workmen of all Europe. A contingency of this sort would be looked forward to with hope rather than with apprehension, since the American nation need never fear the immigration of Europeans so long as that immigration does not involve or threaten a reduction in the standard of living.

The competition of the immigrant with a low standard of living is felt not only in the trade, wherein the immigrant is employed, but in all the trades of the country. The immigrant, with his low rate of wages, drives out of his trade men formerly employed therein, who are either forced down in the scale of wages or else obliged to compete for work in higher occupation, where they again reduce wages. Thus the effect of the competition of immigrants is felt not only in the unskilled, but also in the semi-skilled and skilled trades, and even in the professions. The immigration of great bodies of unskilled workmen, moreover, of various races tends to promote and perpetuate racial

antagonisms, and these racial jealousies are played upon by employers in the attempt to reduce wages, to prevent the formation of trade-unions, and to keep the workmen apart.

I do not desire in this book to outline what I consider reasonable measures of regulation for the ever-rising tide of immigration. The American Federation of Labor has done excellent work in advocating wise measures, and the work should be continued along these lines. Restriction, however, should be without prejudice and without hatred. It should be as much in the interest of the immigrants as in the interest of the American citizens of to-day, whether of native or of foreign birth. Restriction should be democratic in its character, and should not exclude any man capable of earning his livelihood in America at the standard union rate of wages. It should not be directed by racial animosity or religious prejudice, and the laws that are passed should protect the immigrant from deception by steamship or employment agents, as well as protect the home population from undesirable immigrants. The law should be so arranged as not needlessly to separate members of the same family. Finally, trade-unionists in their advocacy of immigration should not be actuated by a short-sighted policy, but by a consideration of the probable effect that such restriction will have upon the future prosperity of the working classes or of Americans in general.

The task which trade-unions have accomplished in securing and enforcing laws regulating immigration has been hardly more important than their excellent work in raising the tone and increasing the efficiency of the immigrant upon his arrival. More than any other single factor, except the common school, the trade-union has succeeded in wiping out racial animosities, in uniting men of different nationalities, languages, and religions, and in infusing into the newly landed immigrant American ideals and American aspirations. The United Mine Workers of America, for instance, has had marvelous success in creating harmony and good feeling among its members, irrespective of race, religion, or nationality. The meetings of the locals are attended by members of different races and are addressed in two, three, or even more languages. The constitution and by-laws of the organization are printed in nine different languages, and by means of interpreters

all parts of the body are kept in touch with one another, with the result that a feeling of mutual respect and confidence is promoted.

In no other country have trade-unions had to face a problem of such enormous difficulty as the fusion of the members of these various nationalities, crude, unformed, and filled with old-world prejudices and antipathies. No higher tribute can be paid to American trade-unions than an acknowledgment of the magnificent work which they have accomplished in this direction in obliterating the antagonisms bred in past centuries and in creating out of a heterogeneous population, brought together by the everlasting search for cheap labor, a unified people with American ideals and American aspirations.

IMMIGRATION AND CRISES ¹

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AMID all the diverse views on the various aspects of the immigration problem, there is coming to be a practical unanimity of opinion on one fundamental proposition — namely, that immigration to-day is essentially an economic phenomenon. However strongly the desire for political or religious liberty, or the escape from tyranny, may have operated in the past to stimulate emigration from foreign countries, the one great motive of the present immigrant is the desire to better his economic situation. Even in cases where political and religious oppression still persists, it usually expresses itself through economic disabilities. The great attraction of the United States for the modern immigrant lies in the economic advantages which it has to offer. The latest authoritative recognition of this fact is that given by the Immigration Commission, which emphasizes it in numerous places in its report. If, then, immigration is so closely bound up with the industrial situation in this country, it would seem that there should be some relation between immigration and the industrial depressions or crises which are such a characteristic feature of our economic life. It is the purpose of this paper to seek to determine what this relation is. One aspect of the matter is perfectly obvious and has been thoroughly recognized for a long time, namely, that the volume of the immigration current is regulated by the industrial prosperity of this country. A period of good times brings with it a large volume of immigration, while hard times reduce the current to a minimum. This has been worked out statistically by Professor John R. Commons, and is presented in graphic form in a chart in his book, "Races and Immigrants in America." Imports per capita are taken as the best indication of prosperity in this country,

¹ From *The American Economic Review*, December, 1911

and the curve which represents this factor is shown to be almost exactly similar to the one representing the number of immigrants per 10,000 population.

Another fact which is equally obvious, and which has been given much prominence in recent years, is that a period of depression in this country is followed by a large exodus of aliens. The popular interpretation of this fact is that this emigration movement serves to mitigate the evils of the crisis by removing a large part of the surplus laborers, until returning prosperity creates a demand for them again. The Italian, who displays the greatest mobility in this regard, has been called the safety valve of our labor market. Thus the movements of our alien population are supposed to be an alleviating force as regards crises. How well this interpretation fits the facts will appear later. Professor Commons takes a different view of the matter, and in another chapter of the book quoted demonstrates how immigration, instead of helping matters, is really one of the causes of crises. His conclusion is that "immigration intensifies this fatal cycle of 'booms' and 'depressions,'" and "instead of increasing the production of wealth by a steady, healthful growth, joins with other causes to stimulate the feverish overproduction, with its inevitable collapse, that has characterized the industry of America more than that of any other country." The few pages which Professor Commons devotes to this topic are highly suggestive, and so far as the present writer is aware, contain the best discussion of the subject which has yet been offered. Professor Commons, however, at the time this book was written, was handicapped by the lack of certain data which have since become available. Up till 1907 no official records were kept of departing aliens, and no exact information as to their number was available. But beginning with July of that year, the reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration have furnished these figures, and the recent reports contain tables almost as complete for departing as for arriving aliens. Furthermore, within this period the United States has experienced, and recovered from, a severe depression, so that the material is at hand for a concrete study of the matter in question.

Immigrant aliens are those whose last permanent residence has been in some foreign country and who have come to the

United States with the expressed intention of residing here permanently. Nonimmigrant aliens are of two classes: those whose last permanent residence was in the United States, but who have been abroad for a short time, and those whose last permanent residence was abroad, but who come to the United States without the intention of remaining permanently, including aliens in transit. Emigrant aliens are those whose last permanent residence has been in the United States and who are going abroad with the intention of residing there permanently. In all cases, the expressed intention of the alien is accepted in regard to residence, and an intended residence of twelve months constitutes a permanent residence either in the past or future. Thus there are six distinct classes of aliens, coming and going, and the way is open for some very complicated comparisons. For our present purposes, however, it is not necessary to make these comparisons. As far as aliens in transit are concerned, they are counted as arrivals at the port of entry, and as departures at the port of exit, so that they cancel, and do not affect the net increase or decrease of population. They do not affect the labor market, as they are supposed to pass by a direct and continuous journey through the territory of the United States within thirty days, otherwise the head tax is not refunded. The other classes of nonimmigrant and nonemigrant aliens should rightfully be included in the table for the present study, as they affect the labor market. Particularly those incoming aliens who are "nonimmigrant" because their last permanent residence was in the United States, and those "nonemigrant" aliens who are such because they are leaving the country only for a short time include, to a great extent, just those individuals in whom we are most interested. The tables of arrivals and departures by months do not differentiate the two classes of nonimmigrant, and the two classes of nonemigrant, aliens, so that it is impossible to make monthly comparisons of these factors. Fortunately, as stated above, it is not necessary for our present purpose; the totals of arrivals and departures of all classes of aliens are a sufficient general indication of the movements which we wish to study. A more detailed examination of the make-up of the stream of arrivals and departures, by years, will be given later.

Turning then to the table, we observe that the monthly average of arrivals during the first six months of 1907 was a high one. Following a large immigration during the last six months of the preceding year, this made the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907, the record year for immigration in the history of the country. For the next four months the stream of immigration continued high, considering the season, and the number of departures was moderate. Early in October, however, there were signs of disturbance in the New York Stock Exchange. On the sixteenth there was a crash in the market, and within a week the panic had become general. It reached its height on October 24, and continued for many weeks after. The response of the alien population to this disturbance was almost immediate, and manifested itself first in the emigration movement. In November the number of departures almost doubled. But the immigrants who were on the way could not be stopped, and in spite of the large exodus, there was a net gain of 38,207 during the month. The next month, December, however, saw a marked decrease in the stream of arrivals, which, accompanied by a departure of aliens almost as great as in November, resulted in a net decrease in population of 11,325 for the month. During the first six months of 1908 the number of arrivals was small, and the departures numerous, so that, with the exception of March, each month shows a net loss in population. During July the number of departures began to approach the normal (compare the months in 1908 with 1907 and 1910), but the arrivals were so few that there was still a decrease for the months of July and August. In September, 1908, the balance swung the other way, and from that time to the present every month has shown a substantial increase in population through the movement of aliens.

Thus we see that the period during which the number of alien laborers in the United States was decreasing was confined to the months December, 1907, to August, 1908, inclusive. By the end of July, 1908, the effects of the crisis were practically over as far as departures are concerned. It is evident, then, that the effects of the crisis on emigration were immediate, but not of very long duration. During the months of November and December, 1907, when the distress was the keenest, there were still large numbers

of aliens arriving. But when the stream of immigration was once checked, it remained low for some time, and it was not until about January, 1909, that it returned to what may be considered a normal figure. The reasons for this are obvious. The stream of immigration is a long one, and its sources are remote. It takes a long time for retarding influences in America to be thoroughly felt on the other side. The principal agency in checking immigration at its source is the returning immigrant himself, who brings personal information of the unfortunate conditions in the United States. This takes some time. But when the potential immigrants are once discouraged as to the outlook across the ocean, they require some positive assurance of better times before they will start out again.

Now what catches the public eye in such an epoch as this, is the large number of departures. We are accustomed to immense numbers of arrivals and we think little about that side of it. But heavy emigration is a phenomenon, and accordingly we hear much about how acceptably our alien population serves to accommodate the supply of labor to the demand. But if we stop to add up the monthly figures, we find that for the entire period after the crisis of 1907, when emigration exceeded immigration, the total decrease in alien population was only 124,124 — scarcely equal to the immigration of a single month during a fairly busy season. This figure is almost infinitesimal compared to the total mass of the American working people, or to the amount of unemployment at a normal time, to say nothing of a crisis. It is thus evident that the importance of our alien population as an alleviating force at the time of a crisis has been vastly exaggerated. The most that can be said for it is that it has a very trifling palliative effect.

The really important relation between immigration and crises is much less conspicuous but much more far-reaching. It rests upon the nature and underlying causes of crises in this country. These are fairly well understood at the present time. A typical crisis may be said to be caused by speculative overproduction, or overspeculative production. Some prefer to call the trouble underconsumption, which is much the same thing looked at from another point of view. Professor Irving Fisher has furnished a convenient and logical outline of the ordinary course of affairs.

In a normal business period some slight disturbance, such as an increase in the quantity of gold, causes prices to rise. A rise in prices is accompanied by increased profits for business men, because the rate of interest on the borrowed capital which they use in their business fails to increase at a corresponding ratio. If prices are rising at the rate of two per cent annually, a nominal rate of interest of six per cent is equivalent to an actual rate of only about four per cent. Hence, doing business on borrowed capital becomes very profitable, and there is an increased demand for loans.

This results in an increase of the deposit currency, which is accompanied by a further rise in prices. The nominal rate of interest rises somewhat, but not sufficiently, and prices tend to outstrip it still further. Thus the process is repeated, until the large profits of business lead to a disproportionate production of goods for anticipated future demand, and a vast overextension of credit. But this cycle cannot repeat itself indefinitely. Though the rate of interest rises tardily, it rises progressively, and eventually catches up with the rise in prices, owing to the necessity which banks feel of maintaining a reasonable ratio between loans and reserves. Other causes operate with this to produce the same result. The consequence is that business men find themselves unable to renew their loans at the old rate, and hence some of them are unable to meet their obligations, and fail. The failure of a few firms dispels the atmosphere of public confidence which is essential to extended credit. Creditors begin to demand cash payment for their loans; there is a growing demand for currency; the rate of interest soars; and the old familiar symptoms of a panic appear. In this entire process the blame falls, according to Professor Fisher, primarily upon the failure of the rate of interest to rise promptly in proportion to the rise in prices. If the forces which give inertia to the rate of interest were removed, so that the rate of interest would fluctuate readily with prices, the great temptation to expand business unduly during a period of rising prices would be removed. It may well be conceived that there are other factors, besides the discrepancy between the nominal and real rates of interest, that give to business a temporary or specious profitableness, and tend to encourage speculative overproduction. But the influence of the

rate of interest resembles so closely that resulting from immigration, that Professor Fisher's explanation is of especial service in the present discussion.

The rate of interest represents the payment which the entrepreneur makes for one of the great factors of production — capital. The failure of this remuneration to keep pace with the price of commodities in general leads to excessive profits and overproduction. The payment which the entrepreneur makes for one of the other factors of production — labor — is represented by wages. If wages fail to rise along with prices the effect on business, while not strictly analogous, is very similar to that produced by the slowly rising rate of interest. The entrepreneur is relieved of the necessity of sharing any of his excessive profits with labor, just as in the other case he is relieved from sharing them with capital. It would probably be hard to prove that the increased demand for labor results in further raising prices in general, as an increased demand for capital results in raising prices by increasing the deposit currency. But if the demand for labor results in increasing the number of laborers in the country, thereby increasing the demand for commodities, it may very well result in raising the prices of commodities as distinguished from labor, which is just as satisfactory to the entrepreneur. This is exactly what is accomplished when unlimited immigration is allowed. As soon as the conditions of business produce an increased demand for labor, this demand is met by an increased number of laborers, produced by immigration.

In the preceding paragraph it has been assumed that wages do not rise with prices. The great question is, is this true? This is a question very difficult of answer. There is a very general impression that during the last few years prices have seriously outstripped wages. Thus Professor Ely says, "Wages do not usually rise as rapidly as prices in periods of business expansion." R. B. Brinsmade stated in a discussion at the last meeting of the American Economic Association that "our recent great rise of prices is acknowledged to be equivalent to a marked reduction in general wages." Whether this idea is correct, and if correct, whether this effect had transpired in the years immediately previous to 1907, cannot be definitely stated. The index

numbers of wages and prices given in the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, for 1909 (p. 249), seem to show that during the years 1895 to 1907 money wages increased about *pari passu* with the retail prices of food, so that the purchasing power of the full-time weekly earnings remained nearly constant.

But whether or not money wages rose as fast as prices in the years from 1900 to 1907, one thing is certain, they did not rise any faster. That is to say, if real wages did not actually fall, they assuredly did not rise. But the welfare of the country requires that, in the years when business is moving toward a crisis, wages should rise; not only money wages, but real wages. What is needed is some check on the unwarranted activity of the entrepreneurs, which will make them stop and consider whether the apparently bright business outlook rests on sound and permanent conditions, or is illusory and transient. If their large profits are legitimate and enduring, they should be forced to share a part of them with the laborer. If not, the fact should be impressed upon them. We have seen that the rate of interest fails to act as an efficient check. Then the rate of wages should do it. And if the entrepreneurs were compelled to rely on the existing labor supply in their own country, the rate of wages would do it. Business expands by increasing the amount of labor utilized, as well as the amount of capital. If the increased labor supply could be secured only from the people already resident in the country, the increased demand would have to express itself in an increased wage, and the entrepreneur would be forced to pause and reflect. But in the United States we have adopted the opposite policy. In the vast peasant population of Europe there is an inexhaustible reservoir of labor, only waiting a signal from this side to enter the labor market — to enter it, not with a demand for the high wage that the business situation justifies, but ready to take any wage that will be offered, just so it is a little higher than the pittance to which they are accustomed at home. And we allow them to come, without any restrictions whatever as to numbers. Thus wages are kept from rising, and immigration becomes a powerful factor, tending to intensify and augment the unhealthy, oscillatory character of our industrial life. It was not by mere chance that the panic year of 1907 was the record year in immigration.

Against this point of view it may be argued that the legitimate expansion of business in this country requires the presence of the immigrant. But if business expansion is legitimate and permanent, resting on lasting favorable conditions, it will express itself in a high wage scale, persisting over a long period of time. And the demand so expressed will be met by an increase of native offspring, whose parents are reaping the benefit of the high standard of living. A permanent shortage of the labor supply is as abhorrent to Nature as a vacuum. Expansion of any other kind than this ought to be hampered, not gratified.

There is one other way in which immigration, as it exists at present, influences crises. In considering this, it will be well to regard the crisis from the other point of view — as a phenomenon of underconsumption. Practically all production at the present day is to supply an anticipated future demand. There can be no overproduction unless the actual demand fails to equal that anticipated. This is underconsumption. Now the great mass of consumers in the United States is composed of wage earners. Their consuming power depends upon their wages. In so far as immigration lowers wages in the United States, or prevents them from rising, it reduces consuming power, and hence is favorable to the recurrence of periods of underconsumption. It is not probable, to be sure, that a high wage scale in itself could prevent crises, as the entrepreneurs would base their calculations on the corresponding consuming power, just as they do at present. But a high wage scale carries with it the possibility of saving, and an increase of accumulations among the common people. It is estimated at the present time that half of the industrial people of the United States are unable to save anything. This increase in saving would almost inevitably have some effect upon the results of crises, though it must be confessed that it is very difficult to predict just what this effect would be. One result that might naturally be expected to follow would be that the laboring classes would take the opportunity of the period of low prices immediately following the crisis to invest some of their savings in luxuries which hitherto they had not felt able to afford. This would increase the demand for the goods which manufacturers are eager to dispose of at almost any price, and would thereby mitigate the evils of the depressed

market. It is probably true that the immigrant, under the same conditions, will save more out of a given wage than the native, so that it might seem that an alien laboring body would have more surplus available for use at the time of a crisis than a native class. But the immigrant sends a very large proportion of his savings to friends and relatives in the old country, or deposits it in foreign institutions, so that it is not available at such a time. Moreover, our laboring class is not as yet wholly foreign, and the native has to share approximately the same wage as the alien. Without the immense body of alien labor, we should have a class of native workers with a considerably higher wage scale, and a large amount of savings accumulated in this country, and available when needed.

On the other hand, it may be argued that if the desire to purchase goods in a depressed market should lead to a large withdrawal of cash from savings banks and similar institutions, it might tend to augment rather than alleviate the evils of a money stringency. There seems to be much force to this argument. Yet Mr. Streightoff tells us that in a period of hard times the tendency is for the poorer classes to increase their deposits, rather than diminish them. On the whole, it seems probable that a large amount of accumulated savings in the hands of the poorer classes would tend to have a steadying influence on conditions at the time of a crisis, and that by preventing this, as well as in other ways, immigration tends to increase the evils of crises.

In closing, it may be interesting to note what are the elements in our alien population which respond most readily to economic influences in this country, and hence are mainly accountable for the influences we have been considering. As stated above, the annual reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration give very complete data as to the make-up of the incoming and outgoing streams by years. Thus in the fiscal year 1908 there were 782,870 immigrant aliens and 141,825 nonimmigrant aliens admitted. Of the nonimmigrant aliens, 86,570 were individuals whose country of last permanent residence and of intended future residence were both the United States; that is, they were alien residents of this country who had been abroad for a brief visit. These are the birds of passage in the strictest sense, in which we shall use the term hereafter. In the same year there was a total

exodus of 714,828 aliens, of whom 395,073 were emigrants and 319,755 nonemigrants. The former class includes those who have made their fortune in this country and are going home to spend it, and those who have failed and are going home broken and discouraged — a very large number in this panic year. The latter class includes aliens who have had a permanent residence in the United States, but who are going abroad to wait till the storm blows over, with the expectation of returning again — true birds of passage outward bound. There were 133,251 of these. The balance were aliens in transit, and aliens who had been in this country on a visit, or only for a short time. In 1909 there were 751,786 immigrant aliens and 192,449 nonimmigrant aliens. Of the nonimmigrants 138,680 were true birds of passage according to the above distinction — a large number and almost exactly equal to the number of departing birds of passage in the previous year. The storm is over, and they have come back. The departures in that year numbered 225,802 emigrant and 174,590 nonemigrant aliens. These numbers are considerably smaller than in the previous year, but are still large, showing that the effects of the crisis were still felt in the early part of this fiscal year. The number of birds of passage among the non-emigrant aliens, 80,151, is much smaller than in the previous year. In 1910 there were 1,041,570 immigrant aliens and 156,467 nonimmigrant aliens. In the latter class, the number of birds of passage, 94,075, again approximated the corresponding class among the departures of the previous year. The departures in 1910 were 202,436 emigrant aliens and 177,982 nonemigrant aliens, of whom 89,754 were birds of passage. This probably comes near to representing the normal number of this class. A careful study of these figures confirms the conclusion reached above. While a crisis in this country does undoubtedly increase the number of departing aliens, both emigrant and nonemigrant, and eventually cuts down the number of arrivals, the total effect is much smaller than is usually supposed, and taken in connection with the fact that the stream of arrivals is never wholly checked, the influence of emigration in easing the labor market is absolutely trifling.

Comparing the different races in regard to their readiness to respond to changes in economic conditions, it appears that the

Italians stand easily at the head, and the Slavs come second. In 1908, in the traffic between the United States and Italy, there was a net loss in the population of this country of 79,966; in 1909, a net gain of 94,806. In the traffic between this country and Austria-Hungary there was a loss in 1908 of 5463; in 1909 a gain of 48,763. In the traffic with the Russian Empire and Finland there was a gain of 104,641 in 1908 and a gain of 94,806 in 1909. This shows how unique are the motives and conditions which control the migration from the two latter countries. The emigrants from there, particularly the Jews, come to this country to escape intolerable conditions on the other side, not merely for the sake of economic betterment. They prefer to endure anything in this country, rather than to return to their old home, even if they could.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF RECENT IMMIGRATION

JEREMIAH N. JENKS, LL.D., AND W. JETT LAUCK, OF THE UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION COMMISSION

MANY persons who have spoken and written of late years in favor of restriction of immigration have laid great stress upon the evils to society arising from immigration. They have claimed that disease, pauperism, crime, and vice have been greatly increased through the incoming of the immigrants. Perhaps no other phase of the question has aroused so keen feeling, and yet perhaps on no other phase of the question has there been so little accurate information.

It is doubtful whether the increased number of convictions for crime are found because more crimes are committed, or because our courts and the police are more active. It is probable that we hear more of vice and immorality in these late days, not because they are on the increase, but because people's consciences have become more sensitive, and in consequence greater efforts are made to suppress them.

It is certain that the injurious effect of most contagious diseases has been very greatly lessened, and yet it is probable that we hear more regarding contagious diseases now than ever before because we have become more watchful.

The data regarding contagious diseases, pauperism, and crime, in connection with the immigrants, are extremely meager and unsatisfactory; but the Immigration Commission made the best use possible of such data as exist, and it was able to institute a number of inquiries which, though limited in extent, nevertheless have served to throw some light upon the relation of immigration to these various social problems. Although it seems probable that the injurious social effects of immigration have been greatly exaggerated in the minds of many persons, nevertheless it would be practically impossible to exaggerate the social importance that might attach to immigration under

certain conditions. History and observation afford numberless examples.

It is a generally accepted fact that, up to the time of the visitation of the Pacific Islands by diseased sailors from Europe in the early part of the last century, venereal diseases, as known in Europe and America, did not exist in those islands, and that their introduction by only a few sailors was largely responsible for the ravages of these terrible diseases, unchecked by any medical knowledge, that swept away in many instances a large proportion of the entire population.

The entrance of an evil-minded man into a village community, or one or two foul-minded boys into a school, is often enough to affect materially the entire tone of the school or community. It is important, therefore, that as careful consideration as possible be given to these questions that have been so emphasized, and that rigid measures be taken to check whatever evils may have arisen.

LEGISLATION¹

In earlier days neither the Federal Government nor State governments had passed any laws to protect the United States against the immigration of undesirable persons of whatever kind. Even the energetic action of those promoting the so-called "Native American" or "Know-Nothing" movements, from 1835 to 1860, resulted in no protective legislation. Indeed, these movements were largely based on opposition to the immigration of Catholics rather than to that of persons undesirable for other reasons. In 1836 the Secretary of State was requested to collect information respecting the immigration of foreign paupers and criminals. In 1838 the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives was instructed to consider the expediency of providing by law against the introduction into the United States of vagabonds and paupers deported from foreign countries. Moreover, a bill, presented on the recommendation of the Committee, proposed a fine of \$1000, or imprisonment for from one to three years, for any master who took on board his vessel, with the intention of transporting to the United States, any

¹ Cf. for details, reports of Immigration Commission, Vol. XXXIX; also Chapter XVI.

alien passenger who was an idiot, lunatic, one afflicted with any incurable disease, or one convicted of an infamous crime. The bill, however, was not considered. The early "Native American" movement had been local, confined to New York City at first, afterward spreading to Philadelphia, but in 1852 the secret oath-bound organization that took the name of the American Party, the members of which were popularly called the Know-Nothings, came into national politics, and for a few years exerted not a little power, carrying nine State elections in 1855. Later, in something of a reaction against this "Know-Nothing" movement, which finally proposed only the exclusion of foreign paupers and criminals, there was a definite effort made to encourage immigration.

In 1864, on the recommendation of President Lincoln, a bill encouraging immigration was passed. In 1866 a joint resolution condemned the action of Switzerland and other nations in pardoning persons convicted of murder and other infamous crimes on condition that they would emigrate to the United States, and in 1868 the encouraging act was repealed.

Some of the States had provided for the collection of money to support immigrants who had become public charges; but these laws were finally declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, and in 1882 the first Federal Immigration Law was approved. This forbade convicts, except political offenders, lunatics, idiots, and persons likely to become public charges, to land. During the following years there was considerable agitation for further restriction or regulation, which culminated in 1888 in the selection of the "Ford Committee" by the House of Representatives. In the testimony before the committee it was shown that sometimes immigrants coming by steamer to Quebec, within forty-eight hours of their arrival, applied for shelter in the almshouses of the State of New York, and like cases of gross abuse existed by the thousands.

No further legislation, however, was enacted until 1891, when a bill was passed which added to the excluded classes persons suffering from a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, and polygamists, but from that time on there has been an earnest effort to protect the United States against such undesirable immigrants.

DISEASED IMMIGRANTS

Our present law provides that in case of aliens who are debarred for physical or mental reasons and whose disability might have been detected by the transportation company through a competent medical examination at the time of embarkation, the transportation company shall pay the sum of \$200 and in addition a sum equal to that paid by such alien for his transportation from the initial point of departure indicated in his ticket to the port of arrival, and such sum shall be paid to the alien on whose account it is assessed. In consequence of these and the preceding regulations, the transportation of diseased aliens has become so unprofitable that the steamship companies have provided, at the leading foreign ports, a medical inspection similar to that made in the United States.¹

EFFICIENCY OF INSPECTION IN EUROPE

As a result of this inspection compelled by the rigid enforcement of our laws at our ports of entry, the number of persons debarred at American ports is relatively very small. In the fiscal year 1907, 1,285,349 aliens were admitted, while only 4400 were debarred on account of physical and mental diseases. In 1914, as against 1,218,480 aliens who entered, 11,068 were debarred. The increase is due largely to the added efficiency of our medical service. The fact that a large proportion of the immigrants arriving in the United States come from countries where trachoma, favus and other contagious diseases are prevalent among the classes of the population from whom the immigrants come, shows how careful the steamship inspection is.

A still further proof is that the persons excluded on account of diseases from the ports of Italy, where the judgment of American medical officers is accepted as final, is slightly larger than those rejected from some other countries where the inspection is made solely by the physicians employed by the steamship companies.

On the whole, the medical inspection of immigrants at foreign ports, while not absolutely effective, seems to be reasonably

¹ Immigration Act, 1917, Sec. 9.

satisfactory. A considerable time must elapse between embarkation at European ports and arrival in the United States. Moreover, doubtless, in spite of the best efforts that can be made, there will be occasionally an avoidance of inspection; but taking all circumstances into account, the present control of immigrants as regards contagious diseases seems to be quite satisfactory.

It has frequently been suggested that some system should be devised by which immigrants may be inspected before leaving their homes for a port of embarkation. Such an arrangement would, of course, prevent many hardships now suffered by the thousands that are annually turned back at foreign ports of embarkation; but this is a subject over which our government has no supervision, the governments of the home countries being the only ones which could take effective action.

The policy adopted by the United States, of holding steamship companies responsible for bringing to the United States those physically and mentally diseased, seems to be right, and to have been of increasing effectiveness in late years. Inasmuch, however, as the circumstances in different cases vary materially, it seems desirable that the penalty provided for evasion of the law either through carelessness or connivance might also be varied so that under certain circumstances as heavy a fine as \$500 might be levied.

HOSPITAL INVESTIGATION

In order that a more careful test might be made of the physical conditions of the immigrants after their arrival in this country the Immigration Commission had an accurate record¹ kept of all charity patients entering the Bellevue and Allied Hospitals in New York City, during the seven months from August 1, 1908, to February 28, 1909, these hospitals being the ones that most frequently treat charity patients of the immigrant classes. Records of 23,758 cases were taken, of whom 52.3 per cent were foreign-born. When any race was represented by 200 or more patients, the results were tabulated, so that some conclusions might be reached regarding the liability to certain diseases of the different classes of immigrants of the various races and nationalities.

¹ Reports of Immigration Commission, Vol. I.

It is a rather striking fact that, so far as one can judge from these records kept, the races of the recent immigration, those from southern and eastern Europe, are not so subject to diseases that seem to be allied with moral weaknesses, as some of those of the older immigration races. For example, the largest percentage of diseases treated among Italians is 19.6 per cent for traumatism, burns, etc., these apparently arising from the fact that the newly arrived Italian immigrant is likely to be employed in unskilled labor, where he meets with slight accidents. The Hebrews also suffer most from this cause, a percentage of 13.1 per cent.

The Irish, who are also largely unskilled workmen, show only 11.7 per cent of their cases coming from this cause, whereas 35.9 per cent of the Irish patients treated were suffering from alcoholism, acute and chronic. Of the English 27.5 per cent, and of the German 12.8 per cent, were treated for alcoholism, and only 7.2 per cent and 12.4 per cent, respectively, for traumatism, burns, etc. Of the Italians only 1.6 per cent were treated for alcoholism and of the Hebrews only 0.9 of 1 per cent.

The Swedes with 1.5 per cent, Irish, Italians, Polish, and Scotch each with 0.9 per cent, show a larger proportion treated for syphilis than the English, Germans, Hebrews, or Magyars. The English with 2.1 per cent and the Italians with 1.5 per cent had a larger proportion treated for gonorrhea than any of the other races of which a detailed study was made.

Among the native-born negroes only 3.6 per cent were treated for alcoholism.

THE MENTALLY DEFECTIVE

It is much more difficult, in many instances, to detect the mentally than the physically defective. Often there is nothing to indicate to the medical inspector mental disease, unless the immigrant can be kept under observation for a considerable period of time, or unless the history of the case is known. Under the law, "All idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, are excluded, insane persons, and persons who have been insane within five years previous; and persons who have had two or more attacks of insanity at any time previously." It is the custom invariably to hold for observation any patient who shows

any evidence whatever of mental disease; but despite this care not a few cases are found of those who have developed insanity within a comparatively short period after landing. In some instances this might have been anticipated if the history of the patient had been known, but otherwise there was no means of detection. The present law on this point seems to be satisfactory, and its enforcement generally good under the very difficult conditions; but it would be desirable to have a larger force of experts to examine, and also, if it were practicable, to provide some better means for securing the history of arriving immigrants.

NUMBER AND RATIO OF INSANE IN UNITED STATES AND IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES ¹

COUNTRY	YEAR	INSANE IN HOSPITALS		TOTAL INSANE	
		Number	No. per 100,000 of Population	Number	No. per 100,000 of Population
United States	1903	150,151	186.2	106,485 ²	170.0 ²
England and Wales	1903	113,964	340.1		
Scotland	1903	16,658	363.7		
Ireland	1903	22,138	490.9		
Canada	1901	12,819	238.6	16,495	307.0
France	1904	69,190	177.5		
Germany	1903	108,004	191.6		
Italy	1899	34,802	109.2		
Austria	1901	14,895	57.0	30,747	117.5
Hungary	1902	2,716	14.1	17,117	88.8
Netherlands	1903	8,958	167.5		
Switzerland	1901	7,434	224.2		
Norway	1902	1,833	80.5	5,397	238.4
Sweden	1903	5,083	97.3	8,093	154.9
Denmark	1901	3,438	140.3	4,197	171.3

The tables above, taken from the Special Report of the United States Census, which some observations by the Immigration Commission in Bellevue and Allied Hospitals in New York and reports of the Bureau of Immigration tend to confirm,

¹ Compiled from United States Census, Special Report, "Insane and feeble-minded in hospitals and institutions, 1904," pp. 9 and 10.

² Figure for June 1, 1890.

throw some light on the relative tendencies of certain races toward insanity, and show that certain aliens are more inclined toward insanity than are native-born Americans.

RACIAL OR NATIONAL TENDENCIES

The high ratio of insanity prevailing among foreign-born persons in the United States may be due, in a measure at least, to racial or national tendencies.

Data showing the number of insane and the ratio of insanity in the principal European countries and in Canada are afforded by the Special Report of the Census Bureau. These data, together with like data for the United States, obtained from the same source, are presented in the table below.

FOREIGN-BORN WHITE INSANE ENUMERATED IN HOSPITALS IN CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES, DECEMBER 31, 1903, COMPARED WITH THE TOTAL FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION OF CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES IN 1900, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH; PER CENT DISTRIBUTION¹

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE INSANE ENUMERATED IN HOSPITALS	FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION: 1900
Ireland	29.0	15.6
Germany	26.9	25.8
England and Wales	7.0	9.0
Canada ²	6.5	11.4
Scandinavia	11.5	10.3
Scotland	1.7	2.3
Italy	2.3	4.7
France	1.2	1.0
Hungary and Bohemia	2.2	2.9
Russia and Poland	4.4	7.8
Other countries	7.3	9.2
Total	100.0	100.0

¹ Compiled from United States Census, Special Report, "Insane and feeble-minded in hospitals and institutions, 1904," pp. 23 and 24.

² Includes *Newfoundland*.

PAUPERS

Although in the earlier days before strict regulation of immigration had been provided by law many poor people came from Europe, their home countries paying the expenses of their shipment in order to rid themselves of the burden of their support, our present regulations excluding those who are liable to become a public charge have practically stopped the immigration of this undesirable class. The Immigration Commission, with the assistance of the Associated Charities in forty-three cities, including practically all the large immigrant centers excepting New York, reached the conclusion that only a very small percentage of the immigrants now arriving applied for relief.

In this statistical investigation,¹ covering 31,374 cases actually receiving assistance and reporting cause, it was found that 28.7 per cent had applied for assistance because of the death or disability of the breadwinner of the family; 18.9 per cent on account of the death or disability of another member of the family; 59 per cent from lack of employment or insufficient earnings; 18.7 per cent on account of neglect or bad habits of the breadwinner; 6.2 per cent on account of old age; and 10 per cent from other causes.

It will be noted that because more than one reason was given in some cases, this total amounts to more than 100 per cent, but the relative proportions of the cases under the different classes are probably substantially accurate. If we attempt to discriminate among the different races, it appears that it is among the immigrants of the earlier period or those coming from Northern Europe that we find apparently the largest number of cases of neglect or bad habits of the breadwinner. For example, among the South Italians, only 8.7 per cent give this cause, whereas the Irish give 20.9 per cent, the English 14 per cent, the German 15.7 per cent, the Norwegians 25.9 per cent. The Hebrews, again, as representatives of the later immigrants, give 12.6 per cent, but the Lithuanians, by exception, give 25.6 per cent.

In the case of those giving lack of employment as the cause, the highest percentage is found among the Syrians, 75.4 per cent; the lowest among the French Canadians, 38.9 per cent

¹ Reports of Immigration Commission, Vol. I.

There do not seem to be striking differences in this regard among the other nationalities; among the South Italians 67.8 per cent, the Polish 65.9 per cent, the Irish 54.8 per cent, the English 63.3 per cent, the Germans 58.1 per cent; the preponderance being slightly greater among the late arrivals than among the early.

On the other hand, if we note the length of time that those assisted have been in the United States, we find that 33.9 per cent of those who have received aid have been here twenty years or over, whereas only 6 per cent have been here two years; and if we take all who have been here under three years, it amounts to only 10.3 per cent. Apparently, therefore, the newly arrived immigrants do not soon apply for aid to any large extent. It should be noted, also, that this investigation was made during the six months of the winter of 1908-1909, while the effects of the industrial depression of 1907-1908 were still felt. These last facts emphasize strongly the effectiveness of our present immigration laws in excluding those likely to become a public charge, as compared with the lack of care in earlier years, when within forty-eight hours of landing large numbers applied for relief.

CRIME

Probably no other question in connection with immigration has aroused greater interest than its relation to crime. Probably more hostility to the immigrant has been aroused by the assertion that their incoming has increased crime in this country than by any other fact; and yet it is impossible to produce satisfactory evidence that immigration has resulted in an increase of crime out of proportion to the increase in the adult population. Although available statistical material is too small to permit the drawing of positive conclusions, such material as is available, if trustworthy, would seem to indicate that immigrants are rather less inclined toward criminality, on the whole, than are native Americans, although these statistics do indicate that the children of immigrants commit crime more often than the children of natives.

Any special study of the relation of immigration to crime should take into consideration not only the number of convictions for crime but also the nature of the crimes committed and possibly

the relative likelihood of the detection of crime in different localities or among different classes of the population.

DIFFICULTY OF ADMINISTRATION OF LAW

Although the immigration laws provide for the exclusion of persons who have been convicted of, or confess to, an infamous crime, there can be no doubt that many criminals have succeeded and still succeed in evading this law.

It is, of course, impossible for an immigration inspector to tell from the appearance of a man whether or not he has been a criminal. In many cases criminals, especially those who have committed certain classes of serious crimes, such as forgery or even burglary, may be well-dressed, intelligent persons, traveling in first cabin. Unless something is known of their previous history, if they do not declare that they have been convicted of crime, they will be admitted without question. Doubtless many aliens enter the United States contrary to the law after having been convicted of a crime, and having served out their sentence; or, having been convicted of crime by foreign courts during their absence from the place of trial, as is permitted in some countries, if they have escaped arrest and fled the country. Moreover, our laws do not exclude persons who have not been convicted of crime although they may be looked upon as dangerous persons or probably criminals and on that account have been placed by their home courts under police surveillance.

The Immigration Commission,¹ in order to make as careful a study as possible of this most important question within the means at its disposal, took into careful account the material collected by the United States Census on the extent of crime, going through carefully the latest report regarding prisoners and juvenile delinquents in institutions in 1904. In addition to this, use was made of the records of the County and Supreme Courts of New York State, from 1907 to 1908, of the New York City Magistrates Courts, 1901-1908, and of the New York Court of General Sessions, October 1, 1908 to June 30, 1909, the material in this last case having been especially collected by agents of the Commission.

¹ Reports of Immigration Commission, Vol. XXXVI.

Furthermore, the records of commitments to penal institution in Massachusetts, October 1, 1908, and September 30, 1909, and data relating to alien prisoners in the penal institutions throughout the United States, in 1908, were utilized, as well as the police records made in Chicago in the years 1905-1908.

Many of these figures, of course, are not comparable one with another, but by a careful study certain general conclusions may be reached.

CLASSES OF CRIME

The tables of the distribution of classes of crime on pages 288 and 289, show that in all of the courts investigated, the proportion of natives committing gainful offenses is decidedly larger than that of foreigners, although in offenses of personal violence and of those against public policy the foreigner predominates. It should be borne in mind, however, that in the case of offenses against public policy many are merely the violation of a city ordinance, such as peddling without a city license, and it may be that in certain of these cases the newly arrived immigrant was not aware that he was committing an offense. Even, however, if he did know that he was violating an ordinance, it could hardly be assumed that it was such a misdemeanor as would imply a serious criminal tendency.

When on the other hand we take up the offense of personal violence, we find that in the City Magistrate's Court of New York and in the County and Supreme Courts of the same State, the percentage of offenses of personal violence is very much higher among the Italians than among any other race or nationality. This seems a matter of special significance. For example, of the convictions of Italians in the County and Supreme Courts of New York State, 39.3 per cent were for offenses of personal violence; of the convictions of persons born in Austria-Hungary, only 18.6 per cent were for offenses of that class; for those born in Ireland, only 16.5 per cent; and for native-born citizens, 11.7 per cent. On the other hand, when in the same courts we find that in the relative frequency of gainful offenses, the United States leads with 77.8 per cent, and the Italians have the fewest offenses with 37.6 per cent, we see the relative inclinations of the different races brought out in a most striking way.

DISTRIBUTION OF CLASSES OF CRIMES

Number

SOURCE	TOTAL		GAINFUL OFFENSES,		OFFENSES OF PERSONAL VIOLENCE		OFFENSES AGAINST PUBLIC POLICY		OFFENSES AGAINST CHASTITY		UNCLASSIFIED OFFENSES	
	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign
New York City magistrates' courts . . .	365,386	402,772	36,764	24,635	14,292	17,141	310,321	355,905	2,066	2,980	1,943	2,111
New York court of general sessions . . .	1,326	880	1,043	589	170	183	89	82	9	5	15	21
New York county and supreme courts . . .	7,286	3,879	5,665	2,345	855	873	509	485	135	72	122	104
Chicago police arrests . . .	195,934	104,997	29,074	10,316	9,104	7,720	144,528	81,636	10,012	3,434	3,216	1,891
Mass. prisoners . . .	15,219	13,101	2,361	1,119	657	783	11,493	10,597	405	360	293	242

Per cent of all offenses

SOURCE	TOTAL		GAINFUL OFFENSES		OFFENSES OF PERSONAL VIOLENCE		OFFENSES AGAINST PUBLIC POLICY		OFFENSES AGAINST CHASTITY		UNCLASSIFIED OFFENSES	
	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign
New York City magistrates' courts . . .	100.0	100.0	10.1	6.1	3.9	4.3	84.9	88.4	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.5
New York court of general sessions . . .	100.0	100.0	78.7	66.9	12.8	20.8	6.7	9.3	0.7	0.6	1.1	2.4
New York county and supreme courts . . .	100.0	100.0	77.8	60.5	11.7	22.5	7.0	12.5	1.9	1.9	1.7	2.7
Chicago police arrests . . .	100.0	100.0	14.8	9.8	4.6	7.4	73.8	77.8	5.1	3.3	1.6	1.8
Mass. prisoners . . .	100.0	100.0	15.5	8.5	4.3	6.0	75.5	80.9	2.7	2.7	1.9	1.8

DISTRIBUTION OF CLASSES OF CRIME ¹*Convictions: Number*

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	TOTAL	GAINFUL OFFENSES	OFFENSES OF PERSONAL VIOLENCE	OFFENSES AGAINST PUBLIC POLICY	OFFENSES AGAINST CHASTITY	UNCLASSI- FIED OFFENSES
United States . . .	7,286	5,665	855	509	135	122
Austria-Hungary . .	419	280	78	31	10	20
Canada	124	85	16	14	1	8
England	161	115	13	17	11	5
Germany	514	360	67	54	13	20
Ireland	278	197	46	24	3	8
Italy	1,183	445	465	244	13	16
Poland	96	63	17	11	2	3
Russia	646	498	84	35	12	17
Total foreign ² .	3,879	2,345	873	485	72	104
Grand total . .	11,165	8,010	1,728	994	207	226

Convictions: Per cent distribution

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	TOTAL	GAINFUL OFFENSES	OFFENSES OF PERSONAL VIOLENCE	OFFENSES AGAINST PUBLIC POLICY	OFFENSES AGAINST CHASTITY	UNCLASSI- FIED OFFENSES
United States . . .	100.0	77.8	11.7	7.0	1.9	1.7
Austria-Hungary . .	100.0	66.8	18.6	7.4	2.4	4.8
Canada	100.0	68.5	12.9	11.3	0.8	6.5
England	100.0	71.4	8.1	10.6	6.8	3.1
Germany	100.0	70.0	13.0	10.5	2.5	3.9
Ireland	100.0	70.9	16.5	8.6	1.1	2.9
Italy	100.0	37.6	39.3	20.6	1.1	1.4
Poland	100.0	65.6	17.7	11.5	2.1	3.1
Russia	100.0	77.1	13.0	5.4	1.9	2.6
Total foreign ² .	100.0	60.5	22.5	12.5	1.9	2.7
Grand total . .	100.0	71.7	15.5	8.9	1.9	2.0

¹ New York County and Supreme Courts, 1907-1908.² Includes "Other countries."

Among these gainful offenses, however, there seems to be a wide difference in kinds of crime. Of the convictions of persons born in the United States, 29.9 per cent were for burglary. In extortion, the Italians lead with 3.05 per cent; in forgery and fraud, the Canadian with 4.03 per cent; in larceny and receiving stolen property, the Russian leads with 48.5, while in robbery, the Poles are preëminent with 4.2 per cent.

If a similar analysis is made of the relative frequency of offenses of personal violence, the Italians seem to show a peculiarly bad eminence, leading in homicide with 6.3 per cent of all the convictions, while the nationality next to them is the Irish with only 2.2 per cent. In abduction, the Italians also lead with 2.03 per cent, England being second at only 0.62 per cent. In assault the Italians are first with 28.9 per cent, Austria-Hungary second at 15 per cent. In all of the offenses of personal violence the Italians lead, except in the case of rape, where the Germans and Italians are equal at 2.1 per cent, citizens of the United States following at 1.6 per cent. In the same court, the Italians lead in crimes against the public health and safety with 13.8 per cent, the Poles ranking second with 5.2 per cent. In the case of violation of excise laws and similar offenses, the Canadian leads with 10.5 per cent, the English following with only 6.2 per cent.

It is perhaps sufficient to say here that on the whole, in spite of the inclination apparently shown by certain nationalities to commit certain classes of crime, it is impossible to show whether or not the totality of crime has been increased by immigration.

NEW MEASURES NEEDED

There can be no doubt regarding the inadequacy of our laws for the exclusion of criminals. Many criminals doubtless come as seamen, or as employees in some capacity on ships, and then secure entrance to the country by desertion, while, as already explained, many others escape because the inspecting officials cannot detect them.

Unless an immigrant has a criminal record abroad, there seems no way of ridding the country of his presence if he becomes a criminal here. It seems advisable that our laws be so amended that an alien who becomes a criminal within a relatively short

time after his arrival, say from three to five years, should be deported after he has paid the penalty here. Presumably such a person has brought with him a tendency to commit crime.

Moreover, it would seem advisable for the United States to make arrangements with certain foreign countries that keep police records of all their citizens, so that all persons arriving from those countries might be required to produce a penal certificate showing a clear record. Those unable to present such a record should be excluded. Such an arrangement could not well be made with all countries, since, first, many countries keep no such records, but also, second, because such an arrangement would probably be used by some countries as an additional means of oppressing political offenders or those suspected of revolutionary inclinations, however praiseworthy such inclinations might be from the American viewpoint.

The Immigration Commission and, also, at about the same time, the Police Department of New York City, proved by experiment in some hundreds of cases that it is possible to secure in some foreign countries documentary evidence of the conviction of crime of immigrants who have been admitted through error. So far as is known, the Bureau of Immigration has never seriously attempted such work, though it might well be a means of ridding the country of scores, even hundreds, of dangerous criminals. Moreover, if the Government were to keep abroad a confidential force to watch for criminal and immoral persons intending to enter this country, as it does provide such a force abroad to prevent smuggling of goods, good results could doubtless be obtained. A smuggled criminal or prostitute is far more injurious to the country than a smuggled diamond or silk coat. Why not take equal care regarding them?

BIRTH RATE AMONG IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

So much has been said in late years about "race suicide," and so much of both the industrial and military strength of a country depends upon the natural increase of population through the birth rate, that the relative fecundity of immigrant women as compared with that of both native-born of foreign parents

and native-born of native parents is of great significance. Fortunately enough, excellent material was collected by the Twelfth Census, although not utilized by the Census Bureau, so that the Immigration Commission was able from the original data thus collected to reach accurate results of value. It was not considered practicable to make use of the material for all sections of the United States, but the State of Rhode Island, the city of Cleveland and forty-eight counties (largely rural) in the State of Ohio, the city of Minneapolis and twenty-one rural counties in Minnesota, were taken as typical of the different sections of the country and of urban and rural conditions. The detailed figures are of great interest.¹

WOMEN BEARING NO CHILDREN

Some general conclusions may be reached as follows: The percentage of women under forty-five years of age who had been married from ten to nineteen years, when classified by parentage and nativity shows that in all these regions selected for study 7.4 per cent bore no children. Among the native whites of native parentage this fact held of 13.1 per cent, while among the whites of foreign parentage of only 5.7 per cent. Among the women of foreign parentage the percentage of women bearing no children was largest among the Scotch—8.9 per cent of the first generation and 11.3 per cent of the second generation.

The Polish women were the most fertile; of the women of the first generation only 2.6 per cent bore no children, and of those of the second only 1.5 per cent. The Bohemians, Russians, and Norwegians show likewise relatively few women without children, while the English, French, Irish, and English Canadian rank next to the Scotch in the large numbers unfruitful. Speaking generally, also, it may be noted that the percentage of childless women is decidedly higher in the second generation of the white women of foreign parentage, although this difference does not appear in so marked a degree in rural Minnesota as in the other areas. Generally speaking, the result would seem to indicate that the second generation, under rural conditions, is almost as likely to have children as the first. Under urban conditions this is not so likely to occur, as percentages indicate.

¹ Reports of Immigration Commission, Vol. XXVIII.

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Considering the question from another viewpoint, that of the average number of children borne by women of the different races and nationalities in these different localities,—among the women of American stock, the average number of children in Cleveland, Minneapolis, and Rhode Island, which are largely urban, is much the same, 2.4 and 2.5, while in the rural districts of both Ohio and Minnesota, the number of children is practically one more, 3.4.

Among the women of foreign stock, the difference between city and country is not so decidedly marked, but there is also decided variation among the different races. The average number of children borne by women under forty-five years of age, married from ten to nineteen years, was 2.7 for native white women of native parentage, and 4.4 for the native white women of foreign parentage. Among those races studied, the highest birth rate was found among the Poles — 6.2 children for the women of the first generation and 5.1 for those of the second. Next to these rank the French Canadians with 5.8 for the first generation and 4.9 for the second. Among the foreigners the lowest birth rate was found among the English, with 3.7 for the first generation and 2.9 for the second. The Scotch ranked almost the same with 3.8 in the first generation and 2.9 in the second.

In practically all of these cases the number of children is larger in rural districts and smaller in the cities, although in the case of Poles in Ohio 6.1 was the rate in Cleveland to 5.6 in rural Ohio. The exception does not appear significant.

RELATION OF YEARS OF MARRIED LIFE TO BIRTH RATE,
BY RACES

Still another indication of the same tendency of the native Americans and the second generation of immigrants to have fewer children is shown by the average number of years married for each child born to the women enumerated. As is to be expected from what has preceded, the smallest average number of years is found among the Poles with 2.3 for the first generation and 2.6 for the second. The largest number of years is found among the English with 3.9 of the first generation and 5 of the second generation. The English Canadian, the Scotch, and the

French all rank high, while the Italians, French Canadians, and Norwegians rank low.

The general results seem to indicate that fecundity is much greater among women of foreign parentage than among the American women of native parentage and usually greater among the immigrants than among their descendants. Generally speaking, also, the fecundity is greater in the rural districts than in the cities. Taking all the totals together, the fecundity seems greatest in the first generation of Polish women, who bore in the years indicated one child every 2.3 years, while it is least in the second generation of English women, who bore on the average one child only every five years.

THE SOCIAL EVIL AND THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

In many respects the most pitiful as well as the most revolting phase of the immigration question is that connected with the social evil or the white slave traffic.

From the nature of the cases, it is, of course, impossible to get detailed statistics regarding the question.¹ From the figures collected in an investigation of four months in the New York City Night Court, November 15, 1908, to March 15, 1909, it appears that 27.7 per cent of the women arrested and convicted for keeping disorderly houses and solicitation, were foreign-born. Of these foreign-born cases in the Night Court, 581 in all, the Hebrews furnished the largest number, 225, the French next with 154, followed by the Germans with 69. In cases of exclusion and deportation the figures are materially different. A very large proportion of the girls who come to our cities to engage in this business are from the country districts and are American-born, although very often they are immigrant girls who have entered factories of various types or have been engaged in such lines of activity that they are kept from the benefits of home influence.

ECONOMIC CAUSES

In very many other cases, however, an important indirect cause of their downfall seems to be economic, although dependent, largely, upon the other conditions surrounding their home life.

¹ Reports of Immigration Commission, Vol. XXXVII.

In the very crowded districts of the great cities the conditions of living are such that the normal instincts of modesty and propriety are, in many cases, almost inevitably deadened, with the result that yielding to temptation is much easier and more frequent than would otherwise be the case. Low wages are in themselves scarcely ever a direct cause.

The investigations of the Immigration Commission seem to show very clearly that the keepers of disorderly houses and those most actively engaged in the work of procuring inmates for these houses, either in this country or abroad, are either aliens or the children of aliens.

All such figures, however, are likely to be misleading. The opinions of the agents of the Commission, of the police, and of others familiar with the situation, lead one to the conclusion that the largest proportion of prostitutes entering the country are French; the Hebrews seem rather to have engaged in the life after entering the country. The Hebrews seem, on the other hand, to be more active as procurers and pimps in seducing the young girls here and persuading them to enter the life.

The report of the Commission of Immigration for 1914 gives the total number of nationalities debarred for prostitution as follows: English, 57; French, 32; German, 37; Hebrew, 27; Mexicans, 107. Those debarred as procurers: English, 37; French, 14; Germans, 31; Hebrews, 6; Mexicans, 65. These figures bring into evil prominence the Mexicans and English. Deportation after admission shows like results.¹

RACES

Of the women who are thus imported for immoral purposes, either willingly or against their will, certain nationalities seem to be especially prominent. The numbers of some of the different races convicted in the night court have been given on page 289; but these convictions are, of course, no certain measure of the numbers or proportions of those imported.

MOTIVES

The motive of business profit has given the impulse which creates and upholds this traffic, whether carried on in this country

¹ Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, p. 105.

or whether the women are imported. The persons actively engaged in enticing women into the business have only profit in view.

METHODS OF ENTRY AND EXPLOITATION

In securing entry into this country contrary to law, these women are generally brought in as wives or relatives of the importers. It is usually very difficult, if not impossible, to detect these cases; and after admission it is likewise extremely difficult to secure such evidence as to justify deportation.

The system of exploitation on the part of the procurers and other persons engaged in the traffic is extremely brutal and revolting, resulting almost invariably in absolute poverty and dependence on the part of the victim and usually within a comparatively short time in disease and an early death.

RESULTS OF TRAFFIC

It is, of course, impossible to discuss in detail the evil results of this traffic in immigrants. Suffice it to say that it has materially heightened the gross evils of prostitution. Unnatural practices are brought largely from continental Europe; the fiendish work of the procurers and pimps is largely done by aliens or immigrants; diseases are spread more widely among guilty and innocent; even the ancient vice of the use of men and boys for immoral purposes is coming from abroad.

Fortunately, the investigation of the Commission aroused the public to action. Their report has been followed by others made by private Commissions, especially in Chicago, Minneapolis, and New York. The governments and courts seem now to be doing really effective work.

LEGISLATION AND ADMINISTRATION

Under the recommendation of the Commission new laws have been passed by Congress, and in a number of our States much more stringent laws have been passed since the report of the Immigration Commission, so that at the present time, with a reasonable degree of effort on the part of well-meaning citizens and reasonable diligence on the part of the police officials and of the courts, the worst evils of the traffic may be, and in many

instances have already been, decidedly checked and the worst criminals have in many instances been convicted. The remedy in this, as in most such matters, is to maintain a sufficient degree of intelligent knowledge on the part of the thoughtful normal citizen, and a willingness to deal with such a revolting subject with frankness, intelligence, conservatism and firmness, unmixed with fanaticism and prejudice.

IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO THE SOCIAL EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION

In most of the discussions on immigration that have appeared during the last few years, whether the immigrant came from Europe or from Asia, great importance has been attached to the social effects of immigration arising from the personal qualities of the immigrants. Many have feared that the physical standards of the population of the United States would be lowered by the incoming of diseased persons; that the arrival of immigrants and paupers would prove not merely a financial burden but also a menace to the morals of the community; while the late discussions over the white slave traffic and other forms of vice have served still more strongly to accentuate this belief in the social evils arising from immigration.

The late investigations of the Immigration Commission show that, vital as the social effects are, relatively speaking, undue significance has been attached during the past few years to these social effects as a motive for legislation. While there are still many improvements to be made in our immigration laws and in their administration, nevertheless at the present time there is no serious danger to be apprehended immediately from the social defects of the immigrants, as has already been shown in this chapter. The number of persons afflicted with contagious diseases or insanity, or the number of paupers or criminals arriving, taking them as individuals, is very large, but taken as a percentage of the entire number coming is so small that too much heed need not be paid to it. Of course, this does not mean that we ought not to make every effort possible to lessen still further these evils. Every effort possible should be made, and special emphasis should be placed upon caring for the immigrants after their arrival, in order to bring them as soon as possible into

harmony with our best institutions. But these evils should not blind our eyes to those of more far-reaching import.

The chief danger of immigration lies, not in this direction, but in the field of industry. When immigrants who are unskilled laborers arrive in so large numbers that the tendency is for them to lower the average rate of wages and the standard of living among the wage earners, the danger is one much more far-reaching, and one to which our statesmen should give earnest attention. This includes indirectly often social effects as well. A number of later chapters will serve to show how imminent this industrial danger is, in what form it appears, and the way in which it should be met. This, rather than the immediate social evils, is the most difficult phase of the immigration problem, and at the moment it is the most important phase. It is this that calls for prompt legislation.

SOCIAL: IMMIGRATION AND HEALTH¹

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PERHAPS no question is of more paramount and continuing interest to the American people than immigration in all its phases and relations to public welfare. The history of the United States is the history of alien immigration. The earliest pioneers were themselves alien immigrants. Our institutions, political, religious, and social, have been founded and supported by aliens or their near descendants. Our country is indeed a melting pot, into which have been poured diverse varieties of peoples, from all nations and races. Yet in the face of this, these variant elements have been fused into a more or less homogeneous nation. A national life and character we have. This national or American character is not exemplified in those places where the large streams of immigration are pouring in, but farther away where the waters have mixed. Such a condition, unique in the history of nations, is responsible for certain problems which are also unique in history, and consequently do not admit of solution according to precedents.

The first rule of national life is self-preservation, and since immigration has had and still has so important a rôle in American national life, it must be carefully scrutinized to determine which immigrants are desirable, and *vice versa*, from the standpoint of the betterment and continuance of the American nation. The choice between free immigration, restricted immigration, and absolute exclusion is increasingly difficult to make, and does not enter our field of inquiry, except to recall a principle which is as valid from the medical standpoint as from the economic or social. Only those peoples should be admitted whom experience has shown will amalgamate quickly and become genuine citizens. The period of residence necessary for citizenship should be raised

¹ From *The Popular Science Monthly*, April, 1912.

from three to five years, during which time the immigrant should be literally on probation, and subject to deportation if found wanting, or if unable to meet the qualifications of citizenship at the end of that time. The government should decide where the immigrant may settle and the immigration current should be directed to the Western and farming districts, and not allowed to stagnate in Eastern cities.

The great mass of popular literature on the subject of immigration is singularly deficient in discussion and analysis of its medical features. It is true, the United States government bestows on public health and preventive medicine nowhere near the attention it finds necessary for the prevention of disease in stock and for agricultural improvement, but none the less there are certain well-organized and efficiently operated agencies which have for their function the improvement of public hygiene and sanitation, the eradication of preventable disease, and the study of causation and methods of control of diseases. Most of these functions are exercised by the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service, which, strangely enough, constitutes a bureau under the Treasury Department. Some of this work is done under the Department of Agriculture, and other minor lines are scattered elsewhere through the national machinery. It is easily seen how much more efficient would be the work were all these agencies for national health protection united under one administrative head, and their various activities carefully coördinated.

The Public Health and Marine Hospital Service operates all national quarantine stations where inspection is made for yellow fever, typhus fever, smallpox, bubonic plague, leprosy, and cholera; maintains hospitals throughout the country for sailors of the American merchant marine; conducts the Hygienic Laboratory at Washington for the study of the causation and treatment of diseases; exercises numerous minor functions of a national board of health; and conducts the medical inspection of immigrants. Certain diseases are found so frequently among immigrants, and others are so inherently dangerous, as to merit special mention because of their important relation to public health.

First among these might be placed trachoma, a disease of the eyelids characterized by extreme resistance to treatment, very

chronic course, and most serious results. Most of the immigrant cases occur in Russians, Austrians, and Italians, although it is of common occurrence in oriental and Mediterranean countries. It causes a large percentage of the blindness in Syria and Egypt. Its contagious nature, together with the resulting scarring of the lids and blindness, make its recognition imperative. The hookworm (*Uncinaria*) has received much attention lately since it has been found so widely distributed through the mountains of the South, the mines of California, the middle West, etc. It is a minute parasitic intestinal worm about three fifths of an inch long, and under the microscope shows relatively enormous and powerful chitinous jaws by means of which it attaches itself to the intestinal walls. The saliva of the hookworm has the curious property of preventing coagulation of blood like leech extract, and when it is remembered that the worms may vary in number from several hundred to a thousand or more, and that each worm moves frequently from place to place on the intestinal wall, it is apparent how excessive and continuous is the drain on the blood and lymph juices. The result is an extreme anemia which brings in its wake a varied multitude of bodily ills, and may eventuate fatally, meanwhile having incapacitated the victim for mental or physical work. Infection can spread rapidly from a single case. Not many hookworm carriers have been discovered among immigrants, probably because the facilities for their detection are so meager. But the heavy immigration from countries where *uncinaria* is abundant, as well as the recent suggestive work of Dr. H. M. Manning at the Ellis Island Immigrant Hospital, indicates that there is a constant stream of fresh infection pouring in. Indisputably routine examination for hookworms should be instituted. The same can be said of other intestinal parasites as tapeworms, pinworms, whipworms, eelworms and others. One of the tapeworms, the so-called fish worm (*Dibothriocephalus latus*), leads to an anemia fully as severe as that from the hookworm.

Many other diseases might be mentioned, but these are sufficient to illustrate the importance of careful medical inspection of immigrants.

The total immigration into the United States through all ports of entry for the year ending June 30, 1911, was 1,052,649. Of

these 22,349 were debarred for various reasons, leaving a net increase of 1,030,300. The chief port of entry is, of course, New York, where 749,642 aliens were examined. Next in order of importance came Boston, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, and at a greater distance Galveston, Tampa, San Francisco, Honolulu. Miami, and Portland, Maine. As the laws are uniform and the methods of inspection the same at all ports, consideration of methods and results at Ellis Island, New York, will give a clear idea of the entire subject.

The medical inspecting service at Ellis Island is divided into three branches, the hospital, the boarding division, and the line. The hospital division presents an excellently equipped and managed institution, and an isolated set of buildings for contagious diseases. The hospital service is limited exclusively to immigrants, and the patients are those acutely ill upon arrival, those taken sick during their stay on the island, and cases of acute sickness among aliens already landed who for some reason have been brought to the island for deportation.

The boarding division of the medical inspection on Ellis Island has for its particular function the inspection of aliens in the first and second cabins on board the incoming vessels. Those who require more detailed examination are sent to Ellis Island.

The routine inspection on the line is that part which the visitor sees, and is the most important feature of the medical sieve spread to sift out the physically and mentally defective. The incoming immigrants pass in single file down two lines. Each of these lines makes a right-angled turn midway in its course. At this turn stands a medical officer. He sees each person directly from the front as he approaches, and his glance travels rapidly from feet to head. In this rapid glance he notes the gait, attitude, presence of flat feet, lameness, stiffness at ankle, knee, or hip, malformations of the body, observes the neck for goitre, muscular development, scars, enlarged glands, texture of skin, and finally as the immigrant comes up face to face, the examiner notes abnormalities of the features, eruptions, scars, paralysis, expression, etc. As the immigrant turns, in following the line, the examiner has a side view, noting the ears, scalp, side of neck, examining the hands for deformity or paralysis, and if anything about the individual seems suspicious, he is asked several

questions. It is surprising how often a mental aberration will show itself in the reaction of the person to an unexpected question. As the immigrant passes on, the examiner has a rear view which may reveal spinal deformity or lameness. In case any positive or suspicious evidence of defect is observed, the immigrant receives a chalk mark indicating the nature of the suspicious circumstance.

At the end of each line stands a second medical officer who does nothing but inspect eyes. He everts the eyelids of every person passing the line, looking for signs of trachoma, and also notes the presence of cataract, blindness, defective vision, acute conditions requiring hospital care, and any other abnormalities. All cases which have been marked on the line are separated from the others and sent to the medical examining rooms for careful examination and diagnosis. When it is remembered that often 5000 immigrants pass in a day, it is clear that the medical officers not only are kept busy, but that they see an unusually wide variety of cases.

After careful examination, the nature of the defect or disease found is put in the form of a medical certificate which must be signed by at least three of the physicians on duty. It is not within the province of the medical officers to pass judgment on the eligibility of the immigrant for admission. The medical certificate merely states the diagnosis, leaving to the immigration inspector in the registry division the duty of deciding the question of admission. In the inspector's consideration are included not alone the medical report, but all other data concerning the applicant, such as age, money in his possession, previous record, liability to become a public charge, and his sponsors.

Most cases of trachoma and mental or organic nervous disease are sent to the hospital and kept under care and observation to facilitate an accurate diagnosis. Seldom indeed does the alien suffer from too harsh a medical judgment. He is given the benefit of a doubt always. For example, if a case of defective vision is found to be $3/20$ normal, it would be certified as perhaps, $5/20$ normal.

The immigration law as it stands since the legislation of 1907 divides all defective immigrants into the following classes: Class A, aliens whose exclusion is mandatory because of a definite and

specified defect or disease. Class B, aliens not under Class A, but who possess some defect or disease which is likely to interfere with the ability to earn a living. Class C, aliens who present a defect or disease of still lesser seriousness, not affecting ability to earn a living, but which none the less must be certified for the information of the immigration inspectors.

Under Class A, the excluded, are listed idiots, imbeciles, the feeble-minded, the epileptics, the insane, persons afflicted with tuberculosis of the respiratory, intestinal, or genito-urinary tracts, and loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases. By contagious the law means communicable. Loathsome contagious diseases include those whose presence excites abhorrence in others, and which are essentially chronic, such as favus, ringworm of the scalp, parasitic fungus diseases, Madura foot, leprosy, and venereal disease. Dangerous contagious diseases are such as trachoma, filariasis, hookworm infection, amœbic dysentery, and endemic hematuria.

Under Class B, diseases and defects not in Class A but which affect ability to earn a living, are such conditions as hernia, organic heart disease, permanently defective nutrition and muscular or skeletal development, many deformities, varicosities of the lower extremities, premature senescence and arterial degeneration, certain nervous diseases, chronic joint inflammations, poor vision, and tuberculosis of the bones, skin, or glands. The immigration law makes no distinction between cabin and steerage aliens, and the medical officer has no duty beyond the purely medical inspection.

Commissioner of Immigration Williams for the Port of New York in his recent report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911, makes some pertinent observations and recommendations regarding the medical phases of the immigration question at Ellis Island. He finds that the present medical quarters are not large enough for the proper execution of the laws relating to physical and mental defectives. Expansion to an appropriate size is prevented by the failure of Congress to appropriate the funds requested. He notes the large number of feeble-minded children in the schools of New York City who have passed Ellis Island, and gives as one reason, lack of time and facilities for thorough examination as to mental condition. The result is that the law in this

particular is practically a dead letter. According to the law, the feeble-minded as well as idiots and imbeciles are absolutely excluded. It is of vast import that the feeble-minded be detected, not alone because they are predisposed to become public charges, but because they and their offspring contribute so largely to the criminal element. All grades of moral, physical, and social degeneracy appear in their descendants, and it is apparent how grave is the social and economic problem involved. The steamship companies do not exercise proper precautions in receiving immigrants for passage, and this makes all the more necessary a rigid inspection at the port of entry into this country.

The report of the Chief Medical Officer on Ellis Island, Dr. G. W. Stoner, shows that during the year ending June 30, 1911, nearly 17,000 aliens were certified for physical or mental defect and over 5000 of these were deported (not necessarily for medical reasons alone). Among those certified were 209 mental defectives, of whom 45 per cent were feeble-minded, and 33 per cent insane. Under loathsome and dangerous contagious diseases there were 1361 cases, of which 85 per cent were trachoma. Over 11,000 aliens had a defect or diseases affecting ability to earn a living and half of these were due to age and the changes incident to senescence. More than 4000 certificates were rendered for conditions not affecting ability to earn a living.

Over 6000 aliens were treated in the immigrant hospital, beside 720 cases of contagious disease, which were transferred to the State Quarantine Hospital at the harbor entrance before the completion of the present contagious-disease hospital on Ellis Island. Among these 700 there were a hundred deaths, chiefly from measles, scarlet fever, and meningitis. The medical officers also examined 168 cases which had become public charges in surrounding towns of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, to determine the nature of the illness and if due to causes existing prior to landing. Chief among the contagious diseases were measles, chicken pox, diphtheria, and scarlet fever. The quarantinable diseases, cholera, leprosy, bubonic plague, smallpox, typhus and yellow fever, are removed at the New York Quarantine Station before the vessels are docked.

Statistics such as these inevitably suggest a brief consideration of the different sources of immigration and their relative

desirability from the medical standpoint. In general it may be said that the best class is drawn from northern and western Europe, and the poorest from the Mediterranean countries and western Asia. Among the worst are the Greeks, South Italians, and the Syrians, who emigrate in large numbers. The Greeks offer a sad contrast to their ancient progenitors, as poor physical development is the rule among those who reach Ellis Island, and they have above their share of other defects.

The old question of the desirability of the Hebrew must be settled on other grounds than those of physical fitness alone, although even here the medical evidence is decidedly against him, as Dr. McLaughlin has shown that the proportion of defectives to total landed is greatest among the Syrians, 1 in 29, and next greatest among Hebrews, 1 in 42. Contrary to popular belief, the Jewish race is far from a pure stock, and has been colored by various and repeated admixtures with other bloods. Hence Jews of different nationalities differ considerably in their physical status and aptitude for American institutions, and for amalgamation with our body politic. No race is desirable which does not tend to lose its distinctive traits in the process of blending with our own social body. It would seem from history that the Jew only blends inadvertently and against his conscious endeavor and desire. Hence the process of true assimilation must be very backward. Moreover, in origin, racial traits, instincts and point of view, the Hebrew race is essentially oriental, and altogether there is at least ground for objection to unrestricted Jewish immigration.

No one can mistake the pressing necessity for a solution of the immigration problem. The problem of New York City in this respect is unique and differs from that of the rest of the country, because, as Walter Laidlaw points out, New York City is in reality a foreign city, inasmuch as in 1910 the native-born of native parents numbered only 193 in every 1000 inhabitants. This preponderating foreign element is due to the concentration of arrested immigration in New York. For the country as a whole, great interest attaches to the influence which the Panama Canal will exert in diverting immigration lines to southern and Pacific coast points. New local problems will of course arise,

but the basic proposition remains always the same. Immigration should be restricted absolutely to such races as will amalgamate, without lowering the standard of our own national life.

In general, immigrants from the Mediterranean countries should be excluded, especially those from Greece, South Italy, and Syria, as well as most Hebrews, Magyars, Armenians, and Turks. Strict enforcement of the present medical laws will automatically exclude these races to a sufficient extent, admitting the few who are fit. This, combined with a strictly enforced five-year probation period, with deportation as the penalty for any criminal conviction or for failure to qualify for citizenship afterward, would go far toward relieving the situation. This need not disqualify aliens from travel in the United States.

The immigrant *per se* has no moral or social right to enter this country against the will of its citizens. An enduring commonwealth must of necessity guard rigidly the health of its citizens and protect itself against undesirable additions from without. There was a time when European immigration was free, and almost entirely of desirable classes. That time has passed. The less desirable classes are increasing actually and relatively, and at the expense of the more desirable. It can truthfully be said that the dregs and off-scourings of foreign lands, the undesirables of whom their own nations are only too eager to purge themselves, come in hosts to our shores. The policy of those advocating free immigration would make this country in effect the dumping ground of the world.

Exclusion of these undesirables works no injustice to the lands from which they come. A large emigration from a land usually is followed by an increased birth rate, and the net change is slightly affected, if at all. Admitting undesirables to this country will in no wise elevate the world's human standard, because those undesirables will multiply as fast here as in their original home, and their stock will only become extinct when it ceases to perpetuate itself. High requirements for admission to this country reflexly raise standards of living and education in those lands from which our immigrants are drawn. This was illustrated in Italy a few years ago when the higher requirements for admission caused an enforcement of the primary education laws which

were dead letters before. Again, increase of a poorer class of immigration decreases the number of the better class and also decreases the chances of those who do come.

The medical phases of immigration blend very quickly into the subjects of national health protection, national eugenics, and even the future existence of the ideals and standard of life which we are proud to call American. Conservatism and a carefully maintained medium between absolute exclusion and free immigration certainly seems the best policy.

IMMIGRATION AND CRIME¹

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“THE alarming increase of the number of alien criminals” has come to be the favorite topic for newspaper editorials whenever a sensational crime is committed in the foreign section of some of our large cities. More recently the official statistician has fallen in line with the popular sentiment. The Commissioner-General of Immigration, in his reports for the years 1908 and 1909, dwells upon the increase of the number of aliens in penal institutions from 1904 to 1908. The superintendent of the state prisons of the state of New York, in his report for the year 1909, emphasizing “the recent remarkable increase in prison population,” gives expression to the view “that the crowded condition of our prisons is largely due to the influx of immigrants during the last few years.”

“A large proportion of the vicious and ignorant . . . make the large cities their headquarters. Thus there is forced upon New York state and upon its charitable and penal institutions more than their due proportion of the undesirable classes of immigrants, the lawless, the illiterate, and the defective.” As a remedy, he recommends “the exclusion of this undesirable class of immigrants.”

Yet the very fact of this sudden increase of the rate of delinquency and dependency within so short a period would suggest to an unbiased student of social phenomena the working of some extraordinary cause. If it be remembered that the later statistics for the United States relate to the year 1908, which was a year of industrial depression, the explanation of this sudden increase of crime, insanity, and pauperism among aliens will become obvious.

Conceding, for the sake of argument, the contention of the superintendent of New York state prisons that the state of New

¹ From *The American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1912.

York bears more than its proportionate share of the burden of crime, it is instructive to compare the average daily population of the three state prisons for each of the last ten years.

TABLE I. DAILY AVERAGE PRISON POPULATION

YEAR	NUMBERS OF PRISONERS	PER CENT INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-), SINCE 1900
1900	3,376	..
1901	3,384	..
1902	3,235	- 4
1903	3,317	- 2
1904	3,405	+ 1
1905	3,464	+ 3
1906	3,473	+ 3
1907	3,456	+ 2
1908	3,817	+13
1909	4,420	+31

We note that between the years 1900 and 1907 the average daily prison population fluctuated but very slightly from year to year, falling at times 4 per cent below or rising 3 per cent above the starting-point. According to the state census of 1905, the population of the state increased from 1900 to 1905 by 11 per cent; a large share of that increase was due to immigration; thus relatively to the population, crime was decreasing. The years 1908 and 1909, however, show a sudden increase of the prison population; those were precisely the years when emigration of aliens from the United States assumed unprecedented proportions. From the month of December, 1907, to the month of August, 1908, emigration from the United States exceeded immigration by 124,124 persons, while from June 3, 1900, to June 30, 1907, the net addition through immigration to the population of the United States was 4,500,000 persons of whom the state of New York received a proportionate share. In other words, *the wave of criminality coincided with the lowest ebb of immigration, while the high tide of immigration was contemporaneous with a decrease of crime.*

This conclusion is fully borne out by the annual statistics of crime in the state of New York for the period commencing 1830. Two features stand out conspicuously: first, that taking the

three quarters of a century covered as a whole, the increase of crime merely keeps pace with the growth of population; second, that annual figures are subject to very sharp fluctuations. Any comparison between two years chosen at random must necessarily be fallacious. For example, if the years 1878 and 1894 were chosen for comparison, one might reach the conclusion that the number of convictions showed a very encouraging decrease of crime. As that period witnessed the beginning and rapid growth of immigration from Russia, it might be further argued that the decrease of crime in the state of New York was due to the moral influence of Russian immigrants upon the people of the state of New York. This inference would be precisely on a par with the conclusions drawn by the Immigration Restriction League from a comparison of the prosperous year 1904 with the year 1908, a year of industrial depression. A scientific study of the effects of immigration upon criminality must cover a long period, embracing years of prosperity and industrial depression, so that all casual, transitory, and temporary influences may as far as possible be eliminated.

Do the statistics of crime in the state of New York justify the fears of the alarmist? Table II shows the relative number of convictions for every 100,000 population at each census from 1830 to 1905:

TABLE II. NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS IN COURTS OF RECORD AND THE POPULATION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, 1830-1905

CENSUS YEAR	CONVICTIONS	POPULATION THOUSANDS	CONVICTIONS PER 100,000 POPULATION
1830	1,059	1,919	55
1840	1,343	2,429	56
1850	1,552	3,087	50
1860	1,601	3,881	41
1870	2,151	4,383	49
1880	2,847	5,083	56
1890	3,364	5,998	56
1900	4,116	7,269	57
1905	4,942	8,067	61

It appears from this table that the relative rate of criminality in 1890 was the same as in 1840, notwithstanding the change in

the racial composition of the population of the state. In the year 1900 there was just one more conviction for every 100,000 of the population than in 1890, and in 1905 four convictions per 100,000 population in excess of 1900. Certainly, there is no occasion to go into hysterics.

Still, as stated before, the number of convictions for a single year may be exceptionally high or low, and a comparison comprising even a number of single years may accordingly be misleading. In order to eliminate the effect of annual fluctuations of the number of convictions, the average annual number of convictions for each period between two census years is compared in Table III with the average annual increase of the population of the state of New York, for the same periods.

TABLE III. ANNUAL AVERAGE NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS COMPARED WITH ANNUAL AVERAGE INCREASE OF POPULATION FROM CENSUS TO CENSUS, 1831-1905

PERIODS	NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS		ANNUAL AVERAGE INCREASE OF POPULATION, PER 1,000
	Annual Average	Percentage Increase (+), or Decrease (-)	
1831-1840	1,057	.....	....
1841-1850	1,474	+39.5	27.5
1851-1860	1,734	+17.7	25.3
1861-1870	2,221	+28.1	13.0
1871-1880	3,152	+41.9	16.0
1881-1890	2,900	- 8.0	18.0
1891-1900	3,734	+28.8	21.2
1901-1905	4,501	+20.8	22.0

It is worthy of note that in 1861-1870 the number of convictions was increasing faster than during the preceding decade 1851-1860, while the growth of population was slowing down. On the contrary, a comparison of the decades 1881-1890 and 1871-1880 shows that the number of convictions fell off, while the population was increasing faster; the same tendency was manifest during the period 1901-1905, as compared with 1891-1900. This would seem to indicate that *the causes which are favorable to the growth of population tend to reduce crime, and vice versa, the causes which retard the growth of population are productive of an increase of crime.*

Let us next examine the effect of immigration upon criminality in the state of New York. The census statistics of foreign-born do not go farther back than 1850. In Table IV the percentage of foreign-born at each census is collated with the ratio of the average annual number of convictions for each decade ending on a census year to the average population for the same decade; the average population is taken to be the arithmetical mean of the totals for two successive censuses.

From 1850 to 1860 the foreign-born population of New York increased relatively to the total population of the state, but the annual average number of convictions during the decade 1851-1860 fell below the average for 1841-1850. From 1870 to 1880 the number of foreign-born decreased relatively to the total population; at the same time the annual rate of convictions increased as compared with the preceding decade. From 1880 to 1890 this movement was reversed: the foreign-born population went up and the rate of criminality went down. Again from 1890 to 1900 the percentage of foreign-born slightly decreased, and the rate of criminality showed a small increase. These tendencies appear still more pronounced, if we compare the increase of the number of convictions with the increase of the foreign-born and the total population of the state for the census years 1850-1900, as shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV. NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS COMPARED WITH TOTAL AND FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION, 1850-1900

CENSUS YEAR	NUMBER OF CONVIC- TIONS	FOREIGN- BORN THOUSAND	TOTAL POPULATION THOUSANDS	PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE		
				Convictions	Foreign Birth	Total Population
1850	1,552	656	3,097	....	....	....
1860	1,601	1,001	3,881	3.2	52.6	25.3
1870	2,151	1,138	4,383	34.4	13.7	12.9
1880	2,847	1,211	5,083	32.4	6.4	16.0
1890	3,364	1,571	5,998	18.1	29.7	18.0
1900	4,116	1,900	7,269	22.4	21.0	21.2

In 1860, when the rate of increase of the foreign-born population was at its apex, the rate of criminality was at its bottom. Toward 1870 the rate of increase of the foreign-born dropped, but the

rate of increase of the number of convictions made a big jump. From 1880 to 1890 the rate of increase of the foreign-born went up, at the same time the rate of increase of the number of convictions went down. From 1890 to 1900 the two movements were reversed. In short, *an increase of the percentage of the foreign-born population is accompanied by a decrease of criminality, and vice versa.*

This fact shows that the same conditions which attract the immigrant to the United States tend to reduce the rate of criminality.

Turning to the statistics of crime among native and foreign-born, we find them summed up in the following statement of the census report on "Prisoners." "From these figures [*i.e.*, from the number of commitments], as well as from those for prisoners enumerated on June 30, 1904, it is evident that the popular belief that the foreign born are filling the prisons has little foundation in fact."

A comparison of the figures for 1904 with those for 1890 shows that the ratio of foreign-born among the white prisoners fell from 28.3 to 23.7 per cent, while the percentage of native prisoners increased from 71.8 to 76.3 per cent (*op. cit.*, p. 18).

Is there any evidence of a change in this respect since 1904? This question can best be answered by an examination into the nativity of the persons convicted in 1908 in the courts of record of the state of New York. The year 1908, as stated, showed a marked increase of crime, and of all states the state of New York is alleged to be the greatest sufferer from the influx of foreign criminals.

The nativity of the persons convicted in courts of record in 1908 was as follows:

Natives of the United States	4,392
Foreign-born	2,687
Nativity unknown	<u>272</u>
Total for the state	7,351

To compare these figures with the distribution of the population of the state by nativity, it must be noted that of the total number of prisoners only 38 were under fifteen years of age and only 361, or 5 per cent, were women. In the foreign-born population, however, the percentages of children under 15 and of women, who

contribute very few criminals, are lower than among the native, while the percentage of males fifteen years of age and over who contribute the bulk of criminals is higher in the foreign-born than in the native population. A fair comparison should consider only the ratio of male offenders fifteen years of age and over to the total male population of the same age groups.¹

Inasmuch as the statistics of the secretary of state of New York contain no classification of the native and foreign-born offenders by age and sex, estimates have to be resorted to. The number of offenders under fifteen years being very small, we may assume that they were all native boys and deduct their number from that of native offenders; we shall thereby reduce the rate of native criminality and increase relatively the percentage of foreign criminals. The number of foreign-born male offenders would be further increased, if we were to follow the same method with regard to female offenders and charge all women convicted in courts of record to the group of native offenders. There is no reason, however, to assume that the native women numerically predominate among female offenders. We may accordingly assume that the percentage of foreign-born among female offenders is the same as among male offenders.

¹ "If the general population of all ages be taken, the basis for the comparison will not be equitable for several reasons. Inmates of the general prisons are all at least ten years of age and nearly all over fifteen. For the most part the immigrants are between fifteen and forty years of age. The number of children under ten years of age is extremely small among the white immigrants as compared with the native whites. In view of these facts a comparison of the proportions of each nativity class in the white prison population with the corresponding proportions of the general population of all ages would clearly be unfair, for the inclusion of children under ten years of age would so increase the proportion of native in the general population that it would seem as if crime were more prevalent among the foreign-born as compared with the native white than is actually the case. . . . Of the whites at least ten years of age in the general population of the United States in 1900, 19.5 per cent were foreign-born, while of the white prisoners of known nativity enumerated on June 30, 1904, 23.7 per cent were foreign-born. The foreign-born element therefore appears to be more prominent in the white population of prisons than in the general white population. In some respects, however, a comparison with the total white population ten years of age and over is hardly fair to the foreign-born. Very few prisoners are under the age of fifteen, and the great majority of prisoners, 94.5 per cent of the total number, are males. Therefore it is perhaps more significant when the percentage of foreign-born among white prisoners is compared with the percentage of foreign-born in the white population fifteen years of age and over, classified by sex." — "Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents" (Census report), pp. 18-19.

It is probable that of the 272 convicted persons whose nativity was unknown very few were foreigners, as their speech and appearance did not mark them as such. By leaving this group out of consideration, we again reduce the number of native offenders relatively to the foreign-born. On the other hand, the census figures giving the distribution of the population by nativity relate to the year 1900, whereas the phenomenal immigration of recent years must have increased the percentage of foreign-born in the population of the state of New York. In every respect, therefore, our statistics must be unfavorable to the foreign-born. Let us now compare the percentages of native and foreign-born among all offenders fifteen years of age and over, whose nativity is known, and among the male population of the state in the same age groups.

TABLE V. NATIVE AND FOREIGN-BORN OFFENDERS FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, COMPARED WITH THE NATIVE AND FOREIGN-BORN MALE POPULATION OF THE SAME AGES, STATE OF NEW YORK

NATIVITY	CONVICTIONS IN COURTS OF RECORD		MALE POPULATION, 1900	
	Number	Percentage	Thousands	Percentage
Native	4,354	61.8	1,648	64.5
Foreign-born	2,687	38.2	907	35.5
Total	7,041	100.0	2,555	100.0

Thus, with every allowance in favor of the native and against the foreign-born, the ratio of foreign-born criminals is only 2.7 per cent in excess of the ratio of foreign-born males to the total male population of the state. The preceding table does not include the more numerous class of minor offenders convicted at Special Sessions. In Table VI the convictions in the minor courts in 1908 are classified by character of offense separately for the counties of New York and Kings, comprising the three most densely settled boroughs of Manhattan, Bronx, and Brooklyn, and for the rest of the state. The population of these three boroughs in 1900 contained 1,207,000, *i.e.* nearly two thirds of the 1,900,000 foreign-born of the state of New York. The percentage of foreign-born in these three boroughs was 37.5, while

in the rest of the state of New York it was only 17.1 per cent. In 1908 the percentage of foreign-born in New York City was in all probability considerably higher than in 1900. If the foreign-born furnished a higher percentage of criminals than the native, this tendency should loom up conspicuous in the comparison between greater New York and the rest of the state. What are the facts?

TABLE VI. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF CONVICTIONS IN SPECIAL SESSIONS, CLASSIFIED BY CHARACTER OF OFFENSE, FOR THE THREE PRINCIPAL BOROUGHES OF NEW YORK CITY AND THE REST OF THE STATE, 1908

CHARACTER OF OFFENSE	NUMBER (In thousands)			PERCENTAGE	
	Total State of New York	New York and Kings	Other Counties	New York and Kings	Other Counties
Petit larceny	6,464	2,988	3,476	46.2	53.8
Assault, third degree . .	2,788	779	2,009	28.0	72.0
All other offenses	48,543	8,706	39,837	17.7	82.3
Population, 1905	8,067	3,743	4,326	46.4	53.6

The three principal boroughs of New York City in 1905 contained nearly one half of the population of the state, yet they furnished only 28 per cent of all convictions for assault and 17.7 per cent of the most numerous class of minor offenses; petty larceny was the only offense whose frequency was proportionate to the population of the great city. Thus, though the three boroughs had twice as many foreign-born in proportion to their population as the rest of the state, New York City had relatively no more pickpockets than the rest of the state, and the number of all other minor offenders was in proportion much smaller in the three boroughs than up state. And that in a year which broke the record of crime.

The popular opinion that the immigrants furnish a high percentage of criminals rests upon the belief that this country is used as a hiding place by fugitive criminals from all quarters of the world. There are no statistics relative to the criminal records of the immigrants previous to their admission to this country. But the statistics of crime in the state of New York, which is

said to hold more than its proportionate share of the lawless immigrants, warrant only one of the following two conclusions :

Either the new environment enables this invading army of immigrants with criminal records to keep within the law ; or else the criminal classes of Europe, contrary to the popular belief, furnish less than their proportionate quota of immigrants — which is quite plausible, since the criminals belong to the submerged portion of the population and are kept at home by want of funds with which to pay for their passage.

THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF IMMIGRATION ¹

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ON a single Chicago hoarding, before the spring election of 1912, the writer saw the political placards of candidates with the following names: Kelly, Cassidy, Slattery, Alschuler, Pfaelzer, Bartzen, Umbach, Andersen, Romano, Knitckoff, Deneen, Hogue, Burres, Short. The humor of calling "Anglo-Saxon" the kind of government these gentlemen will give is obvious. At that time, of the eighteen principal personages in the city government of Chicago, fourteen had Irish names, and three had German names. Of the eleven principal officials in the city government of Boston, nine had Irish names, and of the forty-nine members of the Lower House from the city of Boston, forty were obviously of Hibernian extraction. In San Francisco, the mayor, all the heads of the municipal departments, and ten out of eighteen members on the board of supervisors, bore names reminiscent of the Green Isle. As far back as 1871, of 112 chiefs of police from twenty-two States who attended the national police convention, seventy-seven bore Irish names, and eleven had German names. In 1881, of the chiefs of police in forty-eight cities, thirty-three were clearly Irish, and five were clearly German.

In 1908, on the occasion of a "home-coming" celebration in Boston, a newspaper told how the returning sons of Boston were "greeted by Mayor Fitzgerald and the following members of Congress: O'Connell, Keliher, Sullivan, and McNary — following in the footsteps of Webster, Sumner, Adams, and Hoar. They were told of the great work as Mayor of the late beloved Patrick Collins. At the City Hall they found the sons of Irish exiles and immigrants administering the affairs of the

¹ From *The Century Magazine*, January, 1914.

metropolis of New England. Besides the Mayor, they were greeted by John J. Murphy, Chairman of the board of assessors, Commissioner of Streets Doyle, and Commissioner of Baths O'Brien. Mr. Coakley is the head of the Park Department, and Dr. Durgin directs the Health Department; the Chief of the Fire Department is John A. Mullen, head of the Municipal Printing Plant is Mr. Whelan, Superintendent of the Street Cleaning is Cummings; Superintendent of Sewers is Leahy; Superintendent of Buildings is Nolan; City Treasurer, Slattery; Police Commissioner, O'Meara."

The Irish domination of our Northern cities is the broadest mark immigration has left on American politics; the immigrants from Ireland, for the most part excessively poor, never got their feet upon the land as did the Germans and the Scandinavians, but remained huddled in cities. United by strong race feelings, they held together as voters, and, although never a clear majority, were able in time to capture control of most of the greater municipalities. Now, for all their fine Celtic traits, these Irish immigrants had neither the temperament nor the training to make a success of popular government. They were totally without experience of the kind Americans had acquired in the working of democratic institutions. The ordinary American by this time had become tinctured with the spirit of legalism. Many voters were able to look beyond the persons involved in a political contest and recognize the principles at stake. Such popular maxims as: "No man should be a judge in his own case," "The ballot a responsibility," "Patriotism above party," "Measures, not men," "A public office is a public trust," fostered self-restraint and helped the voters to take an impersonal, long-range view of political contests.

Warm-hearted, sociable, clannish, and untrained, the naturalized Irish failed to respect the first principles of civics. "What is the Constitution between friends?" expresses their point of view. In their eyes, an election is not the decision of a great, impartial jury, but a struggle between the "ins" and the "outs." Those who vote the same way are "friends." To scratch or to bolt is to "go back on your friends." Places and contracts are "spoils." The official's first duty is to find berths for his supporters. Not fitness, but party work, is one's title to a place on

the municipal pay roll. The city employee is to serve his party rather than the public that pays his salary. Even the justice of courts is to become a matter of "pull" and "stand in," rather than of inflexible rules.

A genial young Harvard man who has made the Good Government movement a power in a certain New England city said to me: "The Germans want to know which candidate is better qualified for the office. Among the Irish I have never heard such a consideration mentioned. They ask, 'Who wants this candidate?' 'Who is behind him?' I have lined up a good many Irish in support of Good Government men, but never by setting forth the merits of a matter or a candidate. I approach my Irish friends with the personal appeal, 'Do this for me!' Nearly all the Irish who support our cause do it on a personal loyalty basis. The best of the Irish in this city have often done as much harm to the cause of Good Government as the worst. Mayor C., a high-minded Irishman desiring to do the best he could for the city, gave us as bad a government as Mayor F., who thought of nothing but feathering his own nest. Mayor C. 'stood by his friends.'"

The Hibernian domination has given our cities genial officials, brave policemen, and gallant fire-fighters. It has also given them the name of being the worst-governed cities in the civilized world. The mismanagement and corruption of the great cities of America have become a planetary scandal, and have dealt the principle of manhood suffrage the worst blow it has received in the last half century. Since the close of the Civil War, hundreds of thousands of city dwellers have languished miserably or perished prematurely from the bad water, bad housing, poor sanitation, and rampant vice in American municipalities run on the principles of the Celtic clan.

On the other hand, it is likely that our British, Teutonic, Scandinavian, and Jewish naturalized citizens — still more our English-Canadian voters — have benefited American politics. In politics men are swayed by passion, prejudice, or reason. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the average American had come to be on his guard against passion in politics, but not yet had he reached the plane of reason. This left him the prey of prejudice. Men inherited their politics, and bragged of

having always "voted straight." They voted Democratic for Jefferson's sake, or Republican from love of Lincoln. The citizens followed ruts, while the selfish interests "followed the ball." Now, the intelligent naturalized foreigner, having inherited none of our prejudices, would not respond to ancient cries or wartime issues. He inquired pointedly what each party proposed to do *now*. The abandonment of "waving the bloody shirt" and the sudden appearance of the politics of actuality in the North, in the eighties, came about through the naturalization of Karl and Ole. The South has few foreign-born voters, and the South is precisely that part of the country in which the reign of prejudice in politics has longest delayed the advent of efficient and progressive government.

In 1910 there were certainly three million naturalized citizens in the United States. In southern New England and New York they constitute a quarter of all the white voters. The same is true of Illinois and the Old Northwest. In Providence, Buffalo, Newark, St. Paul, and Minneapolis, there are two foreign voters to three native white voters. In Milwaukee, Detroit, Cleveland, and Boston, the ratio is about one to two. In Paterson, Chicago, and New York, the ratio is nearer three to five, and in Fall River it is three to four. When the foreigners are intelligent and experienced in the use of the ballot, their civic worth does not suffer by comparison with that of the natives. Indianapolis and Kansas City, in which the natives outnumber the naturalized ten to one, do not overshadow in civic excellence the Twin Cities of Minnesota, with three natives to two naturalized. Cleveland, in which the naturalized citizens constitute a third, is politically superior to Cincinnati, in which they are less than a sixth. Chicago, with thrice the proportion of naturalized citizens Philadelphia has, was roused and struggling with the python of corruption while yet the city by the Delaware slept.

The machine in power uses the foreigner to keep in power. The Italian who opens an ice-cream parlor has to have a victualer's license, and he can keep this license only by delivering Italian votes. The Polish saloon keeper loses his liquor license if he fails to line up his fellow-countrymen for the local machine. The politician who can get dispensations for the foreigners who want their beer on a Sunday picnic is the man who attracts the foreign

vote. Thus, until they get their eyes open and see how they are being used, the foreigners constitute an asset of the established political machine, neutralizing the antimachine ballots of an equal number of indignant American voters.

The saloon is often an independent sway of the foreign vote. The saloon keeper is interested in fighting all legal regulation of his own business, and of other businesses — gambling, dance halls, and prostitution — which stimulate drinking. If “blue” laws are on the statute book, these interests may combine to seat in the mayor’s chair a man pledged not to enforce them. Even if the saloon keeper has no political ax of his own to grind, his masters, the brewers, will insist that he get out the vote for the benefit of themselves or their friends. Since liberal plying with beer is a standard means of getting out the foreign vote, the immigrant saloon keeper is obliged to become the debaucher and betrayer of his fellow-countrymen. In Chicago the worthy Germans and Bohemians are marshaled in the “United Societies,” ostensibly social organizations along nationality lines, but really the machinery through which the brewers and liquor dealers may sway a foreign-born vote not only in defense of liquor, but also in defense of other corrupt and affiliated interests.

The foreign press is another means of misleading the naturalized voters. These newspapers, — Polish, Bohemian, Italian, Greek, Yiddish, etc., — while they have no small influence with their readers, are poorly supported, and often in financial straits. Many of them, therefore, can be tempted to sell their political influence to the highest bidder, which is, of course, the party representing the special interests. Thus the innocent foreign-born readers are led like sheep to the shambles, and Privilege gains another intrenching-tool.

THE LOSS OF POLITICAL LIKE-MINDEDNESS

If the immigrant is neither debauched nor misled, but votes his opinions, is he then an element of strength to us?

When a people has reached such a degree of political like-mindedness that fundamentals are taken for granted, it is free to tackle new questions as they come up. But if it admits to citizenship myriads of strangers who have not yet passed the

civic kindergarten, questions that were supposed to be settled are reopened. The citizens are made to thresh over again old straw — the relation of church to state, of church to school, of state to parent, of law to the liquor trade. Meanwhile, ripe sheaves ready to yield the wheat of wisdom under the flails of discussion lie untouched. Pressing questions — public hygiene, conservation, the control of monopoly, the protection of labor — go to the foot of the docket, and public interests suffer.

Some are quite cheerful about the confusion, cross-purposes, and delay that come with heterogeneity, because they think the variety of views introduced by immigration is a fine thing, "keeps us from getting into a rut." The plain truth is, that rarely does an immigrant bring in his intellectual baggage anything of use to us. The music of Mascagni and Debussy, the plays of Ibsen and Maeterlinck, the poetry of Rostand and Hauptmann, the fiction of Jókai and Sienkiewicz were not brought to us by way of Ellis Island. What we want is not ideas merely, but fruitful ideas, fructifying ideas. By debating the ideas of Nietzsche, Ostwald, Bergson, Metchnikoff, or Ellen Key, American thought is stimulated. But should we gain from the introduction of old Asiatic points of view, which would reopen such questions as witchcraft, child-marriage, and suttee? The clashings that arise from the presence among us of many voters with medieval minds are sheer waste of energy. While we Americans wrangle over the old issues of clericalism, separate schools, and "personal liberty," the little homogeneous peoples are forging ahead of us in rational politics and learning to look pityingly upon us as a chaos rather than a people.

POLITICAL MYSTICISM VS. COMMON SENSE

If you should ask an Englishman whether the tone of political life in his country would remain unaffected by the admission to the electorate of a couple of million Cypriotes, Vlachs, and Bessarabians after five years' residence, he would take you for a madman. Suggest to the German that the plane of political intelligence in reading and thinking Germany would not be lowered by the access to the ballot box of multitudes of Serbs, Georgians, and Druses of Lebanon, and he will consign you to

bedlam. Assure the son of Norway that the vote of the Persian or Yemenite, of sixty months' residence in Norway, will be as often wise and right as his own, and he will be insulted. It is only we Americans who assume that the voting of the Middle Atlantic States, with their million naturalized citizens, or of the East North Central States, with their million, is as sane, discriminating, and forward-looking as it would be without them.

The Italian historian and sociologist Ferrero, after reviewing our immigration policy, concludes that the Americans, far from being "practical," are really the mystics of the modern world. He says:

To confer citizenship each year upon great numbers of men born and educated in foreign countries — men who come with ideas and sympathies totally out of spirit with the diverse conditions in the new country; to grant them political rights they do not want, and of which they have never thought; to compel them to declare allegiance to a political constitution which they often do not understand; to try to transform subjects of old European monarchies into free citizens of young American republics over night — is not all this to do violence to common sense?

VI. IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

FEDERAL IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION COMMISSION

THIS feature of the Immigration Commission's general report is a brief review of the sentiment toward immigration as expressed in legislation, or attempts at legislation, upon the subject in Congress. For convenience, the review is divided into four periods, namely: From colonial times to 1835; the "Native American" and "Know-Nothing" period, 1835-1860; end of state control, 1861-1882; period of national control, 1882 to the present time.

During the period first mentioned immigration was taken as a matter of course; the only legislation enacted, and practically all that was proposed, was the law of 1819 for the regulation of the carriage of steerage passengers at sea, which law also for the first time provided that statistics relative to immigration to the United States be recorded.

THE NATIVE AMERICAN MOVEMENT

The second period, from 1835 to 1860, is sharply defined by the so-called "Native American" and "Know-Nothing" movement, which, as is well known, were largely based on opposition to the immigration of Catholics. The hostility early took the form of a political movement, and in 1835 there was a Nativist candidate for Congress in New York City, and in the following year that party nominated a candidate for mayor of the same city. In Germantown, Pennsylvania, and in Washington, D. C., Nativist societies were formed in 1837, while in Louisiana the movement was organized in 1839 and a state convention was held two years later. It was at this convention that the Native American party, under the name of the American Republican party, was established.

In 1845 the Nativist movement claimed 48,000 members in New York, 42,000 in Pennsylvania, 14,000 in Massachusetts, and 6000 in other States, while in Congress it had six

Representatives from New York and two from Pennsylvania. The first national convention of Native Americans was held in Philadelphia in 1845, when 141 delegates were present and a national platform was adopted. The chief demands of this convention were a repeal of the naturalization laws and the appointment of native Americans only to office.

While these societies were stronger in local politics than in national, and were organized chiefly to aid in controlling local affairs, their few representatives in Congress attempted to make Nativism a national question. As a result of their efforts, the United States Senate in 1836 agreed to a resolution directing the Secretary of State to collect certain information respecting the immigration of foreign paupers and criminals. In the House of Representatives on February 19, 1838, a resolution was agreed to which provided that the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to consider the expediency of revising the naturalization laws so as to require a longer term of residence in the United States, and also provide greater security against frauds in the process of obtaining naturalization. The committee was further instructed to consider the propriety and expediency of providing by law against the introduction into the United States of vagabonds and paupers deported from foreign countries. This resolution was referred to a select committee of seven members, and its report was the first resulting from a congressional investigation of any question bearing upon immigration. Four members of the committee were from New York and Massachusetts, which were then the chief centers of the antiforeign movement, and its report recommended immediate legislative action, not only by Congress, but also by many of the states, so that alleged evils could be remedied and impending calamities averted. Two southern members of the committee and the member from Ohio did not concur in the report. It is interesting to note that a recommendation to this committee by the Native American Association of Washington urged that a system of consular inspection be instituted, a plan that in recent years has been repeatedly recommended to Congress. The plan was to make the immigrant, upon receiving his passport from the consul, pay a tax of \$20. The committee, however, did not include this provision in its recommendations to Congress.

The bill presented on recommendation of the committee provided that any master taking on board his vessel with the intention of transporting to the United States any alien passenger who was an idiot, lunatic, maniac, or one afflicted with any incurable disease, or any one convicted of an infamous crime, should be fined \$1000, or be imprisoned not less than one year nor more than three. It was further provided that the master should forfeit \$1000 for any alien brought in who had not the ability to maintain himself. Congress did not even consider this bill, and during the next ten years little attempt was made to secure legislation against the foreigner.

In the message to Congress on June 1, 1841, President Tyler referred to immigration in part as follows:

We hold out to the people of other countries an invitation to come and settle among us as members of our rapidly growing family; and for the blessings which we offer them, we require of them to look upon our country as their country, and unite with us in the great task of preserving our institutions and thereby perpetuating our liberties.

THE "KNOW-NOTHING" MOVEMENT

As a consequence of the sudden and great increase of immigration from Europe between 1848 and 1850, the old dread of the foreigner was revived, and in the early fifties the native Americans again became active. The new, like the earlier movement, was closely associated with the anti-Catholic propaganda. The new organization assumed the form of a secret society. It was organized probably in 1850 in New York City, and in 1852 it was increased in membership by drawing largely from the old established Order of United Americans. Its meetings were secret, its indorsements were never made openly, and even its name and purpose were said to be known only to those who reached the highest degree. Consequently the rank and file, when questioned about their party, was obliged to answer, "I don't know"; so they came to be called "Know-Nothings."

By 1854 much of the organization's secret character had been discarded. Its name — Order of the Star Spangled Banner — and its meeting places were known, and it openly indorsed candidates for office and put forth candidates of its own. It is

recorded that in 1855 in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, California, and Kentucky the governors and legislature were "Know-Nothings," while the party had secured the choice of the land commissioner of Texas and the legislature and comptroller of Maryland, and had almost carried the States of Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, Massachusetts, Louisiana, and Texas.

Encouraged by its success in local affairs, the "Know-Nothing" party in 1855 began to make plans for the presidential election. In that year a national council was held at Philadelphia. A platform was adopted which called for a change in the existing naturalization laws, the repeal by the legislatures of several States of laws allowing foreigners not naturalized to vote, and also for a repeal by Congress of all acts making grants of land to unnaturalized foreigners and allowing them to vote in the Territories.

In the following year a national convention of the party was held in Philadelphia, and 27 States were represented by 227 delegates. Nearly all the delegates from New England, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Iowa withdrew from the convention when a motion was made to nominate a candidate for President. The withdrawing minority wanted an antislavery plank. Those remaining nominated Millard Fillmore for President. The principles of the platform adopted at this convention were that Americans must rule America, and to this end native-born citizens should be selected for all state, federal, and municipal government employment in preference to all others. A change in the laws of naturalization, making continued residence of twenty-one years an indispensable requisite for citizenship, and a law excluding all paupers or persons convicted of crime from landing in the United States, were demanded.

Millard Fillmore was also nominated for the presidency by the Whig party in a convention held the following September, but the Whigs did not, however, adopt the platform of the "Know-Nothings," and even referred to "the peculiar doctrines of the party which has already selected Mr. Fillmore as a candidate." At the November election in 1856 Mr. Fillmore received only 874,534 votes, carrying but one State, Maryland; and it is impossible to say how many of these votes were due to the fact that he was a candidate of the "Know-Nothing" party.

"KNOW-NOTHINGS" IN CONGRESS

The "Know-Nothing" strength in Congress was said to have been greatest in the Thirty-fourth Congress, 1854 to 1856. They had no openly avowed representatives in the Thirty-third Congress, while in the Thirty-fourth they claimed 43 Representatives and 5 Senators, aside from 70 Republicans who were said to be members of "Know-Nothing" councils. In the Thirty-fifth Congress the "Know-Nothings" claimed 5 Senators and 14 Representatives, and about the same number were in the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh; but in the Thirty-eighth Congress the party was not represented in either branch.

Being in a minority in Congress, the "Know-Nothings" had but little influence on national legislation, although they made several attempts in this regard. In naturalization bills introduced they proposed to lengthen the period of residence, usually demanding that it be made twenty-one years, but their proposed laws affecting immigration were, as a rule, only directed against the immigration of foreign paupers and criminals.

LEGISLATION FAVORABLE TO FOREIGNERS

It has been said that the "Know-Nothings" disappeared without having accomplished anything against immigration, adopted citizens, or Catholics, but that, as a matter of fact, some national legislation favorable to foreigners was passed during this period of agitation. In 1847, and again in 1848, the passenger law of 1819 was amended in order to improve conditions in the steerage of immigrant ships. The avowed purpose of these laws and amendments was to protect immigrants from dangers incident to the travel of that day, and the "Native Americans" and "Know-Nothings" were opposed to these laws.

The act organizing the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, passed in 1854, was also favorable to foreigners, it being provided that the right of suffrage in such Territories should be exercised by those declaring their intentions to become citizens and taking an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of the act. During the discussion of the homestead act in 1854, which act, however, was not finally passed until 1862,

there was considerable reference to immigrants and to whether they should be allowed to enjoy the advantages of the act. The "Know-Nothings" proposed to strike out the section of the bill permitting the granting of land to foreigners who had filed their intentions of becoming citizens, but the attempt failed.

THE END OF STATE LEGISLATION

Although the National Government did not assume control of immigration until 1882, Congress in 1864 passed a law to encourage immigration. This law, which was repealed in 1868, represents the only attempt of the Government to promote immigration by direct legislation, although the States have frequently made such attempts. In his annual message to the first session of the Thirty-seventh Congress President Lincoln favored a scheme of the Territories for encouraging immigration, and in a subsequent message, December 8, 1863, he strongly recommended national legislation of the same nature.

LAW TO ENCOURAGE IMMIGRATION

In the House of Representatives this part of President Lincoln's message was referred to a select committee of five members, and the following April this committee brought in a bill to encourage immigration. In recommending the passage of the bill the committee said that the vast number of laboring men, estimated at one million and a quarter, who had left their peaceful pursuits and gone forth in defense of the Government had created a vacuum which was becoming seriously felt in every part of the United States, and that never before in the history of the country had there existed such a demand for labor. The conclusion was that the demand for labor could be supplied only by immigration. The bill, which became a law July 4, 1864, provided for the appointment by the President of a Commissioner of Immigration, to be under the direction of the Department of State, and that all contracts that should be made in foreign countries by emigrants to the United States whereby emigrants pledged the wages of their labor for a term not exceeding twelve months to repay the expenses of emigration, should be held to be valid in law and might be enforced in the courts of the United States or by

the several States and Territories, and that no such contract could in any way be considered as creating a condition of slavery or servitude. An immigration office was to be established in New York City, in charge of a superintendent of immigration, who was charged with arranging for the transportation of immigrants to their final destination and protecting them from imposition and fraud.

Following the enactment of the law of 1864 several companies were established to deal in immigrant contract labor, but they were not satisfied with the law and wanted its scope enlarged. In 1866 the House of Representatives passed a bill amending the act of 1864, the principal provision of the bill being to increase the number of commissioners of immigration, the additional commissioners to be stationed in several cities along the Atlantic coast. The Senate, however, did not agree to the amendment. The law itself was even declared impolitic, if not unconstitutional, and at one time was in danger of repeal. The operations of the immigration office in New York were attacked, the charge being made that the commissioner of immigration there had done little but to coöperate with the American Emigrant Company to render its work efficient and enable it, through the power of the Central Government, to enforce the contracts which it made in foreign countries for the importation of immigrant labor.

About this time one of the first official protests against using the United States as a dumping ground for criminals by foreign governments was entered by Congress, the following joint resolution being passed and approved by the President on April 17, 1866:

Whereas it appears from official correspondence that the authorities of Baseland, a Canton of Switzerland, have recently undertaken to pardon a person convicted of murder on the condition that he would emigrate to the United States, and there is reason to believe that similar pardons of persons convicted of infamous offenses have been granted in other countries: Now, therefore,

Resolved by the Senate, etc., That the Congress of the United States protests against such acts as unfriendly and inconsistent with the comity of nations, and hereby requests the President of the United States to cause a copy of this protest to be communicated to the representatives of the United States in foreign countries, with instructions

to present to the governments where they are accredited, respectively, and to insist that no such acts shall, under any circumstances, be repeated.

In the Fortieth Congress two bills were introduced providing for agencies for the promotion of immigration, to be located in Great Britain, Germany, Sweden, and Norway. For these two bills the House substituted one which provided that the work to be done by these special agents be done instead by United States consuls. No favorable action was taken, however, and the brief period of national encouragement of immigration was over when, on March 4, 1868, the law of 1864 was repealed by a clause in the consular and diplomatic act.

OPPOSITION TO CONTRACT LABOR

In the Forty-first Congress the campaign against contracting for foreign labor first began, a bill being introduced which was the exact opposite of the law of 1864. This bill, which was not acted upon, provided that any contract made in foreign countries whereby immigrants pledged service or labor to be performed upon arrival in the United States should not be enforced in any federal or state court.

Proceedings in Congress the next few years, while showing the general sentiment against the importation of contract labor, although in favor of the immigration of worthy foreigners, are interesting chiefly as showing the circumstances which led to the change of control of immigration from the various States to the National Government.

On May 31, 1870, an act to enforce the rights of citizens to vote in the several States and for other purposes was approved. This act provided that no tax should be imposed or enforced by any State upon any person immigrating thereto from a foreign country which was not imposed upon every person immigrating to such State from any other foreign country. This is interesting here simply as showing that at this time Congress regarded the levying of a head tax on foreign immigrants as a legitimate field for state legislation.

In his annual message to Congress, December 4, 1871, President Grant suggested congressional action for the protection of

immigrants, saying that it seemed to him a fair subject of legislation by Congress. Later, in the same session, he sent a special message to Congress upon the subject of immigration in which he urged national control, saying in part:

I do not advise national legislation in affairs that should be regulated by the States; but I see no subject more national in its character than provision for the safety and welfare of the thousands who leave foreign lands to become citizens of this Republic. When their residence is chosen they may then look to the laws of their locality for protection and guidance.

At about this period several bills were introduced for the promotion of immigration and the protection of immigrants, and the Senate Committee on Commerce reported a bill which provided for the appointment of a Commissioner of Immigration; the levying of a head tax of \$1 on each immigrant passenger landed in lieu of a head tax imposed by States; and the exclusion of criminals. The bill in question did not pass, but in 1875 a law was enacted which provided for the exclusion of prostitutes. The law in which this provision was contained, however, was designed chiefly to regulate Chinese immigration. The messages of President Grant and the debates in Congress evidently indicated a strong sentiment in favor of national control of immigration, and in 1876 a decision of the Supreme Court practically left no alternative.

STATE CONTROL DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL

Before the decision of 1876 above referred to various questions relating to the subject of immigration had been considered by the Supreme Court of the United States. The first of these cases was that of the State of New York *v. Miln*. This case tested the constitutionality of a law passed by the legislature of New York State in 1824, requiring all masters of vessels arriving at the port of New York to make a report in writing and give the name, age, and the last legal residence of every person on board during the voyage, and stating whether any of his passengers had gone on board any other vessel or had been landed at any place with a view to proceeding to New York. Another section of the law

made it lawful for the mayor of the city to require a bond from every master of a vessel to indemnify the mayor and the overseer of the poor from any expense incurred for passengers brought in and not reported. The United States Supreme Court held that the New York act was not a regulation of commerce, but of police; and, being so, it was in exercise of a power which rightfully belonged to the State.

Justice Story dissented from the decision of the court, declared the law unconstitutional, and said, in part :

The result of the whole reasoning is that whatever restrains or prevents the introduction or importation of passengers or goods into the country authorized or allowed by Congress, whether in the shape of a tax or other charge, or whether before or after their arrival in port, interferes with the exclusive right to regulate commerce.

This law being held to be constitutional, New York, in 1829, in providing for the support of the marine and quarantine hospital established on Staten Island, ordered that the health commissioner should collect from the master of every vessel arriving from a foreign port \$1.50 for every cabin passenger; \$1 for every steerage passenger, mate, sailor, or marine; and 25 cents for every person arriving on coasting vessels. The money so collected, after deducting 2 per cent, was all to be used for the benefit of the above-named hospital.

In 1837 Massachusetts enacted a law which provided for an inspection of arriving alien passengers and required a bond from the owner of the vessel bringing such aliens as security that such of these passengers, incompetent in the eyes of the inspectors to earn a living, should not become a public charge within ten years. It also provided that \$2 be paid for each passenger landed, the money so collected to be used for the support of foreign paupers.

In 1849 these two legislative acts were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, in what are known as the "Passenger Cases."

Immediately after the decision of the Supreme Court the New York statute was modified with a view to avoiding the constitutional objection. As modified the law provided that the master or owner of every vessel landing passengers from a foreign port

was bound to make a report similar to the one recited in the statute declared to be valid in the case of *New York v. Miln*, in which report the mayor was to indorse a demand upon the owner or master that he give a bond for every passenger landed in the city to indemnify the commissioners of immigration, and every county, city, and town in the State against any expense for the relief or support of the person named in the bond for four years thereafter; but the owner could commute for such bond and be released from giving it by paying \$1.50 for each passenger landed.

In several other States similar laws were in force. Cases were brought up to the Supreme Court from New York, California, and Louisiana, and the laws were declared unconstitutional. Mr. Justice Miller, who delivered the opinion, said in part:

It is a law in its purpose and effect imposing a tax on the owner of the vessel for the privilege of landing in New York from foreign countries. . . . A law or rule emanating from any lawful authority which prescribes terms or conditions on which alone the vessel can discharge its passengers is a regulation of commerce; and in the case of vessels and passengers coming from foreign ports is a regulation of foreign commerce.

The most interesting part of this decision, however, was that in which the court recommended that Congress exercise full authority over immigration, saying:

We are of the opinion that this whole subject has been confided to Congress by the Constitution; that Congress can more appropriately and with more acceptance exercise it than any other body known to our law, state or national; that by providing a system of laws in these matters applicable to all ports and to all vessels, a serious question which has long been a matter of contest and complaint may be effectively and satisfactorily settled.

THE MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL CONTROL

. By the above decision the States were left without the means, except by taxing their own citizens, of providing suitable inspection of immigrants or of caring for the destitute among those admitted. The only alternative was the recommendation of the Supreme Court that Congress assume control of immigration

legislation, and New York representatives in Congress immediately endeavored to secure the passage of a general immigration law. The above-quoted case was decided by the Supreme Court March 20, 1876, and on July 6 following Senator Conkling and Representative Cox, of New York, introduced bills for the national regulation of immigration.

These bills provided for a manifest of all alien passengers; a head tax of \$2; the exclusion and deportation of convicts, insane persons, and paupers, and the reimbursement to the States of all money paid out by them for the support and maintenance of any immigrants within four years after their arrival. These bills were not given favorable consideration, the principal opposition coming from the commercial organizations of the country. New York Senators and Representatives, however, continued to introduce bills of like nature, but a national immigration law was not enacted until 1882.

THE IMMIGRATION LAW OF 1882

In his message of December 6, 1881, President Arthur called attention to the subject of immigration control and recommended legislation regarding the supervision and transitory care of the immigrants at ports of debarkation.

In that session of Congress immigration legislation was given consideration, and on August 3, 1882, the first general immigration law was approved. This law provided that a head tax of 50 cents should be levied on all aliens landed at United States ports, the money thus collected to be used to defray the expenses of regulating immigration and for the care of immigrants after landing, no more being expended at any port than was collected at such port. The Secretary of the Treasury was charged with executing the provisions of the act, and for that purpose he was given power to enter into contracts with such state officers as might be designated by the governor of any State to take charge of the local affairs of immigration within such State. The law provided that foreign convicts (except those convicted of political offenses), lunatics, idiots, and persons likely to become public charges, should not be permitted to land.

THE FIRST CONTRACT-LABOR LAW

On February 26, 1885, the first law forbidding the importation of contract labor was approved. This law was defective, in that no inspection was provided for, nor was any arrangement made for the general execution of the provisions of the law or for the deportation of the contract laborer himself. This law was amended by the act of February 23, 1887, and by this amendment the Secretary of the Treasury was given the same power to exclude and deport contract laborers that he had been given under the act of 1882 over criminals, paupers, idiots, and lunatics. The act of 1885 was again amended on October 9, 1888, by which amendment the Secretary of the Treasury was given power to return within the year any immigrant landed contrary to this law.

From 1882 to 1888, aside from the enactment of the contract-labor laws referred to, there was little attempt at other immigration legislation. Numerous bills in amendment of the laws of 1882 were introduced in Congress, but no action was taken upon them.

INVESTIGATIONS OF THE FORD COMMITTEE

During this period, however, there was considerable agitation for the further restriction or regulation of immigration, and in 1888 the House of Representatives passed a resolution, in which note was taken of the charges of prominent journals that the laws prohibiting the importation of contract laborers, convicts, and paupers were being extensively evaded, owing to the lack of machinery to enforce them, and this resolution authorized the appointment of a select committee to investigate the matter. This select committee, which was known as the "Ford committee," reported at the following session of Congress. The report alleged that each year there were thousands of alien paupers, insane persons, and idiots landed in this country who became a burden upon the States where they happened to gain a settlement; that many of these were assisted to emigrate by the officials of the country from which they came; that the number of persons not lawfully entitled to land in the United States who came in by the way of the Canadian frontier was large, and was

becoming a serious danger, the testimony showing that in many instances immigrants coming by steamer to Quebec had within forty-eight hours after their arrival there been applicants for shelter in the almshouses of the State of New York. This was probably the first time that serious attention was called to the matter of overland immigration. The committee also declared that the law of 1882, as regards the excluding of convicts, had been and was being repeatedly violated to such an extent that it demanded remedial legislation, and that the contract-labor law was easy to violate and convictions under it hard to secure. To remedy these defects the committee recommended that the enforcement of all acts relating to the regulation of immigration be intrusted solely to the Federal Government rather than to state authorities, as was provided under the law of 1882. The committee praised the immigrant of the past, but said that it could not praise the immigrant then coming. The idea of selection was emphasized, and it was asserted that "the time had come to draw the line and to select the good from the bad, because the country could not properly assimilate them."

Besides excluding idiots, paupers, lunatics, and convicts, the bill proposed by the Ford committee added to the excluded classes polygamists, anarchists, and persons afflicted with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease. The provisions of the contract-labor law were also incorporated in the bill, and it was provided that any person found in the United States having come contrary to law should be deported within two years at the expense of the transportation company bringing him. All aliens were also required to bring a consular certificate of emigration, showing that they were not among the classes excluded by the United States law. Congress, however, did not act upon the recommendations of the Ford committee.

IMMIGRATION COMMITTEES ESTABLISHED

The subject of immigration continued to be a matter of interest, and in 1889 a standing Committee on Immigration in the Senate and a Select Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in the House were established. In 1890 these committees were authorized jointly to make an inquiry relative to immigration and

to investigate the workings of the various laws of the United States and of the several States relative to immigration.

Various reports were submitted, and the conclusion of the committee was that a radical change in the immigration laws was not advisable, although it had been found that throughout the country there existed a demand for a stricter enforcement of the immigration laws. During 1890 one or more political parties in 23 States had demanded additional regulations of immigration.

The investigation of the joint committee showed that large numbers of immigrants were being landed every year in violation of the law of 1882, the chief cause of which was the divided authority provided for the execution of the immigration act. The contract-labor law was found to be generally evaded. The bill presented by the committee aimed to correct faults in existing law. As it was presented it received rather general favor, the only opposition to it being on the part of ultra-restrictionists, who tried to have substituted a bill which raised the head tax from 50 cents to \$1 and provided for a thorough consular examination. The substitute bill was defeated by a vote of 207 to 41. The bill of the committee passed the House by a vote of 125 to 48, and after being adopted by the Senate without discussion it was approved on March 3, 1891.

THE IMMIGRATION LAW OF 1891

This law provided for a head tax of 50 cents, as was also provided in the law of 1882, the head tax being considered merely as a means of raising money for the proper administration of the law. Persons suffering from a loathsome or a dangerous contagious disease, and polygamists, were added to the classes excluded by the act of 1882, and it was also provided that "assisted persons, unless affirmatively shown that they did not belong to any excluded class," should be debarred. The contract-labor law was strengthened by prohibiting the encouragement of immigration by promises of employment through advertisements published in any foreign country, and transportation companies were forbidden to solicit or encourage immigration. Under the law of 1891 the office of the superintendent of immigration was authorized, and for the first time federal control of immigration

was completely and definitely established, United States officials exercising the functions which under the law of 1882 had been delegated to the States. It now became the duty of the commanding officer of every vessel bringing alien immigrants to report to the proper inspection officials the name, nationality, last residence, and destination of all such aliens; all decisions of the inspection officials refusing any alien the right to land were final unless appeal was taken to the Secretary of the Treasury; the medical examination of immigrants at United States ports was to be made by surgeons of the United States Marine-Hospital Service and for the first time an inspection of immigrants on the borders of Canada and Mexico was provided for. Another provision not found in the law of 1882 was that which allowed the return within a year after arrival of any alien who had come into the United States in violation of law, such return being at the expense of the transportation company or person bringing such alien into the country.

THE INVESTIGATIONS OF 1892

Notwithstanding the new law, however, the question of immigration continued to receive attention in Congress. This law was approved on March 3, 1891, and on January 29, 1892, a joint committee was charged with investigating the workings of the various laws of the United States relative to immigration and the importation of contract laborers. This committee made a report on July 28 of the same year. The committee found that many undesirable immigrants were being permitted to land who under a proper and reasonable construction of the law should have been refused admission, and that the law permitting the commissioner of immigration at any port to be the sole arbiter as to whether an immigrant should land or not, with an appeal in favor of the immigrant in case he is not permitted to land, and no appeal in case he is unlawfully permitted to do so, should be changed. In recommending a more careful inspection of immigrants the committee said that what theretofore had been called examinations appeared to be more of a farce than a reality. To remedy this it was proposed that whenever an inspector was in doubt regarding the right of an immigrant to land he might detain

him for a special inquiry conducted by four inspectors, the favorable decision of three of them being necessary to admit. Finally the committee decided that an examination should be made at foreign ports of embarkation by the captain and surgeon of the ship bringing him, thus making the steamship and transportation lines responsible for the character of the persons they bring. Bills embodying the recommendations of the committee were introduced and passed by the Senate without debate, but the House took no action at that session.

On July 16, 1892, the Senate passed a resolution providing that the Committee on Immigration be empowered to investigate the workings of the immigration laws and the importation of contract labor, as well as the laws of the prevailing methods of naturalization.

The result of this investigation was reported to the next session of Congress. Accompanying the report were two bills, one establishing additional regulations concerning immigration and the other entirely prohibiting immigration for one year. The reason for the latter bill was the epidemic of cholera then prevailing in Europe. The bill declaring for the total suspension of immigration for one year, simply to "defeat the arrival of cholera within our borders," was deemed too severe, and instead the following provision, which is still in force, was inserted in the general quarantine act:

That whenever it shall be shown to the satisfaction of the President that by reason of the existence of cholera or other infectious or contagious disease in a foreign country there is a serious danger of the introduction of the same into the United States and that notwithstanding the quarantine defense this danger is so increased by the introduction of persons or property from such country that a suspension of the right to introduce the same is demanded in the interest of the public health, the President shall have the power to prohibit, in whole or in part, the introduction of persons and property from such countries or places as he shall designate and for such period of time as he may deem necessary.

The other bill presented by the Senate committee is interesting in that for the first time restriction of immigration by means of an educational test was recommended by a congressional committee.

When the committee's report was presented it was argued in Congress that the law of 1891 had been in force only a brief period and its operation as yet had been only of an experimental character, and that instead of passing a new law it would be better to bring about a proper enforcement of the spirit of the existing law. The objection to the educational test was that the demand of the country was not for skilled and educated labor, but "for a class of brawn and muscle to assist in agriculture and in the line of their work to aid in the development of the almost boundless resources of the great West and South." It was further argued that the country was not demanding the exclusion of any immigrants but criminals and paupers. While there were some who favored even a more radical restriction than was proposed in the committee bill, the idea of promoting a better enforcement of the existing laws prevailed, and while the committee's recommendations resulted in a revised immigration law, which was approved March 3, 1893, it was by no means radical. One important provision of the law of 1893 was that boards of special inquiry should pass upon the admissibility of immigrants, a practice which has since prevailed.

With the exception of an amendment to an appropriation act in 1894 raising the head tax on immigrants from 50 cents to \$1, no immigration legislation was enacted until 1903. The agitation of the subject in Congress continued, however, and the period is interesting chiefly because of the adoption by both houses of Congress of a bill providing for an educational test for immigrants and the veto of the bill by President Cleveland.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S VETO

As the bill went to the President it provided that persons physically capable and over 16 years of age who could not read and write the English language or some other language, parents, grandparents, wives, and minor children of admissible immigrants being excepted, were added to the excluded classes.

President Cleveland returned the bill with his veto on March 2, 1897. He objected to the radical departure from the previous national policy relating to immigration, which welcomed all who came, the success of which policy was attested by the last

century's great growth. In referring to the claim that the quality of recent immigration was undesirable, he said, "The time is quite within recent memory when the same thing was said of immigrants who, with their descendants, are now numbered among our best citizens." The prevailing disturbed labor conditions he attributed to a general business depression, which would in no way be affected by restricting immigration. In referring to "the best reason that could be given for this radical restriction of immigration," the "protecting of our population against degeneration and saving our national peace and quiet from imported turbulence and disorder," President Cleveland said that he did not think it would be protected against these evils by limiting immigration to those who could read and write, for, in his mind, it was safer "to admit a hundred thousand immigrants who, though unable to read and write, seek among us only a home and opportunity to work, than to admit one of those unruly agitators who can not only read and write, but delights in arousing by inflammatory speech the illiterate and peacefully inclined to discontent." Those classes which we ought to exclude, he claimed, should be legislated against directly.

Sections of the bill declaring it a crime for an alien regularly to come into the United States for the purpose of obtaining work from private parties, President Cleveland declared, were "illiberal, narrow, and un-American," and, besides, he said, the residents of these border States and Territories "have separate and especial interests which in many cases make an interchange of labor between their people and their alien neighbors most important, frequently with the advantage largely in favor of our citizens."

On March 3, 1897, the House passed the bill over the President's veto by a vote of 193 to 37, but no action was taken in the Senate, and considering the close vote by which the conference report was adopted by the Senate it is very doubtful whether it could have been passed over the veto.

In the Fifty-fifth Congress the bill which President Cleveland vetoed was again introduced and passed the Senate by a vote of 45 to 28, but the House of Representatives refused to consider it by a vote of 103 to 101.

INVESTIGATIONS BY THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

By an act of June 18, 1898, the Industrial Commission was created. Section 2 of this act provided :

That it shall be the duty of this commission to investigate questions pertaining to immigration, and to report to Congress and to suggest such legislation as it may deem best upon these subjects.

The final report of this commission containing recommendations relative to immigration legislation was submitted to Congress on February 20, 1902, and shortly afterwards a bill was introduced in the House which was substantially in accord with the recommendations made. The principal object of the bill was to codify in concise form all immigration legislation before enacted, from the act of March 3, 1875, to the act of 1894, and to arrange the legislation in regular order and sequence according to the various specific subjects dealt with in the bill.

When the Industrial Commission bill was before the House, an amendment was added providing for the exclusion of all persons over fifteen who were unable to read the English language or some other language, excepting the wife, children under 18 years of age, and parents and grandparents of admissible immigrants. This amendment was adopted in the House by a vote of 86 to 7. With the addition of the literacy test provision the bill passed the House May 27, 1902, practically as introduced, but the Senate did not act upon it until the following session. Besides eliminating the educational test and raising the head tax from \$1 to \$2, the Senate added provisions making it unlawful for any person to assist in the unlawful entry or naturalization of alien anarchists. These amendments were accepted by the House. Before the final passage of the bill a provision was added providing that no alien, even if belonging in the excluded classes, should be deported if liable to execution for a religious offense in the country from which he came, but this provision was eliminated in conference. The bill was approved by the President March 3, 1903.

From the act of March 3, 1903, until the act of February 20, 1907, no laws of general importance affecting immigration were enacted by Congress. On February 14, 1903, the Department

of Commerce and Labor was established and the Commissioner-General of Immigration was placed under the jurisdiction and supervision of that department. By the law of June 29, 1906, providing for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens, the designation of the Bureau of Immigration was changed to the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, and it was charged with the administration of the new naturalization law.

The agitation of the immigration question was continued, however, and at each session of Congress several bills proposing restrictions or a stricter supervision of immigration were introduced. In the Fifty-eighth Congress a bill was introduced which proposed to limit the number of aliens from any one nation allowed to enter the United States in any one fiscal year to 80,000, but no action was taken upon it.

THE IMMIGRATION LAW OF 1907

In the first session of the Fifty-ninth Congress, following the popular demand for the further regulation of alien immigration, several bills were introduced and bills were passed by both the Senate and House, but were not finally enacted into law until the second session of that Congress. A bill introduced by Senator Dillingham, of Vermont, which provided for some important administrative changes in the immigration act of 1903, was reported from the Senate committee March 29, 1906. This bill, as reported, proposed several changes in the law. The head tax on immigrants was increased from \$2 to \$5; imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, unaccompanied children under 17 years of age, and persons "who are found to be and are certified by the examining surgeon as being mentally or physically defective, such mental or physical defect being of a nature which may affect the ability of such aliens to earn a living," were added to the excluded classes; the provision of existing law excluding prostitutes was amended to also exclude "women or girls coming into the United States for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose"; steamship companies were required to furnish lists of outgoing passengers; and the creation of a division of distribution in the Bureau of Immigration was authorized.

In the Senate the bill was amended by the insertion of a literacy test which provided for the exclusion from the United States of — all persons over sixteen years of age and physically capable of reading who cannot read the English language or some other language; but an admissible immigrant or a person now in or hereafter admitted to this country may bring in or send for his wife, his children under eighteen years of age, and his parents or grandparents over fifty years of age, if they are otherwise admissible, whether they are so able to read or not.

The bill as amended passed the Senate May 23, 1906, and in the House was referred to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. This committee recommended the substitution of a House bill which, however, did not differ materially from that of the Senate. The head tax provision was the same and the additions to the excluded classes practically so; a literacy test similar to that of the Senate was also included. The bill as originally reported by the House committee also provided for the exclusion of every adult male who had not \$25 in his possession and every female alien and every male alien under 16 years not possessed of \$15, provided that \$50 in the possession of the head of a family would be considered a sufficient amount for all members of such family, except grown sons.

In a subsequent bill and report, presented June 11, 1906, however, the money qualification feature was omitted. The reports of the House committee were accompanied by a minority report, signed by two members of the committee, Mr. Bennet and Mr. Ruppert, both of New York, in which the increased head tax and the educational test provisions were disagreed to. In the House of Representatives the bill was amended by striking out the increased head-tax provision and the provision for a literacy test, by inserting a section creating the Immigration Commission, and by adopting the so-called Littauer amendment, which provided as follows:

That an immigrant who proves that he is seeking admission to this country solely to avoid prosecution or punishment on religious or political grounds, for an offense of a political character, or prosecution involving danger of punishment, or danger to life or limb on account of religious belief, shall not be deported because of want of means or the probability of his being unable to earn a livelihood.

In conference between the two Houses the Senate receded from its provision relative to a literacy test ; the House receded from the Littauer amendment ; the head-tax provision was compromised by fixing the amount at \$4, instead of \$5 as provided by the Senate and \$2 as provided by the House ; the House amendment creating the Immigration Commission was agreed to with an amendment, which provided that the Commission should consist of three Senators, three Members of the House of Representatives, and three persons to be appointed by the President of the United States, instead of two Senators, three Members of the House, and two citizen members, as was provided in the House amendment. The section creating the Commission was further amended in conference by the addition of the following provision :

. . . the President of the United States is also authorized, in the name of the Government of the United States, to call, in his discretion, an international conference, to assemble at such point as may be agreed upon, or to send special commissioners to any foreign country for the purpose of regulating by international agreement, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, the immigration of aliens to the United States ; of providing for the mental, moral, and physical examination of such aliens by American consuls or other officers of the United States Government at the ports of embarkation, or elsewhere ; of securing the assistance of foreign governments in their own territories to prevent the evasion of the laws of the United States governing immigration to the United States ; of entering into such international agreements as may be proper to prevent the immigration of aliens who, under the laws of the United States, are or may be excluded from entering the United States, and of regulating any matters pertaining to such immigration.

The conferees also added a new section (sec. 42) to the bill amending section 1 of the passenger act of 1882 relative to air space allotted to steerage passengers, and amended section 1 of the immigration bill under consideration by inserting the following provision :

That whenever the President shall be satisfied that passports issued by any foreign government to its citizens to go to any country other than the United States or to any insular possession of the United States or to the Canal Zone are being used for the purpose of enabling

the holders to come to the continental territory of the United States to the detriment of labor conditions therein, the President may refuse to permit such citizens of the country issuing such passports to enter the continental territory of the United States from such other country or from such insular possessions or from the Canal Zone.

Later this provision of law was utilized for the purpose of excluding Japanese and Korean laborers from the United States. This bill was approved February 20, 1907, and is the present law upon the subject.

LEGISLATION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE WHITE-SLAVE TRAFFIC

By the act of March 26, 1910, sections 2 and 3 of the immigration law of February 20, 1907, were amended to more effectively prevent the importation of women and girls for immoral purposes and their control by importers and others after admission to the United States. These amendments followed recommendations of the Immigration Commission contained in a report of the Commission on the importation and harboring of women for immoral purposes.

By the act of March 26 the following were added to the classes excluded by section 2 of the immigration act: "Persons who are supported by or receive in full or in part the proceeds of prostitution." Under the terms of the act of 1907 "women or girls coming into the United States for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose," and also "persons who procure or attempt to bring in prostitutes or women or girls for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose," were specifically excluded from the United States. Under that law, however, there was no specific provision for the exclusion of that particularly reprehensible class of persons referred to in the act of March 26, 1910. By the amendment of section 3 of the law of 1907 additional means were provided for the punishment and deportation of aliens who in any way profited or derived benefit from the proceeds of prostitution.

The agitation of the white-slave traffic in Congress also resulted in the enactment of a law prohibiting the transportation of persons from one State to another for purposes of prostitution.

CHINESE LEGISLATION

In the early fifties, when the Chinese first came to California in any considerable numbers, it is said that the people of San Francisco regarded "with admiration and pride" these "picturesque and far-traveling immigrants." The movement developed rapidly and supplied cheap labor for the construction of railways. It appears that there was little objection to their coming at that time, but later when they entered the mines and became successful competitors of white men and women in other lines of work, an opposition to their immigration arose which has since continued. This opposition was soon expressed in state laws for the suppression of such immigration. In 1853 a law taxing all foreign miners was enacted in California, but in practice such tax was collected only from the Chinese. In 1855 California imposed a tax of \$55 upon every Chinese immigrant, and in 1858 a law was passed prohibiting all Chinese or Mongolians from entering the State, unless driven on shore by weather or some accident, in which case it was provided they should be immediately sent out of the country. In 1862 another act was passed providing for a head tax of \$2.50 upon all arriving Mongolians 18 years of age or over, unless they were engaged in the production and manufacture of sugar, rice, coffee, or tea. These different state laws were declared unconstitutional by the supreme court of California. In the same manner the cities of the Pacific coast passed ordinances directly or indirectly affecting the Chinese. Notwithstanding adverse decisions of the state courts California persisted in attempts to repress Chinese immigration, but finally all such attempts were rendered futile by the decision of the United States Supreme Court that the regulation of immigration was a subject for national rather than state legislation.

Even before this decision, however, California appealed to Congress for national legislation to stop Chinese immigration.

The first consideration given to Chinese immigration in Congress resulted in the law of 1862 prohibiting the coolie trade, which has been referred to as the first attempt of Congress to regulate immigration. All debates in Congress and reports on the subject, however, show that the question of the importation of Chinese coolies into the United States was not considered,

the only purpose of the act being to prevent American vessels from carrying on this coolie or slave trade, especially between China and the West Indies, although to some extent it was also carried on with South American ports.

THE BURLINGAME TREATY

Although political relations of the United States with China date back to the year 1844, the first treaty in which emigration from one country to the other was considered, was the Burlingame treaty, proclaimed July 28, 1868. Sections 5 and 6 of that treaty state the position of the United States respecting the rights of Chinese in this country. The inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects, respectively, from the one country to the other, for the purpose of curiosity, or trade, or as permanent residents, were recognized, but "any other than an entirely voluntary emigration" was reprobated. By the Burlingame treaty the United States declared that —

Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nations.

The right of naturalization was, however, denied them.

The attitude of the United States as expressed in this treaty was not popular in the Pacific States, and these States continued their efforts to secure legislation restricting the further immigration of the Chinese.

In 1872 the legislature of California had instructed their Representatives in Congress to urge the making of a new treaty with China providing for the exclusion of certain Chinese subjects, and the continued agitation finally resulted in the enactment of the law of March 3, 1875. Besides prohibiting the importation of women, especially Chinese women, for the purpose of prostitution, and the immigration of convicts, the principal provision of the act of 1875 was that the transporting into the United States of any subject of China, Japan, or any oriental

country, without their free and voluntary consent, for the purpose of holding them to a term of service, was to be punished by imprisonment for not more than one year and by a fine not exceeding \$2000. It further provided that any person attempting to contract in this manner to supply coolie labor to another should be guilty of a felony, and should be imprisoned for not more than one year and pay a fine of not more than \$5000.

CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY OF 1876-1877

On February 27, 1877, the report of the joint special committee sent to California to study the question was submitted to Congress. The committee as appointed consisted of Messrs. Morton, of Indiana, Meade, of New York, Wilson, of Massachusetts, Cooper, of New York, and Sargent and Piper, of California. Because of sickness and resignations the final report was made by Mr. Cooper, Mr. Sargent, and Mr. Piper. This report was a violent denunciation of the Chinese as a class on the part of the Pacific coast, and finally led to the passage of the Chinese-exclusion law. Congress took no immediate action on this report, but from that time on protests and bills looking to the exclusion of Chinese were constantly being introduced and considered in Congress.

In 1879 a bill was introduced in Congress limiting to 15 the number of Chinese who could come into the United States upon any one vessel. It was argued against this bill that it would abrogate the provisions of the Burlingame treaty. After being amended by adding a provision for the abrogation of articles 5 and 6 of that treaty, which gave to the Chinaman all privileges enjoyed by "citizens or subjects of the most favored nations," the bill passed the House January 28, 1879, by a vote of 155 to 72, and on February 15 it passed the Senate by a small majority. On March 1, 1879, President Hayes returned it with his veto, declaring that history gave no other instance where a treaty had been abrogated by Congress and that it was not competent to modify a treaty by cutting out certain sections, and even if it were constitutional, seeing that China would probably assent willingly to such a modification, he thought it better policy to wait for the proper course of diplomatic negotiations.

THE CHINESE TREATY OF 1880

Congress failed to pass the bill over the veto, and negotiations were almost immediately entered into for a change in the treaty. On November 17, 1880, a treaty somewhat as desired by the Pacific coast was concluded, the article relating to the limitation and suspension of Chinese immigration into the United States being as follows :

Whenever in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country, or of any locality within the territory thereof, the Government of China agrees that the Government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable, and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers, other classes not being included in the limitations. Legislation taken in regard to Chinese laborers will be of such a character only as is necessary to enforce the regulation, limitation, or suspension of immigration, and immigrants shall not be subject to personal maltreatment or abuse.

THE CHINESE-EXCLUSION LAW OF 1882

After the entry of 1880 was concluded a bill to execute certain stipulations contained therein was passed by the Senate and House. As this bill went to the President for approval it provided that within ninety days after its passage, and until twenty years thereafter, the coming of Chinese laborers should be suspended. Exception was made to Chinese laborers who were in the United States on November 17, 1880, and those who should come before the act went into effect. Also a complete system of registration, certification and identification was provided. Skilled Chinese laborers were specifically among those excluded, and all state or United States courts were denied the right to admit Chinese to citizenship. On April 4, 1882, President Arthur returned the bill with his veto, his principal reason for refusing to sign it being that the passage of an act prohibiting immigration for twenty years was an unreasonable suspension of immigration and consequently a breach of the treaty. The features relating to registration he

also claimed served no good purpose. Subsequently a modified bill was passed by Congress, and, although containing some of the provisions objectionable to the President, he approved it on May 6, 1882. This law provided that all immigration of Chinese laborers, skilled or unskilled, should be suspended for a period of ten years.

THE CHINESE-EXCLUSION LAW OF 1884

In the next Congress there were several bills introduced amending this act of 1882. One of these, that of Mr. Henley, of California, was reported favorably by the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The law had been intended, by its originators, to exclude Chinese laborers, but it had failed to do this and required revision to conform to the intent of its framers. To substantiate this view, the committee cited the case decided by Justices Lowell and Nelson, of the United States circuit court in Massachusetts, where a Chinese laborer, born on the island of Hongkong after its cession to Great Britain, was held not to be within the provisions of the act. To avoid a similar situation the act was extended to all Chinese, subjects of whatever country. To prevent evasions of the law through the "possible interpretations of words 'merchants' and 'travelers,' together with the notorious capabilities of the lower classes of Chinese for perjury," the certificates of the exempt classes were made more elaborate, and the word "merchant" was defined to exclude hucksters, peddlers, and fishermen. The certificates were made the only evidence admissible to establish a right to reënter. These certificates also had to be verified by the United States diplomatic officer at the port of departure.

All attempts to make the bill less severe were futile, and it passed the House by a vote of 184 to 12; not voting, 125. The Senate passed it by a vote of 43 to 12; not voting, 21. It was approved July 5, 1884.

THE CHINESE TREATY OF 1888

In 1886 China of her own accord proposed to prohibit the emigration of her laborers to the United States, and also to prohibit the return of any laborers who had gone back to China.

She asked that negotiations be entered into for a treaty embodying such provisions. Such a treaty was agreed to and signed by the representatives of the two countries on March 12, 1888.

The treaty as signed provided that Chinese laborers should be excluded for twenty years. No Chinese laborer returning to China was to be allowed to reënter the United States unless he left a wife, child, or parent, or property to the value of \$1000. To avail himself of this right he had to return within a year. Chinese subjects other than laborers had to obtain certificates of identification from consular representatives of the United States at ports of departure. As in the earlier treaty, the Chinaman lawfully residing here was granted all the privileges of citizens of the most favored nations. Finally the indemnity fund of \$276,619.75 which was asked for losses and injuries suffered by the Chinese in various anti-Chinese riots in the Pacific coast States was included. Before ratifying it the Senate changed two articles of the treaty. By the first, all Chinese laborers not then in the United States, but who held return certificates under existing laws, were not to be allowed to enter. The other required the possession of the certificate of identification to insure entry.

THE CHINESE-EXCLUSION LAW OF 1888

Expecting an immediate ratification of the treaty by China, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, on July 15, 1888, reported a bill to prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers according to the stipulations of the treaty just ratified. It was passed by the Senate on August 8, and by the House August 20, 1888, and was approved September 13, 1888.

No ratification of the treaty followed, however, and on receipt of unofficial reports that China had rejected it, Congress passed a bill prohibiting the coming to the United States of Chinese laborers. President Cleveland withheld his approval of the bill for some time, but finally, on the refusal of China to ratify the treaty unless the term of years was made shorter, and other conditions were changed, on October 1, 1888, he signed it. In his message accompanying the approval President Cleveland justified his action, claiming that China's delay was a breach of the existing treaty, and such a breach as justified Congress in

legislatively dealing with the matter. He recommended the payment of the indemnity provided by the terms of the treaty, and he also recommended that the act should not apply to Chinese already on their way. The indemnity was paid, but the recommendation respecting those on the way was not heeded.

CHINESE LEGISLATION OF 1892

On December 10, 1891, Senator Dolph, of Oregon, introduced a bill providing that the act of May 6, 1882, should be continued in force for another ten years. This bill was passed by the Senate on February 19, 1892. Representative Geary, of California, reported a bill absolutely prohibiting the coming of Chinese persons, except diplomatists, to the United States. All Chinese in the United States were to be obliged to take out certificates, so that the authorities could know their whereabouts. Failure to procure this certificate meant deportation. The Senate bill was not favored in the House, and the more stringent Geary bill was passed on April 4, 1892. When it went to the Senate the Dolph bill was substituted and a conference asked for. The report of the conference committee was finally adopted and the resulting bill was approved the day before the expiration of the existing law. The law of 1892 contained part of the provisions of the Senate bill and part of those of the House bill. By its terms all existing laws were continued in force for ten years. All Chinese laborers within the United States were required to secure certificates within one year, and if any was found without such certificate he was to be liable to deportation.

Upon the passage of this act certain Chinese persons employed three prominent attorneys to render an opinion upon the constitutionality of the law as a whole. Each of these attorneys expressed the opinion that the law was unconstitutional, but on May 15, 1893, the Supreme Court declared it constitutional. Having relied upon the opinions of their attorneys, the Chinese did not register. When the decision of the Supreme Court was rendered the year provided by the statute for certification was ended, and there were some 90,000 unregistered Chinamen in the country, all liable to deportation. After considering the matter and seeing that it would cost more than \$6,000,000 to deport

them, Congress decided it would be more just and economical to extend the period for obtaining certificates. Accordingly a law was passed, and approved on November 3, 1893, granting an additional six months for the taking out of certificates.

THE CHINESE TREATY OF 1894

Shortly after the passage of these acts China asked for the opening of negotiations looking to a new treaty. Negotiations were successful, and on December 8, 1894, a treaty was proclaimed. This provided for the exclusion of all Chinese laborers for a term of ten years. Those going back to China were allowed to return here, providing they had a wife, child, or parent, or property worth \$1000 somewhere in the United States. Registration was still required. It practically covered the same grounds as existing legislation, except that the act of October 1, 1888, refusing to Chinese laborers the right to return, was repealed.

After the annexation of Hawaii, on July 7, 1898, Chinese immigration to these islands was declared to be regulated by the laws of the United States. On April 30, 1900, provision was made for the registering of all the Chinese in these islands, and Chinese living there were forbidden to enter continental United States.

THE CHINESE-EXCLUSION LAW OF 1902

As the time came for the lapse of the period of exclusion provided by the act of 1892, interest in the exclusion laws again became intense, especially on the Pacific coast. A convention held in San Francisco on November 22, 1901, and composed of more than 1000 representatives of county supervisors, city councils, and trade, commercial, and civic organizations, declared for a continuance of the exclusion laws.

The Chinese minister, in a letter to the Secretary of States dated December 10, 1901, brought the matter to the attention of the United States, "urging an adjustment of the question, involved more in harmony with the friendly relations of the two Governments."

On the 16th of January, 1902, Senator Mitchell, of Oregon, introduced a bill to prohibit the coming of Chinese into the United States and regulating their residence within her territories. A similar bill was introduced in the House by Mr. Kahn, of California. On March 26, 1902, the Committee on Foreign Affairs reported Mr. Kahn's bill with a substitute. Several provisions of the bill were stricken out because they were considered unconstitutional. The committee proposed excluding all Chinese laborers, but wanted to avoid any discourtesy or annoyance to any genuine merchants, students, etc., on the ground that this attitude was necessary in the interests of commerce with China. It also struck out a clause forbidding the employment of Chinese on ships carrying the American flag on the Pacific Ocean, because of the injury that would accrue to American shipping. Following in the main the committee's recommendations, the bill passed the House. The clause relating to seamen, however, was restored and all laws were extended to the insular possessions.

In the Senate the Mitchell and Kahn bills were considered too severe, and before passing that body they were amended by providing that all existing laws be reënacted, to continue in force until a new treaty should be negotiated. As amended the bill passed by a vote of 76 to 1; not voting, 11. Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, who cast the single opposing vote, still upheld his early position that he could not support legislation which discriminated against race. The House refused to concur in the amendments of the Senate, but the report of the conference was adopted in the Senate and the House on April 28. The President approved it April 29, 1902.

THE CHINESE-EXCLUSION LAW OF 1904

Upon the refusal of China to continue the treaty of 1894 after 1904, on April 27, 1904, Congress again reënacted, extending and continuing, without modification, limitation, or condition, all laws then in force in so far as they were not inconsistent with treaty obligations.

By the act of 1904 all existing legislation was continued in force until otherwise provided by law. All legislation was extended to the insular possessions, and Chinese immigration

from these islands to the United States, or from one island group to another, was prohibited, although moving from island to island of the same group was allowed. Certificates of residence were also required in the insular possessions. The law of 1904 is still in force.

During 1906 the question of Japanese immigration became acute, and the Pacific States demanded exclusion legislation for the Japanese of the same sort as existed for the Chinese. This was finally settled in the passport provision inserted in the immigration law of February 20, 1907. This provision authorized the President to refuse admission to any aliens making use of passports to the insular possessions, the Canal Zone, or any country other than the United States, to gain admission to the continental United States. The President in his proclamation of March 14, 1907, availed himself of this provision and excluded "Japanese or Korean laborers, skilled or unskilled, who have received passports to go to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii, and come therefrom." To give this full force, an understanding with Japan was reached that the existing policy of discouraging the emigration of her subjects to this country should be continued. This agreement, by which the two Governments coöperate to secure an effective enforcement of the regulation —

contemplates that the Japanese Government shall issue passports to continental United States only to such of its subjects as are non-laborers, or are laborers who, in coming to the continent, seek to resume a formerly acquired domicile, to join a parent, wife, or children residing there, or to assume active control of an already possessed interest in a farming enterprise in this country.

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION¹

GENERAL FRANCIS A. WALKER

WHEN we speak of the restriction of immigration, at the present time, we have not in mind measures undertaken for the purpose of straining out, from the vast throng of foreigners arriving at our ports, a few hundreds, or possibly thousands, of persons, deaf, dumb, blind, idiotic, insane, pauper, or criminal who might otherwise become a hopeless burden upon the country, perhaps even an active source of mischief. The propriety, and even the necessity, of adopting such measures is now conceded by men of all shades of opinion concerning the larger subject. There is even noticeable a rather severe public feeling regarding the admission of persons of any of the classes named above; perhaps one might say, a certain resentment at the attempt of such persons to impose themselves upon us. We already have laws which cover a considerable part of this ground; and so far as further legislation is needed, it will only be necessary for the proper executive department of the government to call the attention of Congress to the subject. There is a serious effort on the part of our immigration officers to enforce the regulations prescribed, though when it is said that more than five thousand persons have passed through the gates at Ellis Island, in New York harbor, during the course of a single day, it will be seen that no very careful scrutiny is practicable.

It is true that in the past there has been gross and scandalous neglect of this matter on the part both of government and people, here in the United States. For nearly two generations, great numbers of persons utterly unable to earn their living, by reason of one or another form of physical or mental disability, and others who were, from widely different causes,

¹ From "Economics and Statistics," Vol. II, pp. 437-450. Henry Holt and Co., 1899.

unfit to be members of any decent community, were admitted to our ports without challenge or question. It is a matter of official record that in many cases these persons had been directly shipped to us by states or municipalities desiring to rid themselves of a burden and a nuisance; while it could reasonably be believed that the proportion of such instances was far greater than could be officially ascertained. But all this is of the past. The question of the restriction of immigration to-day does not deal with that phase of the subject. What is proposed is, not to keep out some hundreds, or possibly thousands, of persons, against whom lie specific objections like those above indicated, but to exclude perhaps hundreds of thousands, the great majority of whom would be subject to no individual objections; who, on the contrary, might fairly be expected to earn their living here in this new country, at least up to the standard known to them at home, and probably much more. The question to-day is, not of preventing the wards of our almshouses, our insane asylums, and our jails from being stuffed to repletion by new arrivals from Europe; but of protecting the American rate of wages, the American standard of living, and the quality of American citizenship from degradation through the tumultuous access of vast throngs of ignorant and brutalized peasantry from the countries of eastern and southern Europe. Other countries

The first thing to be said respecting any serious proposition importantly to restrict immigration into the United States is, that such a proposition necessarily and properly encounters a high degree of incredulity, arising from the traditions of our country. From the beginning, it has been the policy of the United States, both officially and according to the prevailing sentiment of our people, to tolerate, to welcome, and to encourage immigration, without qualification, and without discrimination. For generations it was the settled opinion of our people, which found no challenge anywhere, that immigration was a source of both strength and wealth. Not only was it thought unnecessary carefully to scrutinize foreign arrivals at our ports, but the figures of any exceptionally large immigration were greeted with noisy gratulation. In those days the American people did not doubt that they derived a great advantage from this source. It is, therefore, natural to ask, Is it possible that our fathers

and our grandfathers were so far wrong in this matter? Is it not, the rather, probable that the present anxiety and apprehension on the subject are due to transient causes or to distinctly false opinions, prejudicing the public mind? The challenge which current proposals for the restriction of immigration thus encounter is a perfectly legitimate one, and creates a presumption which their advocates are bound to deal with. Is it, however, necessarily true that if our fathers and grandfathers were right in their view of immigration in their own time, those who advocate the restriction of immigration to-day must be in the wrong? Does it not sometimes happen, in the course of national development, that great and permanent changes in condition require corresponding changes of opinion and of policy?

We shall best answer this question by referring to an instance in an altogether different department of public interest and activity. For nearly a hundred years after the peace of 1783 opened to settlement the lands beyond the Alleghanies, the cutting away of the primeval forest was regarded by our people not only with toleration, but with the highest approval. No physical instrument could have been chosen which was so fairly entitled to be called the emblem of American civilization as the Axe of the Pioneer. As the forests of the Ohio valley bowed themselves before the un-staying enterprise of the adventurous settlers of that region, all good citizens rejoiced. There are few chapters of human history which recount a grander story of human achievement. Yet to-day all intelligent men admit that the cutting down of our forests, the destruction of the tree-covering of our soil, has already gone too far; and both individual States and the nation have united in efforts to undo some of the mischief which has been wrought to our agriculture and to our climate from carrying too far the work of denudation. In precisely the same way, it may be true that our fathers were right in their view of immigration; while yet the patriotic American of to-day may properly shrink in terror from the contemplation of the vast hordes of ignorant and brutalized peasantry thronging to our shores.

Before inquiring as to general changes in our national condition which may justify a change of opinion and policy in this respect, let us deal briefly, as we must, with two opinions regarding the immigration of the past, which stand in the way of any fair consideration of the subject. These two opinions were, first, that immigration constituted a net re-enforcement of our population; secondly, that, in addition to this, or irrespective of this, immigration was necessary, in order to supply the laborers who should do certain kinds of work, imperatively demanded for the building up of our industrial and social structure, which natives of the soil were unwilling to undertake.

The former of these opinions was, so far as I am aware, held with absolute unanimity by our people; yet no popular belief was ever more unfounded. Space would not serve for the full statistical demonstration of the proposition that immigration, during the period from 1830 to 1860, instead of constituting a net reënforcement to the population, simply resulted in a replacement of native by foreign elements; but I believe it would be practicable to prove this to the satisfaction of every fair-minded man. Let it suffice to state a few matters which are beyond controversy.

The population of 1790 was almost wholly a native and wholly an acclimated population, and for forty years afterwards immigration remained at so low a rate as to be practically of no account; yet the people of the United States increased in numbers more rapidly than has ever elsewhere been known, in regard to any considerable population, over any considerable area, through any considerable period of time. Between 1790 and 1830 the nation grew from less than 4,000,000 to nearly 13,000,000, — an increase, in fact, of 227 per cent, a rate unparalleled in history. That increase was wholly out of the loins of our own people. Each decade had seen a growth of between 33 and 38 per cent, a doubling once in twenty-two or twenty-three years. During the thirty years which followed 1830, the conditions of life and reproduction in the United States were not less, but more, favorable than in the preceding period. Important changes relating to

the practice of medicine, the food and clothing of people, the general habits of living, took place, which were of a nature to increase the vitality and reproductive capability of the American people. Throughout this period, the standard of height, of weight, and of chest measurement was steadily rising, with the result that, of the men of all nationalities in the giant army formed to suppress the slaveholders' rebellion, the native American bore off the palm in respect to physical stature. The decline of this rate of increase among Americans began at the very time when foreign immigration first assumed considerable proportions; it showed itself first and in the highest degree in those regions, in those States, and in the very counties into which the foreigners most largely entered. It proceeded for a long time in such a way as absolutely to offset the foreign arrivals, so that in 1850, in spite of the incoming of two and a half millions of foreigners during thirty years, our population differed by less than ten thousand from the population which would have existed, according to the previous rate of increase, without reënforcement from abroad. These three facts, which might be shown by tables and diagrams, constitute a statistical demonstration such as is rarely attained in regard to the operation of any social or economic force.

But it may be asked, Is the proposition that the arrival of foreigners brought a check to the native increase a reasonable one? Is the cause thus suggested one which has elsewhere appeared as competent to produce such an effect? I answer, Yes. All human history shows that the principle of population is intensely sensitive to social and economic changes. Let social and economic conditions remain as they were, and population will go on increasing from year to year, and from decade to decade, with a regularity little short of the marvelous. Let social and economic conditions change, and population instantly responds. The arrival in the United States, between 1830 and 1840, and thereafter increasingly, of large numbers of degraded peasantry, created for the first time in this country distinct social classes, and produced an alteration of economic relations which could not fail powerfully to affect population. The appearance of vast numbers of men, foreign in birth and often in language, with a poorer standard

of living, with habits repellent to our native people, of an industrial grade suited only to the lowest kind of manual labor, was exactly such a cause as by any student of population would be expected to affect profoundly the growth of the native population. Americans shrank alike from the social contact and the economic competition thus created. They became increasingly unwilling to bring forth sons and daughters who should be obliged to compete in the market for labor and in the walks of life with those whom they did not recognize as of their own grade and condition. It has been said by some that during this time habits of luxury were entering, to reduce both the disposition and the ability to increase among our own population. In some small degree, in some restricted localities, this undoubtedly was the case; but prior to 1860 there was no such general growth of luxury in the United States as is competent to account for the effect seen. Indeed, I believe this was almost wholly due to the cause which has been indicated, — a cause recognized by every student of statistics and economics.

The second opinion regarding the immigration of the past, with which it seems well to deal before proceeding to the positive argument of the case, is that, whether desirable on other accounts or not, foreign immigration prior to 1860 was necessary in order to supply the country with a laboring class which should be able and willing to perform the lowest kind of work required in the upbuilding of our industrial and social structure, especially the making of railroads and canals. The opinion which has been cited constitutes, perhaps, the best example known to me of that putting the cart before the horse which is so commonly seen in sociological inquiry. When was it that native Americans first refused to do the lowest kinds of manual labor? I answer, When the foreigner came. Did the foreigner come because the native American refused longer to perform any kind of manual labor? No; the American refused because the foreigner came. Through all our early history, Americans, from Governor Winthrop, through Jonathan Edwards, to Ralph Waldo Emerson, had done every sort of work which was required for the comfort of their families and for the upbuilding of the state, and had

not been ashamed. They called nothing common or unclean, which needed to be done for their own good or for the good of all. But when the country was flooded with ignorant and unskilled foreigners, who could do nothing but the lowest kind of labor, Americans instinctively shrank from the contact and the competition thus offered to them. So long as manual labor, in whatever field, was to be done by all, each in his place, there was no revolt at it; but when working on railroads and canals became the sign of a want of education and of a low social condition, our own people gave it up, and left it to those who were able to do that, and nothing better.

We have of late had a very curious demonstration of the entire fallacy of the popular mode of reasoning on this subject, due to the arrival of a still lower laboring class. Within a few years, *Harper's Weekly* had an article in which the editor, after admitting that the Italians who have recently come in such vast numbers to our shores do not constitute a desirable element of the population, either socially or politically, yet claimed that it was a highly providential arrangement, since the Irish, who formerly did all the work of the country in the way of ditching and trenching were now standing aside. We have only to meet the argument thus in its second generation, so to speak, to see the complete fallacy of such reasoning. Does the Italian come because the Irishman refuses to work in ditches and trenches, in gangs; or has the Irishman taken this position because the Italian has come? The latter is undoubtedly the truth; and if the administrators of Baron Hirsch's estate send to us 2,000,000 of Russian Jews, we shall soon find the Italians standing on their dignity, and deeming themselves too good to work on streets and sewers and railroads. But meanwhile, what of the Republic? what of the American standard of living? what of the American rate of wages?

All that sort of reasoning about the necessity of having a mean kind of man to do a mean kind of work is greatly to be suspected. It is not possible to have a man who is too good to do any kind of work which the welfare of his family and of the community requires to be done. So long as we were left to increase out of the loins of our people, such a sentiment as

that we are now commenting upon made no appearance in American life. It is much to be doubted whether any material growth which is to be secured only by the degradation of our citizenship is a national gain, even from the most materialistic point of view.

Let us now inquire what are the changes in our general conditions which seem to demand a revision of the opinion and policy heretofore held regarding immigration. Three of these are subjective, affecting our capability of easily and safely taking care of a large and tumultuous access of foreigners; the fourth is objective, and concerns the character of the immigration now directed upon our shores. Time will serve for only a rapid characterization.

First, we have the important fact of the complete exhaustion of the free public lands of the United States. Fifty years ago, thirty years ago, vast tracts of arable land were open to every person arriving on our shores, under the Preëemption Act, or later, the Homestead Act. A good farm of one hundred and sixty acres could be had at the minimum price of \$1.25 an acre, or for merely the fees of registration. Under these circumstances it was a very simple matter to dispose of a large immigration. To-day there is not a good farm within the limits of the United States which is to be had under either of these acts. The wild and tumultuous scenes which attended the opening to settlement of the Territory of Oklahoma, a few years ago, and, a little later, of the so-called Cherokee Strip, testify eloquently to the vast change in our national conditions in this respect. This is not to say that more people cannot and will not, sooner or later, with more or less of care and pains and effort, be placed upon the land of the United States; but it does of itself alone show how vastly the difficulty of providing for immigration has increased. The immigrant must now buy his farm from a second hand, and he must pay the price which the value of the land for agricultural purposes determines. In the case of ninety-five out of a hundred immigrants, this necessity puts an immediate occupation of the soil out of the question.

A second change in our national condition, which importantly affects our capability of taking care of large numbers of ignorant and unskilled foreigners, is the fall of agricultural prices which has gone on steadily since 1873. It is not of the slightest

consequence to inquire into the causes of this fall, whether we refer it to the competition of Argentina and of India or to the appreciation of gold. We are interested only in the fact. There has been a great reduction in the cost of producing crops in some favored regions where steam plows and steam-reaping, steam-threshing, and steam-sacking machines can be employed; but there has been no reduction in the cost of producing crops upon the ordinary American farm at all corresponding to the reduction in the price of the produce. It is a necessary consequence of this, that the ability to employ a large number of uneducated and unskilled hands in agriculture has greatly diminished.

Still a third cause which may be indicated, perhaps more important than either of those thus far mentioned, is found in the fact that we have now a labor problem. We in the United States have been wont to pride ourselves greatly upon our so easily maintaining peace and keeping the social order unimpaired. We have, partly from a reasonable patriotic pride, partly also from something like Phariseism, been much given to pointing at our European cousins, and boasting superiority over them in this respect. Our self-gratulation has been largely due to overlooking social differences between us and them. That boasted superiority has been owing mainly, not to our institutions, but to our more favorable conditions. There is no country of Europe which has not for a long time had a labor problem; that is, which has not so largely exploited its own natural resources, and which has not a labor supply so nearly meeting the demands of the market at their fullest, that hard times and periods of industrial depression have brought a serious strain through extensive non-employment of labor. From this evil condition we have, until recently, happily been free. During the last few years, however, we have ourselves come under the shadow of this evil, in spite of our magnificent natural resources. We know what it is to have even intelligent and skilled labor unemployed through considerable periods of time. This change of conditions is likely to bring some abatement to our national pride. No longer is it a matter of course that every industrious and temperate man can find work in the United States. And it is to be remembered that, of all nations, we are the one which is least qualified to deal with a labor problem. We have not the

machinery, we have not the army, we have not the police, we have not the traditions and instincts, for dealing with such a matter, as the great railroad and other strikes of the last few years have shown.

I have spoken of three changes in the national condition, all subjective, which greatly affect our capability of dealing with a large and tumultuous immigration. There is a fourth, which is objective. It concerns the character of the foreigners now resorting to our shores. Fifty, even thirty, years ago, there was a rightful presumption regarding the average immigrant that he was among the most enterprising, thrifty, alert, adventurous, and courageous, of the community from which he came. It required no small energy, prudence, forethought, and pains to conduct the inquiries relating to his migration, to accumulate the necessary means, and to find his way across the Atlantic. To-day the presumption is completely reversed. So thoroughly has the Continent of Europe been crossed by railways, so effectively has the business of emigration there been exploited, so much have the rates of railroad fares and ocean passage been reduced, that it is now among the least thrifty and prosperous members of any European community that the emigration agent finds his best recruiting ground. The care and pains required have been reduced to a minimum; while the agent of the Red Star Line or the White Star Line is everywhere at hand, to suggest migration to those who are not getting on well at home. The intending emigrants are looked after from the moment they are locked into the cars in their native village until they stretch themselves upon the floors of the buildings on Ellis Island, in New York. Illustrations of the ease and facility with which this Pipe Line Immigration is now carried on might be given in profusion. So broad and smooth is the channel, there is no reason why every foul and stagnant pool of population in Europe, which no breath of intellectual or industrial life has stirred for ages, should not be decanted upon our soil. Hard times here may momentarily check the flow; but it will not be permanently stopped so long as *any difference of economic level* exists between our population and that of the most degraded communities abroad.

But it is not alone that the presumption regarding the immigrant of to-day is so widely different from that which existed

regarding the immigrant of thirty or fifty years ago. The immigrant of the former time came almost exclusively from western or northern Europe. We have now tapped great reservoirs of population then almost unknown to the passenger lists of our arriving vessels. Only a short time ago, the immigrants from southern Italy, Hungary, Austria, and Russia together made up hardly more than one per cent of our immigration. To-day the proportion has risen to something like forty per cent, and threatens soon to become fifty or sixty per cent, or even more. The entrance into our political, social, and industrial life of such vast masses of peasantry, degraded below our utmost conceptions, is a matter which no intelligent patriot can look upon without the gravest apprehension and alarm. These people have no history behind them which is of a nature to give encouragement. They have none of the inherited instincts and tendencies which made it comparatively easy to deal with the immigration of the olden time. They are beaten men from beaten races; representing the worst failures in the struggle for existence. Centuries are against them, as centuries were on the side of those who formerly came to us. They have none of the ideas and aptitudes which fit men to take up readily and easily the problem of self-care and self-government, such as belong to those who are descended from the tribes that met under the oak trees of old Germany to make laws and choose chieftains.

Their habits of life, again, are of the most revolting kind. Read the description given by Mr. Riis, of the police driving from the garbage dumps the miserable beings who try to burrow in those depths of unutterable filth and slime in order that they may eat and sleep there! Was it in cement like this that the foundations of our republic were laid? What effects must be produced upon our social standards, and upon the ambitions and aspirations of our people, by a contact so foul and loathsome? The influence upon the American rate of wages of a competition like this cannot fail to be injurious and even disastrous. Already it has been seriously felt in the tobacco manufacture, in the clothing trade, and in many forms of mining industry; and unless this access of vast numbers of unskilled workmen of the lowest type, in a market already fully supplied with labor, shall be checked, it cannot fail to go on from bad to worse, in breaking

down the standard which has been maintained with so much care and at so much cost. The competition of paupers is far more telling and more killing than the competition of pauper-made goods. Degraded labor in the slums of foreign cities may be prejudicial to intelligent, ambitious, self-respecting labor here; but it does not threaten half so much evil as does degraded labor in the garrets of our native cities.

Finally, the present situation is most menacing to our peace and political safety. In all the social and industrial disorders of this country since 1877, the foreign elements have proved themselves the ready tools of demagogues in defying the law, in destroying property, and in working violence. A learned clergyman who mingled with the socialistic mob which, two years ago, threatened the State House and the governor of Massachusetts, told me that during the entire disturbance he heard no word spoken in any language which he knew, — either in English, in German, or in French. There may be those who can contemplate the addition to our population of vast numbers of persons having no inherited instincts of self-government and respect for law; knowing no restraint upon their own passions but the club of the policeman or the bayonet of the soldier; forming communities, by the tens of thousands, in which only foreign tongues are spoken, and into which can steal no influence from our free institutions and from popular discussion. But I confess to being far less optimistic. I have conversed with one of the highest officers of the United States army and with one of the highest officers of the civil government regarding the state of affairs which existed during the summer of 1894; and the revelations they made of facts not generally known, going to show how the ship of state grazed along its whole side upon the rocks, were enough to appall the most sanguine American, the most hearty believer in free government. Have we the right to expose the republic to any increase of the dangers from this source which now so manifestly threaten our peace and safety?

For it is never to be forgotten that self-defense is the first law of nature and of nations. If that man who careth not for his own household is worse than an infidel, the nation which permits its institutions to be endangered by any cause which

can fairly be removed is guilty, not less in Christian than in natural law. Charity begins at home; and while the people of the United States have gladly offered an asylum to millions upon millions of the distressed and unfortunate of other lands and climes, they have no right to carry their hospitality one step beyond the line where American institutions, the American rate of wages, the American standard of living, are brought into serious peril. All the good the United States could do by offering indiscriminate hospitality to a few millions more of European peasants, whose places at home will, within another generation, be filled by others as miserable as themselves, would not compensate for any permanent injury done to our republic. Our highest duty to charity and to humanity is to make this great experiment, here, of free laws and educated labor, the most triumphant success that can possibly be attained. In this way we shall do far more for Europe than by allowing its city slums and its vast stagnant reservoirs of degraded peasantry to be drained off upon our soil. Within the decade between 1880 and 1890 five and a quarter millions of foreigners entered our ports! No nation in human history ever undertook to deal with such masses of alien population. That man must be a sentimentalist and an optimist beyond all bounds of reason who believes that we can take such a load upon the national stomach without a failure of assimilation, and without great danger to the healthy life of the nation. For one, I believe it is time that we should take a rest, and give our social, political, and industrial system some chance to recuperate. The problems which so sternly confront us to-day are serious enough, without being complicated and aggravated by the addition of some millions of Hungarians, Bohemians, Poles, south Italians, and Russian Jews.

THE SELECTION OF IMMIGRANTS¹

EDWARD T. DEVINE, DIRECTOR, NEW YORK SCHOOL OF
PHILANTHROPY

ON THE main subject the Immigration Commission has spoken clearly and its recommendation should become law. There must be effective restriction and selection for the purpose of maintaining American standards of living. In reply to the demand for a more rigorous selection of immigrants we hear two mutually contradictory assertions. One is that there are not enough immigrants to do any harm — after allowance is made for those who return. The other is that we have no standards anyway, — at least that there is no one who has a right to speak for them, as we are all immigrants of a first, or a later, generation. Both assertions are untenable. There are, in fact, American standards, transplanted in part by those who founded our republic, developed in part on our own soil, influenced by the reaction of other standards in other nations, and yet distinctively American: — standards moral, political, and economic; standards unique and precious, worth fighting for; worth, if need be, dying for; worth preserving at all hazards for ourselves and our children, and yet not selfishly for our sake and theirs only, but also as a sacred duty towards mankind; and these standards are gravely imperiled by the annual addition of an unsifted million of newcomers whose standards are different from ours.

We do have a right to assert vigorously the value of our nation heritage, and, though it may seem old-fashioned to say it, we do have a sacred duty to transmit it unimpaired — which is not to say unchanged — to our posterity. To some extent this heritage is one of race. Its creators gave it to us with their blood. It has been enriched by many crossings of races, but biologists tell us that mingling within limits is beneficial, beyond those limits productive only of a mongrel and degenerate breed. Let no one read into this expression of national responsibility for

¹ From *The Survey*, February 4, 1911.

American standards a shred of bigotry or prejudice against any of the peoples of the earth. Modern social ideals are neither provincial nor sectarian. It is precisely because of a passionate attachment to the true interests of humanity that social workers may look with profound distrust upon the demand for cheap immigrant labor. Genuine humane sentiment is not inconsistent with the maintenance of community and national standards.

Employers of the exploiting type make no mistake, from their own point of view, when they demand cheap immigrant labor. They can figure it out with great precision. They know that as a rule this labor is less skillful, less intelligent, less efficient, less inherently desirable, than the native labor or the earlier immigrant labor from more closely related peoples. But there are great compensations. It is the very best labor in one particular. It can be exploited. That is the whole disagreeable truth in a nutshell. Lower wages, longer hours, crowded living quarters, fewer claimants in case of death or injury from accidents, less trade-union "nonsense," fewer trade disputes, less sympathy from the disinterested public for the laborer's side when there is a dispute, less public concern generally as to what is happening in the mill when the laborers are foreigners. Such are some of the considerations which turn the balance in favor of immigrant labor. The wages demanded are enough lower to give an ample margin for more effective supervision. The general tendency of improved machinery is to decrease relatively the demand for skilled labor, thus permitting the profitable employment of fresh supplies of entirely unskilled, but physically strong, immigrants. Out on the railways of the Northwest the first object for which immigrants will strike is for the privilege of working twelve hours instead of ten, and the next is for the privilege of working on Sunday. In this instance employers, paying by the hour and not having expensive mills in operation, resist the demand, for the labor of the eleventh and twelfth hours is relatively unproductive. The men are already exhausted. To laborers of a higher standard the leisure for physical recuperation would be worth more than the small addition to their wages. To these men the money is more important. Here we have a simple, but perfect, illustration of that conflict of standards to which the nation as a whole cannot afford to be indifferent.

It is then in the ultimate and in the very immediate interests of the oppressed and struggling everywhere that America should maintain her standards. She may give generously from her surplus. She may enlighten by her example. She may throw her influence and if necessary exert her might against oppression. But one thing she may not do: extinguish the light with which she is to enlighten the world. To lower our own standards is the only treason. To reduce the position of our workingmen to that of the communities from which our immigration is coming is to destroy, perhaps forever, the very power to serve.

There should be no opposition or rivalry between the policy of selection and the policy of distribution and assimilation by every practicable device. Both are essential. No restriction which is at all likely to be adopted will sensibly diminish the need for such aid both by philanthropy and by government. Good hard thinking as to how best to assimilate those whom we already have and those who are certain to come even under a policy of much more strict selection is of the utmost importance. Except for the Educational Alliance, the Industrial Removal Society, and the Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants, there has been almost no instructive experiment and scarcely any clear thinking on this subject. Let these experiments by all means be greatly extended, but let us be modest about calling any of them as yet a "true solution of the immigration question." Under the conditions of actual life we shall have to deal in partial solutions, among which, as we have intimated, the recommendation of the Immigrant Commission as to restriction deserves prompt and favorable consideration.

The illiteracy test is crude and unsatisfactory but it is practicable and humane. As a rule ambitious illiterates desiring to migrate can overcome this disqualification, and the fact of their having done so will augur well for their future success in the land of their adoption.

THE LITERACY TEST: THREE HISTORIC VETOES¹

GROVER CLEVELAND

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: I hereby return without approval House bill No. 7864, entitled "An act to amend the immigration laws of the United States."

By the first section of this bill it is proposed to amend section 1 of the act of March 3, 1891, relating to immigration by adding to the classes of aliens thereby excluded from admission to the United States the following:

"All persons physically capable and over 16 years of age who cannot read and write the English language or some other language. . . ."

A radical departure from our national policy relating to immigrants is here presented. Heretofore we have welcomed all who came to us from other lands except these whose moral or physical condition or history threatened danger to our national welfare and safety. Relying upon the zealous watchfulness of our people to prevent injury to our political and social fabric, we have encouraged those coming from foreign countries to cast their lot with us and join in the development of our vast domain, securing in return a share in the blessings of American citizenship.

A century's stupendous growth, largely due to the assimilation and thrift of millions of sturdy and patriotic adopted citizens, attests the success of this generous and free-handed policy which, while guarding the people's interests, exacts from our immigrants only physical and moral soundness and a willingness and ability to work.

A contemplation of the grand results of this policy cannot fail to rouse a sentiment in its defense, for however it might have been regarded as an original proposition and viewed as an experiment, its accomplishments are such that if it is to be uprooted at this late day its disadvantages should be plainly

¹ From the Congressional Record, February 1, 1917, pp. 2691-2694.

apparent and the substitute adopted should be just and adequate, free from uncertainties, and guarded against difficult or oppressive administration.

It is not claimed, I believe, that the time has come for the further restriction of immigration on the ground that an excess of population overcrowds our land.

It is said, however, that the quality of recent immigration is undesirable. The time is quite within recent memory when the same thing was said of immigrants who, with their descendants, are now numbered among our best citizens.

A careful examination of this bill has convinced me that for the reasons given and others not specifically stated its provisions are unnecessarily harsh and oppressive, and that its defects in construction would cause vexation and its operation would result in harm to our citizens.

THE WHITE HOUSE, MARCH 2, 1897.

WILLIAM H. TAFT

TO THE SENATE: I return herewith, without my approval, S. 3175.

I do this with great reluctance. The bill contains many valuable amendments to the present immigration law which will insure greater certainty in excluding undesirable immigrants.

The bill received strong support in both Houses and was recommended by an able commission after an extended investigation and carefully drawn conclusions.

But I cannot make up my mind to sign a bill which in its chief provision violates a principle that ought, in my opinion, to be upheld in dealing with our immigration. I refer to the literacy test. For the reasons stated in Secretary Nagel's letter to me, I cannot approve that test.

THE WHITE HOUSE, FEBRUARY 14, 1913.

WOODROW WILSON

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: It is with unaffected regret that I find myself constrained by clear conviction to return this bill (H. R. 6060, "An act to regulate the immigration

of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States”) without my signature. Not only do I feel it to be a very serious matter to exercise the power of veto in any case, because it involves opposing the single judgment of the President to the judgment of a majority of both the Houses of the Congress, a step which no man who realizes his own liability to error can take without great hesitation, but also because this particular bill is in so many important respects admirable, well conceived, and desirable. Its enactment into law would undoubtedly enhance the efficiency and improve the methods of handling the important branch of the public service to which it relates. But candor and a sense of duty with regard to the responsibility so clearly imposed upon me by the Constitution in matters of legislation leave me no choice but to dissent.

In two particulars of vital consequence this bill embodies a radical departure from the traditional and long-established policy of this country, a policy in which our people have conceived the very character of their Government to be expressed, the very mission and spirit of the Nation in respect of its relations to the peoples of the world outside their borders. It seeks to all but close entirely the gates of asylum which have always been open to those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the natural and inalienable rights of men; and it excludes those to whom the opportunities of elementary education have been denied, without regard to their character, their purposes, or their natural capacity.

Restrictions like these, adopted earlier in our history as a Nation, would very materially have altered the course and cooled the humane ardors of our politics. The right of political asylum has brought to this country many a man of noble character and elevated purpose who was marked as an outlaw in his own less fortunate land, and who has yet become an ornament to our citizenship and to our public councils. The children and the compatriots of these illustrious Americans must stand amazed to see the representatives of their Nation now resolved, in the fullness of our national strength and at the maturity of our great institutions, to risk turning such men back from our shores without test of quality or purpose. It is difficult for me to believe that the full effect of this feature of the bill was realized when it

was framed and adopted, and it is impossible for me to assent to it in the form in which it is here cast.

The literacy test and the tests and restrictions which accompany it constitute an even more radical change in the policy of the Nation. Hitherto we have generously kept our doors open to all who were not unfitted by reason of disease or incapacity for self-support or such personal records and antecedents as were likely to make them a menace to our peace and order or to the wholesome and essential relationships of life. In this bill it is proposed to turn away from tests of character and of quality and impose tests which exclude and restrict, for the new tests here embodied are not tests of quality or of character or of personal fitness, but tests of opportunity. Those who come seeking opportunity are not to be admitted unless they have already had one of the chief of the opportunities they seek, the opportunity of education. The object of such provisions is restriction, not selection.

If the people of this country have made up their minds to limit the number of immigrants by arbitrary tests and so reverse the policy of all the generations of Americans that have gone before them, it is their right to do so. I am their servant and have no license to stand in their way. But I do not believe that they have. I respectfully submit that no one can quote their mandate to that effect. Has any political party ever avowed a policy of restriction of this fundamental matter, gone to the country on it, and been commissioned to control its legislation? Does this bill rest upon the conscious and universal assent and desire of the American people? I doubt it. It is because I doubt it that I make bold to dissent from it. I am willing to abide by the verdict, but not until it has been rendered. Let the platforms of parties speak out upon this policy and the people pronounce their wish. The matter is too fundamental to be settled otherwise.

I have no pride of opinion in this question. I am not foolish enough to profess to know the wishes and ideals of America better than the body of her chosen representatives know them. I only want instruction direct from those whose fortunes, with ours and all men's, are involved.

THE WHITE HOUSE, JANUARY 28, 1915.

I very much regret to return this bill without my signature.

In most of the provisions of the bill I should be very glad to concur, but I cannot rid myself of the conviction that the literacy test constitutes a radical change in the policy of the nation which is not justified in principle. ~~It is not a test of character, of quality, or of personal fitness, but would operate in most cases merely as a penalty for lack of opportunity in the country from which the alien seeking admission came. The opportunity to gain an education is in many cases one of the chief opportunities sought by the immigrant in coming to the United States, and our experience in the past has not been that the illiterate immigrant is as such an undesirable immigrant. Tests of quality and of purpose cannot be objected to on principle, but tests of opportunity surely may be.~~

Moreover, even if this test might be equitably insisted on, one of the exceptions proposed to its application involves a provision which might lead to very delicate and hazardous diplomatic situations.

The bill exempts from the operation of the literacy test "all aliens who shall prove to the satisfaction of the proper immigration officer or to the Secretary of Labor that they are seeking admission to the United States to avoid religious persecution in the country of their last permanent residence, whether such persecution be evidenced by overt acts or by laws or governmental regulations that discriminate against the alien or the race to which he belongs because of his religious faith."

Such a provision, so applied and administered, would oblige the officer concerned in effect to pass judgment upon the laws and practices of a foreign government, and declare that they did or did not constitute religious persecutions. This would, to say the least, be a most invidious function for any administrative officer of this Government to perform, and it is not only possible, but probable, that very serious questions of international justice and ~~comity~~ would arise between this Government and the government or governments thus officially condemned, should its exercise be adopted.

I dare say that these consequences were not in the minds of the proponents of this provision, but the provision separately and in itself renders it unwise for me to give my assent to this legislation in its present form.

THE WHITE HOUSE, JANUARY 29, 1917.

*Property of
Christian Jensen*

THE IMMIGRATION LAW OF 1917

AN ACT TO REGULATE THE IMMIGRATION OF ALIENS TO, AND THE
RESIDENCE OF ALIENS IN, THE UNITED STATES

BE IT ENACTED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, That the word "alien" wherever used in this Act shall include any person not a native-born or naturalized citizen of the United States; but this definition shall not be held to include Indians of the United States not taxed or citizens of the islands under the jurisdiction of the United States. That the term "United States" as used in the title as well as in the various sections of this Act shall be construed to mean the United States, and any waters, territory, or other place subject to the jurisdiction thereof, except the Isthmian Canal Zone; but if any alien shall leave the Canal Zone or any insular possession of the United States and attempt to enter any other place under the jurisdiction of the United States, nothing contained in this Act shall be construed as permitting him to enter under any other conditions than those applicable to all aliens. That the term "seaman" as used in this Act shall include every person signed on the ship's articles and employed in any capacity on board any vessel arriving in the United States from any foreign port or place.

That this Act shall be enforced in the Philippine Islands by officers of the general government thereof, unless and until it is superseded by an act passed by the Philippine Legislature and approved by the President of the United States to regulate immigration in the Philippine Islands as authorized in the Act entitled "An Act to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands," approved August twenty-ninth, nineteen hundred and sixteen.

SEC. 2. That there shall be levied, collected, and paid a tax of \$8 for every alien, including alien seamen regularly admitted as

provided in this Act, entering the United States: *Provided*, That children under sixteen years of age who accompany their father or their mother shall not be subject to said tax. The said tax shall be paid to the collector of customs of the port or customs district to which said alien shall come, or, if there be no collector at such port or district, then to the collector nearest thereto, by the master, agent, owner, or consignee of the vessel, transportation line, or other conveyance or vehicle bringing such alien to the United States, or by the alien himself if he does not come by a vessel, transportation line, or other conveyance or vehicle or when collection from the master, agent, owner, or consignee of the vessel, transportation line, or other conveyance, or vehicle bringing such alien to the United States is impracticable. The tax imposed by this section shall be a lien upon the vessel or other vehicle of carriage or transportation bringing such aliens to the United States, and shall be a debt in favor of the United States against the owner or owners of such vessel or other vehicle, and the payment of such tax may be enforced by any legal or equitable remedy. That the said tax shall not be levied on account of aliens who enter the United States after an uninterrupted residence of at least one year immediately preceding such entrance in the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, the Republic of Cuba, or the Republic of Mexico, for a temporary stay, nor on account of otherwise admissible residents or citizens of any possession of the United States, nor on account of aliens in transit through the United States, nor upon aliens who have been lawfully admitted to the United States and who later shall go in transit from one part of the United States to another through foreign contiguous territory, and the Commissioner General of Immigration with the approval of the Secretary of Labor shall issue rules and regulations and prescribe the conditions necessary to prevent abuse of these exceptions: *Provided*, That the Commissioner-General of Immigration, under the direction or with the approval of the Secretary of Labor, by agreement with transportation lines, as provided in section twenty-three of this Act, may arrange in some other manner for the payment of the tax imposed by this section upon any or all aliens seeking admission from foreign contiguous territory: *Provided further*, That said tax, when levied upon aliens entering the Philippine

Islands, shall be paid into the treasury of said islands, to be expended for the benefit of such islands: *Provided further*, That in the cases of aliens applying for admission from foreign contiguous territory and rejected, the head tax collected shall upon application, upon a blank which shall be furnished and explained to him, be refunded to the alien.

SEC. 2. That the following classes of aliens shall be excluded from admission into the United States: All idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons; persons who have had one or more attacks of insanity at any time previously; persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority; persons with chronic alcoholism; paupers; professional beggars; vagrants; persons afflicted with tuberculosis in any form or with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease; persons not comprehended within any of the foregoing excluded classes who are found to be and are certified by the examining surgeon as being mentally or physically defective, such physical defect being of a nature which may affect the ability of such alien to earn a living; persons who have been convicted of or admit having committed a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude; polygamists, or persons who practice polygamy or believe in or advocate the practice of polygamy; anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, or of all forms of law, or who disbelieve in or are opposed to organized government, or who advocate the assassination of public officials, or who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property; persons who are members of or affiliated with any organization entertaining and teaching disbelief in or opposition to organized government, or who advocate or teach the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or of officers generally, of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character, or who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property; prostitutes, or persons coming into the United States for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose; persons who directly or indirectly procure or attempt to procure or import prostitutes or persons for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose;

persons who are supported by or receive in whole or in part the proceeds of prostitution; persons hereinafter called contract laborers, who have been induced, assisted, encouraged, or solicited to migrate to this country by offers or promises of employment, whether such offers or promises are true or false, or in consequence of agreements, oral, written or printed, express or implied, to perform labor in this country of any kind, skilled or unskilled; persons who have come in consequence of advertisements for laborers printed, published, or distributed in a foreign country; persons likely to become a public charge; persons who have been deported under any of the provisions of this Act, and who may again seek admission within one year from the date of such deportation, unless prior to their reëmbarkation at a foreign port or their attempt to be admitted from foreign contiguous territory the Secretary of Labor shall have consented to their reapplying for admission; persons whose tickets or passage is paid for with the money of another, or who are assisted by others to come, unless it is affirmatively and satisfactorily shown that such persons do not belong to one of the foregoing excluded classes; persons whose ticket or passage is paid for by any corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign Government, either directly or indirectly; stowaways, except that any such stowaway, if otherwise admissible, may be admitted in the discretion of the Secretary of Labor; all children under sixteen years of age, unaccompanied by or not coming to one or both of their parents, except that any such children may, in the discretion of the Secretary of Labor, be admitted if in his opinion they are not likely to become a public charge and are otherwise eligible; unless otherwise provided for by existing treaties, persons who are natives of islands not possessed by the United States adjacent to the Continent of Asia, situate south of the twentieth parallel latitude north, west of the one hundred and sixtieth meridian of longitude east from Greenwich, and north of the tenth parallel of latitude south, or who are natives of any country, province, or dependency situate on the Continent of Asia west of the one hundred and tenth meridian of longitude east from Greenwich and east of the fiftieth meridian of longitude east from Greenwich and south of the fiftieth parallel of latitude north, except that portion of said territory situate between the

fiftieth and the sixty-fourth meridians of longitude east from Greenwich and the twenty-fourth and thirty-eighth parallels of latitude north, and no alien now in any way excluded from, or prevented from entering, the United States shall be admitted to the United States. The provision next foregoing, however, shall not apply to persons of the following status or occupations: Government officers, ministers or religious teachers, missionaries, lawyers, physicians, chemists, civil engineers, teachers, students, authors, artists, merchants, and travelers for curiosity or pleasure nor to their legal wives or their children under sixteen years of age who shall accompany them or who subsequently may apply for admission to the United States, but such persons or their legal wives or foreign-born children who fail to maintain in the United States a status or occupation placing them within the excepted classes shall be deemed to be in the United States contrary to law, and shall be subject to deportation as provided in section nineteen of this Act.

That after three months from the passage of this Act, in addition to the aliens who are by law now excluded from admission into the United States, the following persons shall also be excluded from admission thereto, to wit:

All aliens over sixteen years of age, physically capable of reading, who cannot read the English language, or some other language or dialect, including Hebrew or Yiddish: *Provided*, That any admissible alien, or any alien heretofore or hereafter legally admitted, or any citizen of the United States, may bring in or send for his father or grandfather over fifty-five years of age, his wife, his mother, his grandmother, or his unmarried or widowed daughter, if otherwise admissible, whether such relative can read or not; and such relative shall be permitted to enter. That for the purpose of ascertaining whether aliens can read the immigrant inspectors shall be furnished with slips of uniform size, prepared under the direction of the Secretary of Labor, each containing not less than thirty nor more than forty words in ordinary use, printed in plainly legible type in some one of the various languages or dialects of immigrants. Each alien may designate the particular language or dialect in which he desires the examination to be made, and shall be required to read the words printed on the slip in such language or dialect. That the

following classes of persons shall be exempt from the operation of the illiteracy test, to wit: All aliens who shall prove to the satisfaction of the proper immigration officer or to the Secretary of Labor that they are seeking admission to the United States to avoid religious persecution in the country of their last permanent residence, whether such persecution be evidenced by overt acts or by laws or governmental regulations that discriminate against the alien or the race to which he belongs because of his religious faith; all aliens who have been lawfully admitted to the United States and who have resided therein continuously for five years and who return to the United States within six months from the date of their departure therefrom; all aliens in transit through the United States; all aliens who have been lawfully admitted to the United States and who later shall go in transit from one part of the United States to another through foreign contiguous territory: *Provided*, That nothing in this Act shall exclude, if otherwise admissible, persons convicted, or who admit the commission, or who teach or advocate the commission, of an offense purely political: *Provided further*, That the provisions of this Act, relating to the payments for tickets or passage by any corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign Government shall not apply to the tickets or passage of aliens in immediate and continuous transit through the United States to foreign contiguous territory: *Provided further*, That skilled labor, if otherwise admissible, may be imported if labor of like kind unemployed cannot be found in this country, and the question of the necessity of importing such skilled labor in any particular instance may be determined by the Secretary of Labor upon the application of any person interested, such application to be made before such importation, and such determination by the Secretary of Labor to be reached after a full hearing and an investigation into the facts of the case: *Provided further*, That the provisions of this law applicable to contract labor shall not be held to exclude professional actors, artists, lecturers, singers, nurses, ministers of any religious denomination, professors for colleges or seminaries, persons belonging to any recognized learned profession, or persons employed as domestic servants: *Provided further*, That whenever the President shall be satisfied that passports issued by any foreign Government to its citizens or subjects to go to any country

other than the United States, or to any insular possession of the United States or to the Canal Zone, are being used for the purpose of enabling the holder to come to the continental territory of the United States to the detriment of labor conditions therein, the President shall refuse to permit such citizens or subjects of the country issuing such passports to enter the continental territory of the United States from such other country or from such insular possession or from the Canal Zone: *Provided further*, That aliens returning after a temporary absence to an unrelinquished United States domicile of seven consecutive years may be admitted in the discretion of the Secretary of Labor, and under such conditions as he may prescribe: *Provided further*, That nothing in the contract-labor or reading-test provisions of this Act shall be construed to prevent, hinder, or restrict any alien exhibitor, or holder of concession or privilege for any fair or exposition authorized by Act of Congress, from bringing into the United States, under contract, such otherwise admissible alien mechanics, artisans, agents, or other employees, natives of his country as may be necessary for installing or conducting his exhibit or for preparing for installing or conducting any business authorized or permitted under any concession or privilege which may have been or may be granted by any such fair or exposition in connection therewith, under such rules and regulations as the Commissioner-General of Immigration, with the approval of the Secretary of Labor, may prescribe both as to the admission and return of such persons: *Provided further*, That the Commissioner-General of Immigration with the approval of the Secretary of Labor shall issue rules and prescribe conditions, including exaction of such bonds as may be necessary, to control and regulate the admission and return of otherwise inadmissible aliens applying for temporary admission: *Provided further*, That nothing in this Act shall be construed to apply to accredited officials of foreign Governments, nor to their suites, families, or guests.

SEC. 4. That the importation into the United States of any alien for the purpose of prostitution, or for any other immoral purpose, is hereby forbidden; and whoever shall, directly or indirectly, import, or attempt to import into the United States any alien for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose, or shall hold or attempt to hold any alien for any such

purpose in pursuance of such illegal importation, or shall keep, maintain, control, support, employ, or harbor in any house or other place, for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose, any alien, in pursuance of such illegal importation shall in every such case be deemed guilty of a felony, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment for a term of not more than ten years and by a fine of not more than \$5000. Jurisdiction for the trial and punishment of the felonies hereinbefore set forth shall be in any district to or into which said alien is brought in pursuance of said importation by the person or persons accused, or in any district in which a violation of any of the foregoing provisions of this section occurs. That any alien who shall, after he has been excluded and deported or arrested and deported in pursuance of the provisions of this Act which relate to prostitutes, procurers, or other like immoral persons, attempt thereafter to return to or to enter the United States shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment for a term of not more than two years. In all prosecutions under this section the testimony of a husband or wife shall be admissible and competent evidence against each other.

SEC. 5. That it shall be unlawful for any person, company, partnership, or corporation, in any manner whatsoever, to prepay the transportation or in any way to induce, assist, encourage, or solicit, or attempt to induce, assist, encourage, or solicit the importation or migration of any contract laborer or contract laborers into the United States, unless such contract laborer or contract laborers are exempted under the fifth proviso of section three of this Act, or have been imported with the permission of the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the fourth proviso of said section, and for every violation of any of the provisions of this section the person, partnership, company, or corporation violating the same shall forfeit and pay for every such offense the sum of \$1000, which may be sued for and recovered by the United States, as debts of like amount are now recovered in the courts of the United States. For every violation of the provisions hereof the person violating the same may be prosecuted in a criminal action for a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of \$1000 or by imprisonment for

a term of not less than six months nor more than two years; and under either the civil or the criminal procedure mentioned separate suits or prosecutions may be brought for each alien thus offered or promised employment as aforesaid. The Department of Justice, with the approval of the Department of Labor, may from any fines or penalties received pay rewards to persons other than Government employees who may furnish information leading to the recovery of any such penalties, or to the arrest and punishment of any person, as in this section provided.

SEC. 6. That it shall be unlawful and be deemed a violation of section five of this Act to induce, assist, encourage, or solicit or attempt to induce, assist, encourage, or solicit any alien to come into the United States by promise of employment through advertisements printed, published, or distributed in any foreign country, whether such promise is true or false, and either the civil or criminal penalty or both imposed by said section shall be applicable to such a case.

SEC. 7. That it shall be unlawful for any person, association, society, company, partnership, corporation, or others engaged in the business of transporting aliens to or within the United States, including owners, masters, officers, and agents of vessels, directly or indirectly, by writing, printing, oral representation, payment of any commissions to an alien coming into the United States, allowance of any rebates to an alien coming into the United States, or otherwise to solicit, invite, or encourage or attempt to solicit, invite, or encourage any alien to come into the United States, and any one violating any provision hereof shall be subject to either the civil or the criminal prosecution, or both, prescribed by section five of this Act; or if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the Secretary of Labor that any owner, master, officer, or agent of a vessel has brought or caused to be brought to a port of the United States any alien so solicited, invited, or encouraged to come by such owner, master, officer, or agent, such owner, master, officer, or agent shall pay to the collector of customs of the customs district in which the port of arrival is located, or in which any vessel of the line may be found, the sum of \$400 for each and every such violation; and no vessel shall be granted clearance pending the determination of the question of the liability to the payment of such fine, or while the fine imposed

remains unpaid, nor shall such fine be remitted or refunded: *Provided*, That clearance may be granted prior to the determination of such questions upon the deposit with the collector of customs of a sum sufficient to cover such fine: *Provided further*, that whenever it shall be shown to the satisfaction of the Secretary of Labor that the provisions of this section are persistently violated by or on behalf of any transportation company, it shall be the duty of said Secretary to deny to such company the privilege of landing alien immigrant passengers of any or all classes at United States ports for such a period as in his judgment may be necessary to insure an observance of such provisions: *Provided further*, That this section shall not be held to prevent transportation companies from issuing letters, circulars, or advertisements, confined strictly to stating the sailing of their vessels and terms and facilities of transportation therein: *Provided further*, That under sections five, six, and seven hereof it shall be presumed from the fact that any person, company, partnership, corporation, association, or society induces, assists, encourages, solicits or invites, or attempts to induce, assist, encourage, solicit or invite the importation, migration or coming of an alien from a country foreign to the United States, that the offender had knowledge of such person's alienage.

SEC. 8. That any person, including the master, agent, owner, or consignee of any vessel, who shall bring into or land in the United States, by vessel or otherwise, or shall attempt, by himself or through another, to bring into or land in the United States, by vessel or otherwise, or shall conceal or harbor, or attempt to conceal or harbor, or assist or abet another to conceal or harbor in any place, including any building, vessel, railway car, conveyance, or vehicle, any alien not duly admitted by an immigrant inspector or not lawfully entitled to enter or to reside within the United States under the terms of this Act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$2000 and by imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years, for each and every alien so landed or brought in or attempted to be landed or brought in.

SEC. 9. That it shall be unlawful for any person, including any transportation company other than railway lines entering the United States from foreign contiguous territory, or the owner,

master, agent, or consignee of any vessel to bring to the United States either from a foreign country or any insular possession of the United States any alien afflicted with idiocy, insanity, imbecility, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, constitutional psychopathic inferiority, chronic alcoholism, tuberculosis in any form, or a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, and if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the Secretary of Labor that any alien so brought to the United States was afflicted with any of the said diseases or disabilities at the time of foreign embarkation, and that the existence of such disease or disability might have been detected by means of a competent medical examination at such time, such person or transportation company, or the master, agent, owner, or consignee of any such vessel shall pay to the collector of customs of the customs district in which the port of arrival is located the sum of \$200, and in addition a sum equal to that paid by such alien for his transportation from the initial point of departure, indicated in his ticket, to the port of arrival for each and every violation of the provisions of this section, such latter sum to be delivered by the collector of customs to the alien on whose account assessed. It shall also be unlawful for any such person to bring to any port of the United States any alien afflicted with any mental defect other than those above specifically named, or physical defect of a nature which may affect his ability to earn a living, as contemplated in section three of this Act, and if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the Secretary of Labor that any alien so brought to the United States was so afflicted at the time of foreign embarkation, and that the existence of such mental or physical defect might have been detected by means of a competent medical examination at such time, such person shall pay to the collector of customs of the customs district in which the port of arrival is located the sum of \$25, and in addition a sum equal to that paid by such alien for his transportation from the initial point of departure, indicated in his ticket, to the port of arrival, for each and every violation of this provision, such latter sum to be delivered by the collector of customs to the alien for whose account assessed. It shall also be unlawful for any such person to bring to any port of the United States any alien who is excluded by the provisions of section three of this Act because unable to read, or who is

excluded by the terms of section three of this Act as a native of that portion of the Continent of Asia and the islands adjacent thereto described in said section, and if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the Secretary of Labor that these disabilities might have been detected by the exercise of reasonable precaution prior to the departure of such aliens from a foreign port, such person shall pay to the collector of customs of the customs district in which the port of arrival is located the sum of \$200, and in addition a sum equal to that paid by such alien for his transportation from the initial point of departure, indicated in his ticket, to the port of arrival, for each and every violation of this provision, such latter sum to be delivered by the collector of customs to the alien on whose account assessed. And no vessel shall be granted clearance papers pending the determination of the question of the liability to the payment of such fines, or while the fines remain unpaid, nor shall such fines be remitted or refunded: *Provided*, That clearance may be granted prior to the determination of such questions upon the deposit of a sum sufficient to cover such fines: *Provided further*, That nothing contained in this section shall be construed to subject transportation companies to a fine for bringing to ports of the United States aliens who are by any of the provisos or exceptions to section three hereof exempted from the excluding provisions of said section.

SEC. 10. That it shall be the duty of every person, including owners, officers, and agents of vessels or transportation lines, or international bridges or toll roads, other than railway lines which may enter into a contract as provided in section twenty-three of this Act, bringing an alien to, or providing a means for an alien to come to, any seaport or land border port of the United States, to prevent the landing of such alien in the United States at any time or place other than as designated by the immigration officers, and the failure of any such person, owner, officer, or agent to comply with the foregoing requirements shall be deemed a misdemeanor and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine in each case of not less than \$200 nor more than \$1000, or by imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment; or, if in the opinion of the Secretary of Labor it is impracticable or inconvenient to prosecute

the person, owner, master, officer, or agent of any such vessel, a penalty of \$1000 shall be a lien upon the vessel whose owner, master, officer, or agent violates the provisions of this section, and such vessel shall be libeled therefor in the appropriate United States court.

SEC. 11. That for the purpose of determining whether aliens arriving at ports of the United States belong to any of the classes excluded by this Act, either by reason of being afflicted with any of the diseases or mental or physical defects or disabilities mentioned in section three hereof, or otherwise, or whenever the Secretary of Labor has received information showing that any aliens are coming from a country or have embarked at a place where any of said diseases are prevalent or epidemic, the Commissioner-General of Immigration, with the approval of the Secretary of Labor, may direct that such aliens shall be detained on board the vessel bringing them, or in a United States immigration station at the expense of such vessel, as circumstances may require or justify, a sufficient time to enable the immigration officers and medical officers stationed at such ports to subject aliens to an observation and examination sufficient to determine whether or not they belong to the said excluded classes by reason of being afflicted in the manner indicated: *Provided*, That, with a view to avoid undue delay in landing passengers or interference with commerce, the Commissioner-General of Immigration may, with the approval of the Secretary of Labor, issue such regulations, not inconsistent with law, as may be deemed necessary to effect the purposes of this section: *Provided further*, That it shall be the duty of immigrant inspectors to report to the Commissioner-General of Immigration the condition of all vessels bringing aliens to United States ports.

SEC. 11A. That the Secretary of Labor is hereby authorized and directed to enter into negotiations, through the Department of State, with countries vessels of which bring aliens to the United States, with a view to detailing inspectors and matrons of the United States Immigration Service for duty on vessels carrying immigrant or emigrant passengers between foreign ports and ports of the United States. When such inspectors and matrons are detailed for said duty they shall remain in that part of the vessel where immigrant passengers are carried; and it shall be

their duty to observe such passengers during the voyage and report to the immigration authorities in charge of the port of landing any information of value in determining the admissibility of such passengers that may have become known to them during the voyage.

SEC. 12. That upon the arrival of any alien by water at any port within the United States on the North American Continent from a foreign port or a port of the Philippine Islands, Guam, Porto Rico, or Hawaii, or at any port of the said insular possessions from any foreign port, from a port in the United States on the North American Continent, or from a port of another insular possession of the United States, it shall be the duty of the master or commanding officer, owners, or consignees of the steamer, sailing, or other vessel having said alien on board to deliver to the immigration officers at the port of arrival typewritten or printed lists or manifests made at the time and place of embarkation of such alien on board such steamer or vessel, which shall, in answer to questions at the top of said list, contain full and accurate information as to each alien as follows: Full name, age, and sex; whether married or single; calling or occupation; personal description (including height, complexion, color of hair and eyes, and marks of identification); whether able to read or write; nationality; country of birth; race; country of last permanent residence; name and address of the nearest relative in the country from which the alien came; seaport for landing in the United States; final destination, if any, beyond the port of landing; whether having a ticket through to such final destination; by whom passage was paid; whether in possession of \$50, and if less, how much; whether going to join a relative or friend, and, if so, what relative or friend, and his or her name and complete address; whether ever before in the United States, and if so, when and where; whether ever in prison or almshouse or an institution or hospital for the care and treatment of the insane; whether ever supported by charity; whether a polygamist; whether an anarchist; whether a person who believes in or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or who disbelieves in or is opposed to organized government, or who advocates the assassination of public officials, or who advocates or teaches the

unlawful destruction of property, or is a member of or affiliated with any organization entertaining and teaching disbelief in or opposition to organized government, or which teaches the unlawful destruction of property, or who advocates or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or of officers generally, of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government because of his or their official character; whether coming by reason of any offer, solicitation, promise, or agreement, express or implied, to perform labor in the United States; the alien's condition of health, mental and physical; whether deformed or crippled, and if so, for how long and from what cause; whether coming with the intent to return to the country whence such alien comes after temporarily engaging in laboring pursuits in the United States; and such other items of information as will aid in determining whether any such alien belongs to any of the excluded classes enumerated in section three hereof; and such master or commanding officer, owners, or consignees shall also furnish information in relation to the sex, age, class of travel, and the foreign port of embarkation of arriving passengers who are United States citizens. That it shall further be the duty of the master or commanding officer of every vessel taking passengers from any port of the United States on the North American Continent to a foreign port or a port of the Philippine Islands, Guam, Porto Rico, or Hawaii, or from any port of the said insular possessions to any foreign port, to a port of the United States on the North American Continent, or to a port of another insular possession of the United States to file with the immigration officials before departure a list which shall contain full and accurate information in relation to the following matters regarding all alien passengers, and all citizens of the United States or insular possessions of the United States departing with the stated intent to reside permanently in a foreign country, taken on board: Name, age, and sex; whether married or single; calling or occupation; whether able to read or write; nationality; country of birth; country of which citizen or subject; race; last permanent residence in the United States or insular possession thereof; if a citizen of the United States or of the insular possessions thereof, whether native born or

naturalized; if native born, the place and date of birth, or if naturalized the city or town in which naturalization has been had; intended future permanent residence; and time and port of last arrival in the United States, or insular possessions thereof; and such master or commanding officer shall also furnish information in relation to the sex, age, class of travel, and port of debarkation of the United States citizens departing who do not intend to reside permanently in a foreign country, and no master of any such vessel shall be granted clearance papers for his vessel until he has deposited such list or lists with the immigration officials at the port of departure and made oath that they are full and complete as to the name and other information herein required concerning each person of the classes specified taken on board his vessel; and any neglect or omission to comply with the requirements of this section shall be punishable as provided in section fourteen of this Act: *Provided*, That in the case of vessels making regular trips to ports of the United States the Commissioner-General of Immigration, with the approval of the Secretary of Labor, may, when expedient, arrange for the delivery of such lists of outgoing aliens at a later date: *Provided further*, That it shall be the duty of immigration officials to record the following information regarding every resident alien and citizen leaving the United States by way of the Canadian or Mexican borders for permanent residence in a foreign country: Name, age, and sex; whether married or single; calling or occupation; whether able to read or write; nationality; country of birth; country of which citizen or subject; race; last permanent residence in the United States; intended future permanent residence; and time and port of last arrival in the United States; and if a United States citizen, whether native born or naturalized.

SEC. 13. That all aliens arriving by water at the ports of the United States shall be listed in convenient groups, the names of those coming from the same locality to be assembled so far as practicable, and no one list or manifest shall contain more than thirty names. To each alien or head of a family shall be given a ticket on which shall be written his name, a number or letter designating the list in which his name, and other items of information required by this Act, are contained, and his number on said list, for convenience of identification on arrival. Each list or manifest shall be

verified by the signature and the oath or affirmation of the master or commanding officer, or the first or second below him in command, taken before an immigration officer at the port of arrival, to the effect that he has caused the surgeon of said vessel sailing therewith to make a physical and mental examination of each of said aliens, and that from the report of said surgeon and from his own investigation he believes that no one of said aliens is of any of the classes excluded from admission into the United States by section three of this Act, and that also according to the best of his knowledge and belief the information in said lists or manifests concerning each of said aliens named therein is correct and true in every respect. That the surgeon of said vessel sailing therewith shall also sign each of said lists or manifests and make oath or affirmation in like manner before an immigration officer at the port of arrival, stating his professional experience and qualifications as a physician and surgeon, and that he has made a personal examination of each of the said aliens named therein, and that the said list or manifest, according to the best of his knowledge and belief, is full, correct, and true in all particulars relative to the mental and physical condition of said aliens. If no surgeon sails with any vessel bringing aliens, the mental and physical examinations and the verifications of the lists or manifests shall be made by some competent surgeon employed by the owners of the said vessels, and the manifests shall be verified by such surgeon before a United States consular officer or other officer authorized to administer oaths: *Provided*, That if any changes in the condition of such aliens occur or develop during the voyage of the vessel on which they are traveling, such changes shall be noted on the manifest before the verification thereof.

SEC. 14. That it shall be unlawful for the master or commanding officer of any vessel bringing aliens into or carrying aliens out of the United States to refuse or fail to deliver to the immigration officials the accurate and full manifests or statements or information regarding all aliens on board or taken on board such vessel required by this Act, and if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the Secretary of Labor that there has been such a refusal or failure, or that the lists delivered are not accurate and full, such master or commanding officer shall pay to the collector

of customs at the port of arrival or departure the sum of \$10 for each alien concerning whom such accurate and full manifest or statement or information is not furnished, or concerning whom the manifest or statement or information is not prepared and sworn to as prescribed by this Act. No vessel shall be granted clearance pending the determination of the question of the liability to the payment of such fine, or while it remains unpaid, nor shall such fine be remitted or refunded: *Provided*, That clearance may be granted prior to the determination of such question upon the deposit with the collector of customs of a sum sufficient to cover such fine.

SEC. 15. That upon the arrival at a port of the United States of any vessel bringing aliens it shall be the duty of the proper immigration officials to go or to send competent assistants to the vessel and there inspect all such aliens, or said immigration officials may order a temporary removal of such aliens for examination at a designated time and place, but such temporary removal shall not be considered a landing, nor shall it relieve vessels, the transportation lines, masters, agents, owners, or consignees of the vessel upon which said aliens are brought to any port of the United States from any of the obligations which, in case such aliens remain on board, would under the provisions of this Act bind the said vessels, transportation lines, masters, agents, owners, or consignees: *Provided*, That where removal is made to premises owned or controlled by the United States, said vessels, transportation lines, masters, agents, owners, or consignees, and each of them, shall, so long as detention there lasts, be relieved of responsibility for the safekeeping of such aliens. Whenever a temporary removal of aliens is made the vessels or transportation lines which brought them and the masters, owners, agents, and consignees of the vessel upon which they arrive shall pay all expenses of such removal and all expenses arising during subsequent detention, pending decision on the aliens' eligibility to enter the United States and until they are either allowed to land or returned to the care of the line or to the vessel which brought them, such expenses to include those of maintenance, medical treatment in hospital or elsewhere, burial in the event of death, and transfer to the vessel in the event of deportation, excepting only where they arise under the terms of

any of the provisos of section eighteen hereof. Any refusal or failure to comply with the provisions hereof shall be punished in the manner specified in section eighteen of this Act.

SEC. 16. That the physical and mental examination of all arriving aliens shall be made by medical officers of the United States Public Health Service who shall have had at least two years' experience in the practice of their profession since receiving the degree of doctor of medicine, and who shall conduct all medical examinations and shall certify, for the information of the immigration officers and the boards of special inquiry hereinafter provided for, any and all physical and mental defects or diseases observed by said medical officers in any such alien; or, should medical officers of the United States Public Health Service be not available, civil surgeons of not less than four years' professional experience may be employed in such emergency for such service upon such terms as may be prescribed by the Commissioner-General of Immigration, under the direction or with the approval of the Secretary of Labor. All aliens arriving at ports of the United States shall be examined by not less than two such medical officers at the discretion of the Secretary of Labor, and under such administrative regulations as he may prescribe and under medical regulations prepared by the Surgeon-General of the United States Public Health Service. Medical officers of the United States Public Health Service who have had especial training in the diagnosis of insanity and mental defects shall be detailed for duty or employed at all ports of entry designated by the Secretary of Labor, and such medical officers shall be provided with suitable facilities for the detention and examination of all arriving aliens in whom insanity or mental defect is suspected, and the services of interpreters shall be provided for such examination. Any alien certified for insanity or mental defect may appeal to the board of medical officers of the United States Public Health Service, which shall be convened by the Surgeon-General of the United States Public Health Service, and said alien may introduce before such board one expert medical witness at his own cost and expense. That the inspection, other than the physical and mental examination, of aliens, including those seeking admission or readmission to or the privilege of passing through or residing in the United States, and the

examination of aliens arrested within the United States under this Act, shall be conducted by immigrant inspectors, except as hereinafter provided in regard to boards of special inquiry. All aliens arriving at ports of the United States shall be examined by at least two immigrant inspectors at the discretion of the Secretary of Labor and under such regulations as he may prescribe. Immigrant inspectors are hereby authorized and empowered to board and search for aliens any vessel, railway car, or any other conveyance, or vehicle in which they believe aliens are being brought into the United States. Said inspectors shall have power to administer oaths and to take and consider evidence touching the right of any alien to enter, reënter, pass through, or reside in the United States, and, where such action may be necessary, to make a written record of such evidence; and any person to whom such an oath has been administered, under the provisions of this Act, who shall knowingly or willfully give false evidence or swear to any false statement in any way affecting or in relation to the right of any alien to admission, or readmission to, or to pass through, or to reside in the United States shall be deemed guilty of perjury and be punished as provided by section one hundred and twenty-five of the Act approved March fourth, nineteen hundred and nine, entitled "An Act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States." All aliens coming to the United States shall be required to state under oath the purposes for which they come, the length of time they intend to remain in the United States, whether or not they intend to abide in the United States permanently and become citizens thereof, and such other items of information regarding themselves as will aid the immigration officials in determining whether they belong to any of the excluded classes enumerated in section three hereof. Any commissioner of immigration or inspector in charge shall also have power to require by subpœna the attendance and testimony of witnesses before said inspectors and the production of books, papers, and documents touching the right of any alien to enter, reënter, reside in, or pass through the United States, and to that end may invoke the aid of any court of the United States; and any district court within the jurisdiction of which investigations are being conducted by an immigrant inspector may, in the event of neglect or refusal to respond to a subpœna

issued by any commissioner of immigration or inspector in charge or refusal to testify before said immigrant inspector, issue an order requiring such person to appear before said immigrant inspector, produce books, papers, and documents if demanded, and testify; and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by the court as a contempt thereof. That any person, including employees, officials, or agents of transportation companies, who shall assault, resist, prevent, impede, or interfere with any immigration official or employee in the performance of his duty under this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment for a term of not more than one year, or by a fine of not more than \$2000, or both; and any person who shall use any deadly or dangerous weapon in resisting any immigration official or employee in the performance of his duty shall be deemed guilty of a felony and shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by imprisonment for not more than ten years. Every alien who may not appear to the examining immigrant inspector at the port of arrival to be clearly and beyond a doubt entitled to land shall be detained for examination in relation thereto by a board of special inquiry. In the event of rejection by the board of special inquiry, in all cases where an appeal to the Secretary of Labor is permitted by this Act, the alien shall be so informed and shall have the right to be represented by counsel or other adviser on such appeal. The decision of an immigrant inspector, if favorable to the admission of any alien, shall be subject to challenge by any other immigrant inspector, and such challenge shall operate to take the alien whose right to land is so challenged before a board of special inquiry for its investigation.

SEC. 17. That boards of special inquiry shall be appointed by the commissioner of immigration or inspector in charge at the various ports of arrival as may be necessary for the prompt determination of all cases of immigrants detained at such ports under the provisions of the law. Each board shall consist of three members, who shall be selected from such of the immigrant officials in the service as the Commissioner General of Immigration, with the approval of the Secretary of Labor, shall from time to time designate as qualified to serve on such boards. When in the opinion of the Secretary of Labor the maintenance of a

permanent board of special inquiry for service at any sea or land border port is not warranted, regularly constituted boards may be detailed from other stations for temporary service at such port, or, if that be impracticable, the Secretary of Labor shall authorize the creation of boards of special inquiry by the immigration officials in charge of such ports, and shall determine what Government officials or other persons shall be eligible for service on such boards. Such boards shall have authority to determine whether an alien who has been duly held shall be allowed to land or shall be deported. All hearings before such boards shall be separate and apart from the public, but the immigrant may have one friend or relative present under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of Labor. Such boards shall keep a complete permanent record of their proceedings and of all such testimony as may be produced before them; and the decisions of any two members of the board shall prevail, but either the alien or any dissenting member of the said board may appeal through the commissioner of immigration at the port of arrival and the Commissioner-General of Immigration to the Secretary of Labor, and the taking of such appeal shall operate to stay any action in regard to the final disposal of any alien whose case is so appealed until the receipt by the commissioner of immigration at the port of arrival of such decision which shall be rendered solely upon the evidence adduced before the board of special inquiry. In every case where an alien is excluded from admission into the United States, under any law or treaty now existing or hereafter made, the decision of a board of special inquiry adverse to the admission of such alien shall be final, unless reversed on appeal to the Secretary of Labor: *Provided*, That the decision of a board of special inquiry shall be based upon the certificate of the examining medical officer and, except as provided in section twenty-one hereof, shall be final as to the rejection of aliens affected with tuberculosis in any form or with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, or with any mental or physical disability which would bring such aliens within any of the classes excluded from admission to the United States under section three of this Act.

SEC. 18. That all aliens brought to this country in violation of law shall be immediately sent back, in accommodations of the

same class in which they arrived, to the country whence they respectively came, on the vessels bringing them, unless in the opinion of the Secretary of Labor immediate deportation is not practicable or proper. The cost of their maintenance while on land, as well as the expense of the return of such aliens, shall be borne by the owner or owners of the vessels on which they respectively came. That it shall be unlawful for any master, purser, person in charge, agent, owner, or consignee of any such vessel to refuse to receive back on board thereof, or on board of any other vessel owned or operated by the same interests, such aliens; or to fail to detain them thereon; or to refuse or fail to return them in the manner aforesaid to the foreign port from which they came; or to fail to pay the cost of their maintenance while on land; or to make any charge for the return of any such alien, or to take any security for the payment of such charge; or to take any consideration to be returned in case the alien is landed; or knowingly to bring to the United States at any time within one year from the date of deportation any alien rejected or arrested and deported under any provision of this Act, unless prior to reëmbarkation the Secretary of Labor has consented that such alien shall reapply for admission, as required by section three hereof; and if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the Secretary of Labor that such master, purser, person in charge, agent, owner, or consignee has violated any of the foregoing provisions, or any of the provisions of section fifteen hereof, such master, purser, person in charge, agent, owner, or consignee shall pay to the collector of customs of the district in which the port of arrival is located, or in which any vessel of the line may be found, the sum of \$300 for each and every violation of any provision of said sections; and no vessel shall have clearance from any port of the United States while any such fine is unpaid, nor shall such fine be remitted or refunded: *Provided*, That clearance may be granted prior to the determination of such question upon the deposit with the collector of customs of a sum sufficient to cover such fine. If the vessel by which any alien ordered deported came has left the United States and it is impracticable for any reason to deport the alien within a reasonable time by another vessel owned by the same interests, the cost of deportation may be paid by the Government and recovered by

civil suit from any agent, owner, or consignee of the vessel: *Provided further*, That the Commissioner-General of Immigration, with the approval of the Secretary of Labor, may suspend, upon conditions to be prescribed by the Commissioner-General of Immigration, the deportation of any aliens found to have come in violation of any provision of this Act if, in his judgment, the testimony of such alien is necessary on behalf of the United States Government in the prosecution of offenders against any provision of this Act or other laws of the United States; and the cost of maintenance of any person so detained resulting from such suspension of deportation, and a witness fee in the sum of \$1 per day for each day such person is so detained, may be paid from the appropriation for the enforcement of this Act, or such alien may be released under bond, in the penalty of not less than \$500, with security approved by the Secretary of Labor, conditioned that such alien shall be produced when required as a witness and for deportation. No alien certified, as provided in section sixteen of this Act, to be suffering from tuberculosis in any form, or from a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease other than one of quarantinable nature, shall be permitted to land for medical treatment thereof in any hospital in the United States, unless the Secretary of Labor is satisfied that to refuse treatment would be inhumane or cause unusual hardship or suffering, in which case the alien shall be treated in the hospital under the supervision of the immigration officials at the expense of the vessel transporting him: *Provided further*, That upon the certificate of an examining medical officer to the effect that the health or safety of an insane alien would be unduly imperiled by immediate deportation, such alien may, at the expense of the appropriation for the enforcement of this Act, be held for treatment until such time as such alien may, in the opinion of such medical officer, be safely deported: *Provided further*, That upon the certificate of an examining medical officer to the effect that a rejected alien is helpless from sickness, mental or physical disability, or infancy, if such alien is accompanied by another alien whose protection or guardianship is required by such rejected alien, such accompanying alien may also be excluded, and the master, agent, owner, or consignee of the vessel in which such alien and accompanying alien are brought shall be required to return said alien and

accompanying alien in the same manner as vessels are required to return other rejected aliens.

SEC. 19. That at any time within five years after entry, any alien who at the time of entry was a member of one or more of the classes excluded by law; any alien who shall have entered or who shall be found in the United States in violation of this Act, or in violation of any other law of the United States; any alien who at any time after entry shall be found advocating or teaching the unlawful destruction of property, or advocating or teaching anarchy, or the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law or the assassination of public officials; any alien who within five years after entry becomes a public charge from causes not affirmatively shown to have arisen subsequent to landing; except as hereinafter provided, any alien who is hereafter sentenced to imprisonment for a term of one year or more because of conviction in this country of a crime involving moral turpitude, committed within five years after the entry of the alien to the United States, or who is hereafter sentenced more than once to such a term of imprisonment because of conviction in this country of any crime involving moral turpitude, committed at any time after entry; any alien who shall be found an inmate of or connected with the management of a house of prostitution or practicing prostitution after such alien shall have entered the United States, or who shall receive, share in, or derive benefit from any part of the earnings of any prostitute; any alien who manages or is employed by, in, or in connection with any house of prostitution or music or dance hall or other place of amusement or resort habitually frequented by prostitutes, or where prostitutes gather, or who in any way assists any prostitute or protects or promises to protect from arrest any prostitute; any alien who shall import or attempt to import any person for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose; any alien who, after being excluded and deported or arrested and deported as a prostitute, or as a procurer, or as having been connected with the business of prostitution or importation for prostitution or other immoral purposes in any of the ways hereinbefore specified, shall return to and enter the United States; any alien convicted and imprisoned for a violation of any of the provisions of section four hereof; any alien who was

convicted, or who admits the commission, prior to entry, of a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude ; at any time within three years after entry, any alien who shall have entered the United States by water at any time or place other than as designated by immigration officials, or by land at any place other than one designated as a port of entry for aliens by the Commissioner-General of Immigration, or at any time not designated by immigration officials, or who enters without inspection, shall, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, be taken into custody and deported: *Provided*, That the marriage to an American citizen of a female of the sexually immoral classes the exclusion or deportation of which is prescribed by this Act shall not invest such female with United States citizenship if the marriage of such alien female shall be solemnized after her arrest or after the commission of acts which make her liable to deportation under this Act: *Provided further*, That the provision of this section respecting the deportation of aliens convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude shall not apply to one who has been pardoned, nor shall such deportation be made or directed if the court, or judge thereof, sentencing such alien for such crime shall, at the time of imposing judgment or passing sentence or within thirty days thereafter, due notice having first been given to representatives of the State, make a recommendation to the Secretary of Labor that such alien shall not be deported in pursuance of this Act; nor shall any alien convicted as aforesaid be deported until after the termination of his imprisonment: *Provided further*, That the provisions of this section, with the exceptions hereinbefore noted, shall be applicable to the classes of aliens therein mentioned irrespective of the time of their entry into the United States: *Provided further*, That the provisions of this section shall also apply to the cases of aliens who come to the mainland of the United States from the insular possessions thereof: *Provided further*, That any person who shall be arrested under the provisions of this section, on the ground that he has entered or been found in the United States in violation of any other law thereof which imposes on such person the burden of proving his right to enter or remain, and who shall fail to establish the existence of the right claimed, shall be deported to the place specified in such other law. In every case

where any person is ordered deported from the United States under the provisions of this Act, or of any law or treaty, the decision of the Secretary of Labor shall be final.

SEC. 20. That the deportation of aliens provided for in this Act shall, at the option of the Secretary of Labor, be to the country whence they came or to the foreign port at which such aliens embarked for the United States; or, if such embarkation was for foreign contiguous territory, to the foreign port at which they embarked for such territory; or, if such aliens entered foreign contiguous territory from the United States and later entered the United States, or if such aliens are held by the country from which they entered the United States not to be subjects or citizens of such country, and such country refuses to permit their reëntry, or imposes any condition upon permitting reëntry, then to the country of which such aliens are subjects or citizens, or to the country in which they resided prior to entering the country from which they entered the United States. If deportation proceedings are instituted at any time within five years after the entry of the alien, such deportation, including one-half of the entire cost of removal to the port of deportation, shall be at the expense of the contractor, procurer, or other person by whom the alien was unlawfully induced to enter the United States, or, if that cannot be done, then the cost of removal to the port of deportation shall be at the expense of the appropriation for the enforcement of this Act, and the deportation from such port shall be at the expense of the owner or owners of such vessels or transportation line by which such aliens respectively came, or if that is not practicable, at the expense of the appropriation for the enforcement of this Act. If deportation proceedings are instituted later than five years after the entry of the alien, or, if the deportation is made by reason of causes arising subsequent to entry, the cost thereof shall be payable from the appropriation for the enforcement of this Act. A failure or refusal on the part of the masters, agents, owners, or consignees of vessels to comply with the order of the Secretary of Labor to take on board, guard safely, and transport to the destination specified any alien ordered to be deported under the provisions of this Act shall be punished by the imposition of the penalties prescribed in section eighteen of this Act: *Provided*, That when in the opinion of the

Secretary of Labor the mental or physical condition of such alien is such as to require personal care and attendance, the said Secretary shall when necessary employ a suitable person for that purpose, who shall accompany such alien to his or her final destination, and the expense incident to such service shall be defrayed in the same manner as the expense of deporting the accompanied alien is defrayed. Pending the final disposal of the case of any alien so taken into custody, he may be released under a bond in the penalty of not less than \$500 with security approved by the Secretary of Labor, conditioned that such alien shall be produced when required for a hearing or hearings in regard to the charge upon which he has been taken into custody, and for deportation if he shall be found to be unlawfully within the United States.

SEC. 21. That any alien liable to be excluded because likely to become a public charge or because of physical disability other than tuberculosis in any form or a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease may, if otherwise admissible, nevertheless be admitted in the discretion of the Secretary of Labor upon the giving of a suitable and proper bond or undertaking, approved by said Secretary, in such amount and containing such conditions as he may prescribe, to the United States and to all States, Territories, counties, towns, municipalities, and districts thereof, holding the United States and all States, Territories, counties, towns, municipalities, and districts thereof harmless against such alien becoming a public charge. In lieu of such bond, such alien may deposit in cash with the Secretary of Labor such amount as the Secretary of Labor may require, which amount shall be deposited by said Secretary in the United States Postal Savings Bank, a receipt therefor to be given the person furnishing said sum, showing the fact and object of its receipt and such other information as said Secretary may deem advisable. All accruing interest on said deposit during the time same shall be held in the United States Postal Savings Bank shall be paid to the person furnishing the sum for deposit. In the event of such alien becoming a public charge, the Secretary of Labor shall dispose of said deposit in the same manner as if same had been collected under a bond as provided in this section. In the event of the permanent departure from the United States, the naturalization, or the death of such alien, the said sum shall be returned to the

person by whom furnished, or to his legal representatives. The admission of such alien shall be a consideration for the giving of such bond, undertaking, or cash deposit. Suit may be brought thereon in the name and by the proper law officers either of the United States Government or of any State, Territory, District, county, town, or municipality in which such alien becomes a public charge.

SEC. 22. That whenever an alien shall have been naturalized or shall have taken up his permanent residence in this country, and thereafter shall send for his wife or minor children to join him, and said wife or any of said minor children shall be found to be affected with any contagious disorder, such wife or minor children shall be held, under such regulations as the Secretary of Labor shall prescribe, until it shall be determined whether the disorder will be easily curable or whether they can be permitted to land without danger to other persons; and they shall not be either admitted or deported until such facts have been ascertained; and if it shall be determined that the disorder is easily curable and the husband or father or other responsible person is willing to bear the expense of the treatment, they may be accorded treatment in hospital until cured and then be admitted, or if it shall be determined that they can be permitted to land without danger to other persons, they may, if otherwise admissible, thereupon be admitted: *Provided*, That if the person sending for wife or minor children is naturalized, a wife to whom married or a minor child born subsequent to such husband or father's naturalization shall be admitted without detention for treatment in hospital, and with respect to a wife to whom married or a minor child born prior to such husband or father's naturalization the provisions of this section shall be observed, even though such person is unable to pay the expense of treatment, in which case the expense shall be paid from the appropriation for the enforcement of this Act.

SEC. 23. That the Commissioner-General of Immigration shall perform all his duties under the direction of the Secretary of Labor. Under such direction he shall have charge of the administration of all laws relating to the immigration of aliens into the United States, and shall have the control, direction, and supervision of all officers, clerks, and employees appointed thereunder;

he shall establish such rules and regulations, prescribe such forms of bond, reports, entries, and other papers, and shall issue from time to time such instructions not inconsistent with law, as he shall deem best calculated for carrying out the provisions of this Act and for protecting the United States and aliens migrating thereto from fraud and loss, and shall have authority to enter into contract for the support and relief of such aliens as may fall into distress or need public aid, and to remove to their native country, at any time within three years after entry, at the expense of the appropriations for the enforcement of this Act, such as fall into distress or need public aid from causes arising subsequent to their entry and are desirous of being so removed; he shall prescribe rules for the entry and inspection of aliens coming to the United States from or through Canada and Mexico, so as not unnecessarily to delay, impede, or annoy persons in ordinary travel between the United States and said countries, and shall have power to enter into contracts with transportation lines for the said purpose. It shall be the duty of the Commissioner-General of Immigration to detail officers of the Immigration Service from time to time as may be necessary, in his judgment, to secure information as to the number of aliens detained in the penal, reformatory, and charitable institutions (public and private) of the several States and Territories, the District of Columbia, and other territory of the United States, and to inform the officers of such institutions of the provisions of law in relation to the deportation of aliens who have become public charges. He may, with the approval of the Secretary of Labor, whenever in his judgment such action may be necessary to accomplish the purposes of this Act, detail immigration officers for service in foreign countries; and, upon his request, approved by the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of the Treasury may detail medical officers of the United States Public Health Service for the performance of duties in foreign countries in connection with the enforcement of this Act. The duties of commissioners of immigration and other immigration officials in charge of districts, ports, or stations shall be of an administrative character, to be prescribed in detail by regulations prepared under the direction or with the approval of the Secretary of Labor: *Provided*, That no person, company, or transportation line engaged in carrying

alien passengers for hire from Canada or Mexico to the United States, whether by land or water, shall be allowed to land any such passengers in the United States without providing suitable and approved landing stations, conveniently located, at the point or points of entry. The Commissioner-General of Immigration is hereby authorized and empowered to prescribe the conditions, not inconsistent with law, under which the above-mentioned landing stations shall be deemed suitable within the meaning of this section. Any person, company, or transportation line landing an alien passenger in the United States without compliance with the requirement herein set forth shall be deemed to have violated section eight of this Act, and upon conviction shall be subject to the penalty therein prescribed: *Provided further*, That for the purpose of making effective the provisions of this section relating to the protection of aliens from fraud and loss, and also the provisions of section thirty of this Act, relating to the distribution of aliens, the Secretary of Labor shall establish and maintain immigrant stations at such interior places as may be necessary, and, in the discretion of the said Secretary, aliens in transit from ports of landing to such interior stations shall be accompanied by immigrant inspectors: *Provided further*, That in prescribing rules and making contracts for the entry and inspection of aliens applying for admission from or through foreign contiguous territory, due care shall be exercised to avoid any discriminatory action in favor of foreign transportation companies transporting to such territory aliens destined to the United States, and all such transportation companies shall be required, as a condition precedent to the inspection or examination under such rules and contracts at the ports of such contiguous territory of aliens brought thereto by them, to submit to and comply with all the requirements of this Act which would apply were they bringing such aliens directly to seaports of the United States, and, from and after the taking effect of this Act, no alien applying for admission from foreign contiguous territory shall be permitted to enter the United States unless upon proving that he was brought to such territory by a transportation company which had submitted to and complied with all the requirements of this Act, or that he entered, or has resided in, such territory more than two years prior to the date of his application for admission to the United States.

SEC. 24. That immigrant inspectors and other immigration officers, clerks, and employees shall hereafter be appointed and their compensation fixed and raised or decreased from time to time by the Secretary of Labor, upon the recommendation of the Commissioner-General of Immigration and in accordance with the provisions of the civil-service Act of January sixteenth, eighteen hundred and eighty-three: *Provided*, That said Secretary, in the enforcement of that portion of this Act which excludes contract laborers and induced and assisted immigrants, may employ, for such purposes and for detail upon additional service under this Act when not so engaged, without reference to the provisions of the said civil-service Act, or to the various Acts relative to the compilation of the Official Register, such persons as he may deem advisable and from time to time fix, raise, or decrease their compensation. He may draw annually from the appropriation for the enforcement of this Act \$100,000, or as much thereof as may be necessary, to be expended for the salaries and expenses of persons so employed and for expenses incident to such employment; and the accounting officers of the Treasury shall pass to the credit of the proper disbursing officer expenditures from said sum without itemized account whenever the Secretary of Labor certifies that an itemized account would not be for the best interests of the Government: *Provided further*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to alter the mode of appointing commissioners of immigration at the several ports of the United States as provided by the sundry civil appropriation Act approved August eighteenth, eighteen hundred and ninety-four, or the official status of such commissioners heretofore appointed.

SEC. 25. That the district courts of the United States are hereby invested with full jurisdiction of all causes, civil and criminal, arising under any of the provisions of this Act. That it shall be the duty of the United States district attorney of the proper district to prosecute every such suit when brought by the United States under this Act. Such prosecutions or suits may be instituted at any place in the United States at which the violation may occur or at which the person charged with such violation may be found. That no suit or proceeding for a violation of the provisions of this Act shall be settled, compromised, or

discontinued without the consent of the court in which it is pending, entered of record, with the reasons therefor.

SEC. 26. That all exclusive privileges of exchanging money, transporting passengers or baggage, or keeping eating houses, and all other like privileges in connection with any United States immigrant station, shall be disposed of to the lowest responsible and capable bidder, after public competition, notice of such competitive bidding having been made in two newspapers of general circulation for a period of two weeks, subject to such conditions and limitations as the Commissioner General of Immigration, under the direction or with the approval of the Secretary of Labor, may prescribe, and all receipts accruing from the disposal of privileges shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States. No such contract shall be awarded to an alien. No intoxicating liquors shall be sold at any such immigration station.

SEC. 27. That for the preservation of the peace and in order that arrests may be made for crimes under the laws of the States and Territories of the United States where the various immigrant stations are located, the officers in charge of such stations, as occasion may require, shall admit therein the proper State and municipal officers charged with the enforcement of such laws, and for the purpose of this section the jurisdiction of such officers and of the local courts shall extend over such stations.

SEC. 28. That any person who knowingly aids or assists any anarchist or any person who believes in or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, or who disbelieves in or is opposed to organized government, or all forms of law, or who advocates the assassination of public officials, or who is a member of or affiliated with any organization entertaining or teaching disbelief in or opposition to organized government, or who advocates or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or of officers generally, of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character, to enter the United States, or who connives or conspires with any person or persons to allow, procure, or permit any such anarchist or person aforesaid to enter therein, shall be deemed

guilty of a felony, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$5000 or by imprisonment for not more than five years, or both.

Any person who knowingly aids or assists any alien who advocates or teaches the unlawful destruction of property to enter the United States shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$1000, or by imprisonment for not more than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

SEC. 29. That the President of the United States is authorized, in the name of the Government of the United States, to call, in his discretion, an international conference, to assemble at such point as may be agreed upon, or to send special commissioners to any foreign country, for the purpose of regulating by international agreement, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, the immigration of aliens to the United States; of providing for the mental, moral, and physical examination of such aliens by American consuls or other officers of the United States Government at the ports of embarkation, or elsewhere; of securing the assistance of foreign Governments in their own territories to prevent the evasion of the laws of the United States governing immigration to the United States; of entering into such international agreements as may be proper to prevent the immigration of aliens who, under the laws of the United States, are or may be excluded from entering the United States, and of regulating any matters pertaining to such immigration.

SEC. 30. That there shall be maintained a division of information in the Bureau of Immigration; and the Secretary of Labor shall provide such clerical and other assistance as may be necessary. It shall be the duty of said division to promote a beneficial distribution of aliens admitted into the United States among the several States and Territories desiring immigration. Correspondence shall be had with the proper officials of the States and Territories, and said division shall gather from all available sources useful information regarding the resources, products, and physical characteristics of each State and Territory, and shall publish such information in different languages and distribute the publications among all admitted aliens at the immigrant stations of the United States and to such other persons as

may desire the same. When any State or Territory appoints and maintains an agent or agents to represent it at any of the immigrant stations of the United States, such agents shall, under regulations prescribed by the Commissioner General of Immigration, subject to the approval of the Secretary of Labor, have access to aliens who have been admitted to the United States for the purpose of presenting, either orally or in writing, the special inducements offered by such State or Territory to aliens to settle therein. While on duty at any immigrant station such agents shall be subject to all the regulations prescribed by the Commissioner-General of Immigration, who, with the approval of the Secretary of Labor, may, for violation of any such regulations, deny to the agent guilty of such violation any of the privileges herein granted.

SEC. 31. That any person, including the owner, agent, consignee, or master of any vessel arriving in the United States from any foreign port or place, who shall knowingly sign on the ship's articles, or bring to the United States as one of the crew of such vessel, any alien, with intent to permit such alien to land in the United States in violation of the laws and treaties of the United States regulating the immigration of aliens, or who shall falsely and knowingly represent to the immigration authorities at the port of arrival that any such alien is a bona fide member of the crew, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding \$5000, for which sum the said vessel shall be liable and may be seized and proceeded against by way of libel in any district court of the United States having jurisdiction of the offense.

SEC. 32. That no alien excluded from admission into the United States by any law, convention, or treaty of the United States regulating the immigration of aliens, and employed on board any vessel arriving in the United States from any foreign port or place, shall be permitted to land in the United States, except temporarily for medical treatment, or pursuant to regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Labor providing for the ultimate removal or deportation of such alien from the United States, and the negligent failure of the owner, agent, consignee, or master of such vessel to detain on board any such alien after notice in writing by the immigration officer in charge at the port of arrival, and to deport such alien, if required by such immigration officer or by the Secretary of Labor, shall render such owner, agent,

consignee, or master liable to a penalty not exceeding \$1000, for which sum the said vessel shall be liable, and may be seized and proceeded against by way of libel in any district court of the United States having jurisdiction of the offense.

SEC. 33. That it shall be unlawful and be deemed a violation of the preceding section to pay off or discharge any alien employed on board any vessel arriving in the United States from any foreign port or place, unless duly admitted pursuant to the laws and treaties of the United States regulating the immigration of aliens: *Provided*, That in case any such alien intends to reship on board any other vessel bound to any foreign port or place, he shall be allowed to land for the purpose of so reshipping, under such regulations as the Secretary of Labor may prescribe to prevent aliens not admissible under any law, convention, or treaty from remaining permanently in the United States, and may be paid off, discharged, and permitted to remove his effects, anything in such laws or treaties or in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding, provided due notice of such proposed action be given by the master or the seaman himself to the principal immigration officer in charge at the port of arrival.

SEC. 34. That any alien seaman who shall land in a port of the United States contrary to the provisions of this Act shall be deemed to be unlawfully in the United States, and shall, at any time within three years thereafter, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, be taken into custody and brought before a board of special inquiry for examination as to his qualification for admission to the United States, and if not admitted said alien seaman shall be deported at the expense of the appropriation for this Act as provided in section twenty of this Act.

SEC. 35. That it shall be unlawful for any vessel carrying passengers between a port of the United States and a port of a foreign country, upon arrival in the United States, to have on board employed thereon any alien afflicted with idiocy, imbecility, insanity, epilepsy, tuberculosis in any form, or a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, if it appears to the satisfaction of the Secretary of Labor, from an examination made by a medical officer of the United States Public Health Service, and is so certified by such officer, that any such alien was so afflicted at the time he was shipped or engaged and taken on board such

vessel and that the existence of such affliction might have been detected by means of a competent medical examination at such time; and for every such alien so afflicted on board any such vessel at the time of arrival the owner, agent, consignee, or master thereof shall pay to the collector of customs of the customs district in which the port of arrival is located the sum of \$50, and pending departure of the vessel the alien shall be detained and treated in hospital under supervision of immigration officials at the expense of the vessel; and no vessel shall be granted clearance pending the determination of the question of the liability to the payment of such fine and while it remains unpaid: *Provided*, That clearance may be granted prior to the determination of such question upon the deposit of a sum sufficient to cover such fine: *Provided further*, That such fine may, in the discretion of the Secretary of Labor, be mitigated or remitted.

SEC. 36. That upon arrival of any vessel in the United States from any foreign port or place it shall be the duty of the owner, agent, consignee, or master thereof to deliver to the principal immigration officer in charge of the port of arrival lists containing the names of all aliens employed on such vessel, stating the positions they respectively hold in the ship's company, when and where they were respectively shipped or engaged, and specifying those to be paid off and discharged in the port of arrival; or lists containing so much of such information as the Secretary of Labor shall by regulation prescribe; and after the arrival of any such vessel it shall be the duty of such owner, agent, consignee, or master to report to such immigration officer, in writing, as soon as discovered, all cases in which any such alien has illegally landed from the vessel, giving a description of such alien, together with any information likely to lead to his apprehension; and before the departure of any such vessel it shall be the duty of such owner, agent, consignee, or master to deliver to such immigration officer a further list containing the names of all alien employees who were not employed thereon at the time of the arrival but who will leave port thereon at the time of her departure, and also the names of those, if any, who have been paid off and discharged, and of those, if any, who have deserted or landed; and in case of the failure of such owner, agent, consignee, or master so to deliver either of the said lists of such aliens arriving

and departing, respectively, or so to report such cases of desertion or landing, such owner, agent, consignee, or master shall, if required by the Secretary of Labor, pay to the collector of customs of the customs district in which the port of arrival is located the sum of \$10 for each alien concerning whom correct lists are not delivered or a true report is not made as above required; and no such vessel shall be granted clearance pending the determination of the question of the liability to the payment of such fine, and, in the event such fine is imposed, while it remains unpaid; nor shall such fine be remitted or refunded: *Provided*, That clearance may be granted prior to the determination of such question upon deposit of a sum sufficient to cover such fine.

SEC. 37. That the word "person" as used in this Act shall be construed to import both plural and the singular, as the case may be, and shall include corporations, companies, and associations. When construing and enforcing the provisions of this Act, the act, omission, or failure of any director, officer, agent, or employee of any corporation, company, or association acting within the scope of his employment or office shall in every case be deemed to be the act, omission, or failure of such corporation, company, or association, as well as that of the person acting for or in behalf of such corporation, company, or association.

SEC. 38. That this Act, except as otherwise provided in section three, shall take effect and be enforced on and after May first, nineteen hundred and seventeen. The Act of March twenty-sixth, nineteen hundred and ten, amending the Act of February twentieth, nineteen hundred and seven, to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States; the Act of February twentieth, nineteen hundred and seven, to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States, except section thirty-four thereof; the Act of March third, nineteen hundred and three, to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States, except section thirty-four thereof; and all other Acts and parts of Acts inconsistent with this Act are hereby repealed on and after the taking effect of this Act: *Provided*, That this Act shall not be construed to repeal, alter, or amend existing laws relating to the immigration or exclusion of Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent, except as provided in section nineteen hereof, nor to repeal, alter, or amend section six, chapter

four hundred and fifty-three, third session Fifty-eighth Congress, approved February sixth, nineteen hundred and five, nor to repeal, alter, or amend the Act approved August second, eighteen hundred and eighty-two, entitled "An Act to regulate the carriage of passengers by sea," and amendments thereto, except as provided in section eleven hereof: *Provided further*, That nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to affect any prosecution, suit, action, or proceedings brought, or any act, thing, or matter, civil or criminal, done or existing at the time of the taking effect of this Act, except as mentioned in the third proviso of section nineteen hereof; but as to all such prosecutions, suits, actions, proceedings, acts, things, or matters, the laws or parts of laws repealed or amended by this Act are hereby continued in force and effect.

FUTURE HUMAN MIGRATIONS

F. J. HASKIN

IT SEEMS reasonable to assume that the end of the migrations of man is still centuries away, and that many a generation will rise and pass beyond earthly concerns before any approximate equilibrium of population will be established. Indeed, it is probable that so long as the world stands economic opportunity will call peoples, as well as individuals, to move from country to country, and from continent to continent. A study of the map of the world reveals how unequally distributed are the people of the earth, even when measured by the opportunities of getting a living. For instance, Asia has a population of fifty per square mile; Europe has a hundred people to the square mile; North America has fifteen; Africa, eleven; South America, seven; and Australia, five.

It must be plain to every person who has a reasonable knowledge of the relative resources of the several continents, that South America has the latent ability to support fifty people to the square mile as easily as Europe can support a hundred, and if that be true there is room on that continent for three hundred million immigrants and their descendants. It also seems to be evident from a comparison of the relative resources of North America and Asia, that North America, with its up-to-date western-world system of agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce, can support a population of a density equal to that which Asia supports to-day with its out-of-date and antiquated agricultural and industrial methods. If that be true, then North America might yet find room for three hundred million souls. Africa is hot for the most part, and somewhat inhospitable to civilization, and yet the spread of the science of tropical medicine makes it as available a place for human existence as equatorial South America in general, and Panama in particular. Leaving out the Great Sahara, it might support a population of at

least twenty-five to the square mile, and that would mean room for an increase in population of more than 150,000,000 souls.

Australia, likewise, might accommodate at least twenty-five to the square mile, and that would mean nearly a hundred million souls could find room on the smallest continent. In other words, with South America and North America having a population half as dense as that of Europe and equally as dense as that of Asia; and with Australia and Africa having a population only a fourth as dense as that of Europe and half as dense as that of Asia to-day, there would be room for an immigration to those continents of nearly nine hundred million souls. As things stand to-day, Europe and Asia, with about two-fifths of the world's area, support four-fifths of the world's population.

It naturally follows that from these two continents must flow the rivers of humanity which will bring the population of the earth to a common level, if such a level ever is reached. And as long as the other continents set up the bars against the Asiatic as they are doing to-day, not much of the immigration of the future can come from there. Europe for centuries witnessed one tide of humanity after another sweeping westward from Asia — the Celt, the Teuton, the Latin, the Slav — and its population has grown until it is now four times as dense as the rest of the world. And this, in spite of the fact that once the Asiatic tides of humanity ceased to sweep westward, other tides in turn started out of Europe, whose ends are not yet, and which already have carried perhaps a hundred million souls across the seas to other continents.

Perhaps the most interesting probable development in human migratory matters for the early future is the indicated tide that gives promise soon to be sweeping through the Panama Canal. All the world looks for a boom throughout the Americas as a result of the opening of the great waterway. And especially is this to be true of the Pacific sides of the two continents. Suddenly all this vast region is to be brought five thousand miles nearer to the immigrant embarking ports of Europe, five hundred hours sailing closer for the interchange of commerce. Instead of San Francisco's being as far by water from Liverpool as Sitka is from New York, the City of the Golden Gate will be brought as near to Liverpool as New York now is to Bombay.

When every one believes an era of great development is coming, and squares himself to greet it and to profit by it, nothing can stop its approach. And what a getting ready for the prosperity that is coming is now to be found on the West Coasts of the two Americas! These preparations are not in the shape of such a tremendous rise of values as to discount the future for a generation, but rather in the shape of a widespread plan to be ready to open up the latent resources of these regions the minute conditions are ripe. It gives no indication of being an era of speculation on things that exist to-day, but rather it promises to seek its reward in the development of latent wealth. With such a concerted, united, common-consent plan for reaping the benefits of the canal, there is going to be almost an unprecedented demand for labor in western Pan-America. There will be no bubbles of speculation to burst, but rich tolls of industry to gather.

Already the big steamship lines are planning to take advantage of the situation. They will have large fleets of immigrant-carrying ships, equipped with the excellent accommodations which the "new" steerage provides, ready to carry laborers and their families to these new fields of abundant opportunities for work and good pay. The labor centers of Europe are watching with interest the approaching completion of the Canal, since the tide of immigration that will set through it will mean not only better wages for those who go, but likewise for those who stay behind. The cutting down of the labor supply in Europe has consistently helped the wage earner who remained behind to get a better wage than he could command before his brethren answered the wanderlust begotten of economic conditions which called upon them to take up their possessions and join the great caravan of humanity bound to the New World.

An inkling of what the West Coast of the Americas may be able ultimately to do in the way of furnishing homes for a new population is to be gathered from Salvador. This little country, with an area so small that nineteen countries like it could be tucked away within the confines of the single state of California, has a population of 1,707,000 souls. In other words, while California to-day has a population of 2,377,000, according to the Salvadorean standard it could support some forty million people.

Any one who has traveled from La Libertad to San Salvador, and from San Salvador via Sonsonate to Acajutla and Zacapa, and who has beheld the hundreds of square miles taken up with volcanic mountains, knows that Salvador has no greater proportion of arable land than California. Furthermore, having seen the tropical system of agriculture and industry, he knows that California can match product with product and resource with resource. The Salvadoreans are the most prosperous people of the West Coast, in spite of the remarkable density of population found there.

Duplicating the population of Salvador, the other countries of Central America could find room for upward of thirty million souls above their present population. Mexico could furnish an abiding place for nearly 150,000,000 additional people. Measured according to the Salvadorean standard, the Americas ultimately could accommodate a total population equivalent to twice the estimated population of the entire earth to-day. Of course, such a time may never come and certainly will not come for many centuries, but it demonstrates the possibilities of the West Coast.

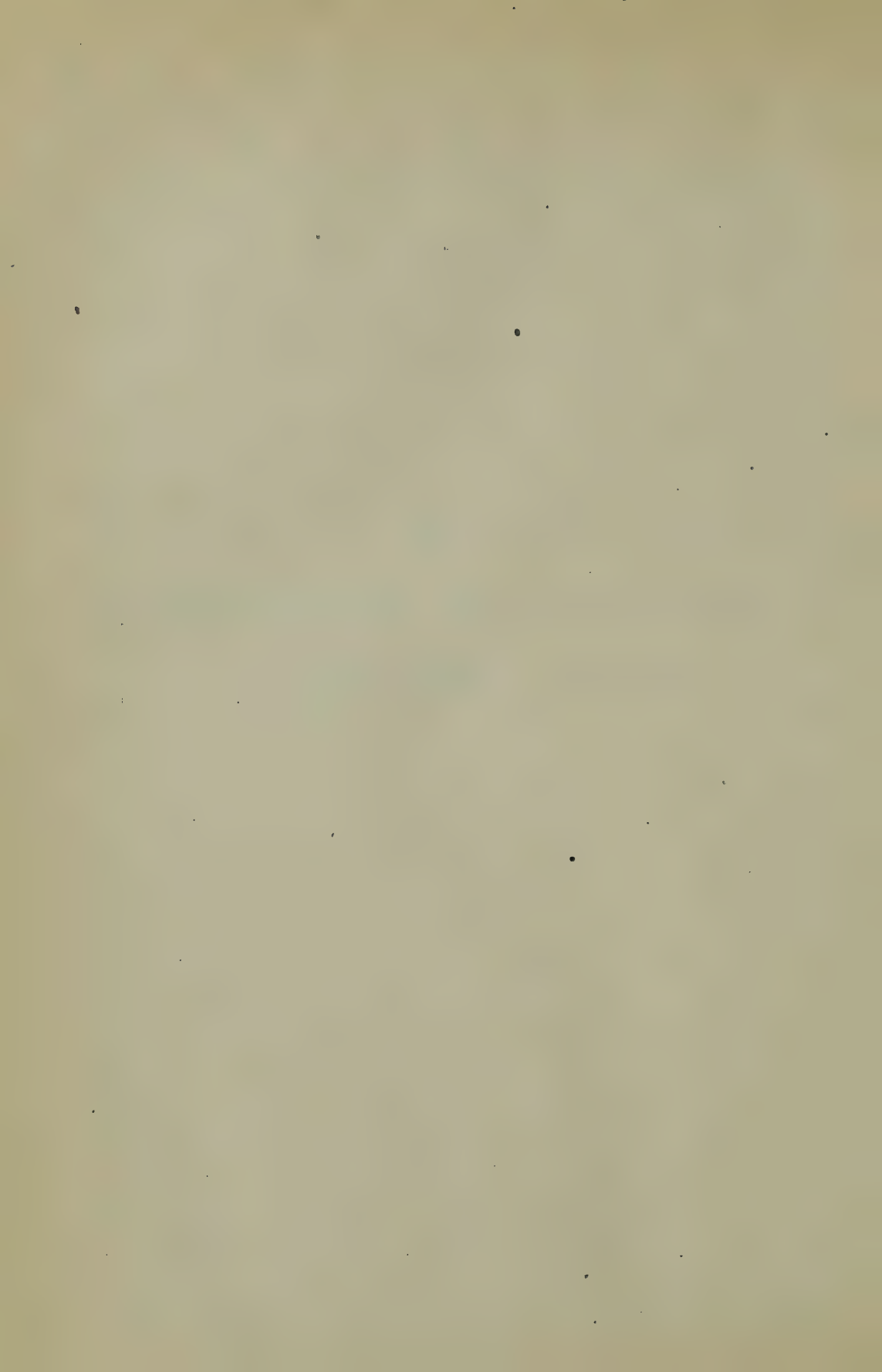
It seems certain that the opening of the Panama Canal will give new truth to the saying that westward the course of empire takes its way. But that age-long tendency of the unceasing drift of humanity will stop with the Pacific shores of the Americas, for beyond that lies Asia, where the movement began, and where there is no room for new immigration. The indications all point to the Americas and Australia as the regions to which the footsteps of the immigrant will lead for at least a century more. Asia will be shut up within herself, neither offering her hospitality to immigrant races, nor being offered that of the other continents.

After all the resistless tides of humanity have swept to and fro over the bosom of the oceans and over the lands of the earth in search of new worlds of economic advantage to conquer, there yet may come a time when they will fold their tents and march back to the irrigation ditches from which civilization sprang. Once the earth's supply of coal is exhausted man will be put to it to find power to turn the wheels of the world's industries. The capital that old Sol stored up in the earth through millions of years of shining, exhausted, some means then must be found

to replenish the supply. And only one means thereafter can science see to-day — the solar engine, driven by the direct rays of the sun. The solar engine can do its work steadfastly and efficiently only under a hot sun and permanently cloudless sky. So industry will be driven to the sunburnt waterfronts of the earth. There man will irrigate his fields, run his factories, drive his railroad trains, operate his ships, cool his houses, freeze his ice, and do all of the thousand things that civilization demands, with the heat of the sun. He will be independent of the seasons, for there is but one; he will not have to bother about the rainfall, for he will distill his water and irrigate his fields from the sea. He will not care about the weather, for he will be largely indoors and all buildings will be cooled by the same power that burns the sands of the desert. Fanciful? But none the less one of the futures to which the drifting tides of humanity may be sweeping.

IMMIGRATION AND AMERICANIZATION

BOOK II. AMERICANIZATION



Christen Jensen

VII. AMERICANIZATION POLICIES

NEW AMERICANS AND OUR POLICIES ¹

LILLIAN D. WALD

ILLUMINATING anecdotes might be told of the storm and stress that often lie beneath the surface of the immigrant's experience from the time he purchases his ticket in the old country until the gates at Ellis Island close behind him and the process of assimilation begins. That he has so often been left rudderless in strange seas forms a chapter in the history of this "land of opportunity" that cannot be omitted.

The confusion of the stranger, unable to speak the language and encountering unfamiliar laws and institutions, often has tragic results. Once in searching for a patient in a large tenement near the Bowery I knocked at each door in turn. An Italian woman hesitatingly opened one no wider than to give me a glimpse of a slight creature obviously stricken with fear. Her face brought instantly to my mind the famous picture of the sorrowing mother. "Dolorosa!" I said. The tone and the word sufficed, and she opened the door wide enough to let me enter. In a corner of the room lay two children with marks of starvation upon them.

Laying my hat and bag upon the table, to indicate that I would return, I flew to the nearest grocery for food, taking time, while my purchases were being made ready, to telephone to a distinguished Italian upon whose interest and sympathy I could rely to meet me at the tenement, that we might learn the cause of this obvious distress.

My friend arrived before I had finished feeding the children, and to him the little mother poured forth her tale. She, with

¹ From "The House on Henry Street."

three children, had arrived some days before, to meet the husband who had preceded her and had prepared the home for them. One *bambina* was ill when they reached port, and it was taken from her, why she could not explain. She was allowed to land with the other two and join her husband, and the following day in answer to their frantic inquiries, they learned that the child had been taken to a hospital and had died there. Then her husband was arrested, and she, unacquainted with a single human being in the city, found herself alone with two starving children, too frightened to open the door or to venture upon the street. She thought her husband was imprisoned somewhere near by.

My friend and I went together to the Ludlow Street jail, and here a curious thing occurred. We merely inquired for the prisoner; we asked no questions. His cell door was opened and he was released. Later I learned that he had been arrested because of failure to make a satisfactory payment on a watch he was buying on the installment plan. There must have been gross irregularity in the transaction, judging by the willingness to release him and the fact that his creditor failed to appear against him. It was hinted, at the time, that there was collusion between the installment plan dealers and the prison officials.

A pleasanter story is that of the B—— family. One evening two neighborhood women, shawls over their heads, called to ask if I would contribute to a fund they were raising to furnish quarters for a family just arrived from Ellis Island. When I expressed wonder that they should have been permitted to land in a penniless condition the women shrugged their shoulders in characteristic fashion and said, "Well, they're here, and we must do something."

Not wishing to refuse, or to participate blindly, I asked for the whereabouts of the man of the family. I found him in a basement, a very dignified, gray-haired cobbler, between forty and forty-five years of age. When I asked how it happened that the first step of his family in America should be to claim help in this way he explained the complications in which they had been involved. He had preceded his family to make a home for them, and after some years had sent money for steamer tickets for them. When they arrived at the frontier, owing to some technicality, they were sent back. He had sent more money to defray

the additional expenses; then himself had been compelled to undergo an operation for appendicitis, which took all he had hoarded to furnish the home. He was just out of the hospital when wife and children arrived.

Appreciating the importance of having the family begin life in their new environment with dignity and self-respect, an offer was made to loan him money if he would recall the women who were begging for him. Together we figured out the minimum sum needed, and within an hour the twenty-five dollars was in his hands and he had recalled the women with joy. He took the loan without exaggerated protest or gratitude, merely saying: "As there is a God in heaven you will not regret this."

He was a skillful cobbler and the wife a good housekeeper, and in six months they brought back the twenty-five dollars. It was pleasanter not to think of the pinching in the household that made this prompt repayment possible. Some time later he brought me forty dollars which the family had saved, saying he knew it would give me pleasure to start the savings-bank account which they would need for the education of the children. The subsequent history of this family, like many another known to us in Henry Street, shows the real contribution brought into American life by immigrants of this character.

In discussions throughout the country of the problems of immigration it is significant that few, if any, of the men and women who have had extended opportunity for social contact with the foreigner favor a further restriction of immigration.

The government's policy regarding the immigrant has been negative, concerned with exclusion and deportation, with the head tax and the enforcement of treaties and international agreements. By our laws we are protected from the pauper, the sick, and the vicious; but only within recent years has a hearing been given to those who have asked that our government assume an affirmative policy of protection, distribution, and assimilation.

The need of constructive social measures has long been indicated. The planting of roots in the new soil can best be accomplished through an intercourse with the immigrant in which the dignity of the individual and of the family is recognized. Heroic measures may be necessary to establish a satisfactory

system of distribution, and these measures must be based on a philosophic understanding of democracy. Among them should be provision for giving instruction to the prospective immigrant in regard to those laws, customs, or prohibitions with which he is liable to come in contact, and also in regard to the industrial opportunities open to him. Then, with competent medical examination at the port of departure and humane consideration there and here, the tragedies now so frequent at the port of arrival might be diminished, or even eliminated altogether.

In turn, the private banker, the employment agent, the ticket broker, the lawyer, and the notary public have battered upon the helplessness of the immigrant. Our experience has convinced us that in the interest of the state itself the future citizens should be made to feel that protection and fair treatment are accorded by the state. The greater number of immigrants who come to us are adults for whose upbringing this country has been at no expense. It would seem only just to give them special protection during their first years in the country, to encourage confidence in our institutions, and to promote assimilation. From an academic point of view, it might be said that all institutions for the citizen are available to the immigrant, but the statement carries with it an implication of equal ability on the part of the latter to utilize these institutions, and this is not borne out by the experience of those familiar with actual conditions. Such thoughts as these lay back of an invitation to Governor Hughes to dine and spend an evening at the settlement and there meet the colleagues who could speak with authority on these matters.

The Governor left us armed with maps and documentary evidence. A few months later the legislature authorized the creation of a commission to "make full inquiry, examination, and investigation into the condition, welfare, and industrial opportunities of aliens in the State of New York." Among its nine members were two women, Frances Kellor and myself. Upon the recommendation of that commission the New York Bureau of Industries and Immigration of the Department of Labor was created.¹ Miss Kellor, the first woman to be head of a state bureau, became its chief.

¹ Report of Commission on Immigration of the State of New York transmitted to the legislature in April, 1909.

Pending the enactment of legislation, she and I, with a photographer and a sympathetic companion interested in questions of labor, motored over the state examining the construction camps of the barge canal (a state contract), the camps connected with the city's great new aqueduct, and some of the canning establishments.

In the latter we found ample illustration of indifference on the part of private employers. In the camps surrounding the canneries were large numbers of idle children who should have been in school. The local authorities were, perhaps not unnaturally, indisposed to enforce the compulsory education law upon these children whose stay in the community was to be a transient one. In the public work the New York City contracts, with few exceptions, showed carefully thought-out and standardized conditions for the men; but examination of the state contracts showed that while elaborate provision had been made for the expert handling of every other detail connected with the work, even to the stabling of the mules, nowhere was any mention made of the men.

In a shack that held three tiers of bunks, occupied alternately by the day and night shifts, with a cook-stove in a little clearing in the middle, we found a homesick man, who chanced not to be on the works, reading a book. When we engaged in conversation with him he pointed contemptuously to the bunks and their dirty coverings, and said, "This America! I show you Rome," and produced from under his bed a photograph of the Coliseum.

The commission exposed many forms of exploitation of the immigrant, and subsequent reports have corroborated its findings. Some safeguards have now been established, and the reports of the Bureau of Industries and Immigration in the first years of its existence bore interesting testimony to its practical and social value. The significance of the indifference of the state to its employees, as it appeared to the investigators, was given publicity at the time, and roused comment and discussion. I quote from it as follows:

The state, as employer, alone determines the terms upon which its new canal shall be built. It defines in great detail its standard of materials and workmanship, but takes no thought for the workmen who must operate in great transient groups. It does not leave to

chance the realization of its material standard, but sends inspectors to make tests and provides a staff of engineers. It does leave to chance (in the ignorance and cupidity of *padroni*) the quality and price of foods and care of the men. It takes great care to prevent the freezing of cement, but permits any kind of houses to be used for its laborers. It is wholly indifferent as to how they are ventilated, lighted, or heated, how many men sleep in them, or whether the sleeping quarters are also used for cooking and eating and the bunks as cupboards. Neither does it care whether the men can keep themselves or their clothes clean.

The simplest standards which military history shows are essential in handling such artificial bodies of people are grossly violated. Sanitary conveniences are sometimes entirely omitted; the men drink any kind of water they can obtain, and filthy grounds are of no evident concern. The state does not inquire whether there are hospitals or physicians, medicine, emergency aids, or anything of the kind. Notice is taken of gambling, drunkenness, and immorality only when they impair the efficiency of the man. . . . Men left alone in these miserable, uninspected shacks, where vermin and dirt prevail . . . must inevitably deteriorate. The testimony of contractors themselves is that many of the laborers become nomads, drifting from camp to camp, drinking, quarreling, and averse to steady work.

We commend this responsibility in all its phases to the various state departments charged with education, health, letting of contracts, payment of bills, supervision of highways and waterways, and protection of laborers. We ask the state as employer to consider its gain from the men at the most productive periods of their lives; we ask the state to measure the influence of this life upon its future citizens during their first years in the country when they are most receptive to impression of America.¹

Quite recently the Public Health Council of the New York State Department of Health has adopted a sanitary code for all labor camps.

It is impossible to compute the sums that have been lost by immigrants through fake banks, fake express companies, and irresponsible steamship agencies. In New York State these were practically legislated out of existence through the efforts of the Commission of Immigration of 1909 just referred to, yet in the winter of 1914-1915 approximately \$12,000,000 was lost

¹ "The Construction Camps of the People," by Lillian D. Wald and Frances A. Kellor. *The Survey*, January 1, 1910.

on the lower East Side by the failure of private banks, sweeping away the savings and capital of between 60,000 and 70,000 depositors. Happily, the postal savings bank has come, and is already much used by immigrants, incidentally keeping a large amount of money in this country. In important centers the stations might be socialized to the still greater advantage of the depositors and the service by having some one assigned to interpret, to write addresses, and give information. These favors have been the bait held out to the timid stranger by the private agencies.

Perhaps an even greater loss has come to us through the land sale deceptions. Farms cultivated in New York State are actually decreasing, while the population increases. The census of 1900-1910 shows 4.9 per cent decrease of farms and 25.4 per cent increase of population. Great numbers of the immigrants are peasants, and land hungry, and if there was a policy throughout the states of registration of land for prospective settlers, and if severe penalties attached to land frauds, I have little doubt that valuable workers might be directed to the enormous areas that need cultivation. "I am an agriculturist," said a man who found his way to the settlement to tell his troubles, "and I pull out nails in a box factory in New York." His entire family have followed him to the land that he is now cultivating.

One winter a number of peasants from the Baltic provinces found themselves stranded in New York. It was a period of unemployment, and they could find no work. Unaccustomed to cities, they eagerly seized upon an opportunity to leave New York. At the settlement, where they were assembled, a state official told them of woodcutters needed — in Herkimer County, as I remember it. An advertisement called for forty men, and the responsibility of the advertiser was vouched for by the local banker.

"Who can cut trees?" I asked. A shout went up from these countrymen — "Who cannot cut trees?" *Forty* to go? Everyone was ready. So we financed them in their quest for work, and bade good-by to a radiant, grateful group. *Alas! only four men were needed.* The contractor preferred to have a larger number come, that he might make selection. And this is not an exceptional instance. Ask the itinerant workers, the tramps

even, how much faith can be placed in the advertisements of "Hands Wanted" in the East and in the West at the gathering of the crops.

The possibility of deflecting people to the land has been demonstrated by Jewish societies in New York, and with proper support other organizations interested in this phase of the immigrant's welfare might repeat their success. Such programs of distribution, however, cannot be carried out without effective coöperation from the people in the rural regions, and assimilative processes will not be wholly successful until the native-born American is freed from some of his prejudices and provincialism.

An unsocial attitude in the country naturally drives the stranger to an intensive colony life which accentuates the disadvantages of the barriers he and we build up.

An experience in Westchester County illustrates this very well. We were seeking lodgings for two intelligent and attractive young Italians who were working on a dam at one of our settlement country places. Incidentally, the work they were doing was quite beyond the powers of any native workers in the vicinity of whom we could hear. We asked an old native couple, squatters on some adjacent land, to rent an unoccupied floor of their house to the two young men. The man, despite their extremely indigent condition (the wife went to the almshouse a short time after), absolutely refused, fearing the loss of social prestige if they "lived in the house with dagoes."

Perhaps, having little else, they were justified in clinging to their social exclusiveness, but their action in this case illustrates the almost universal attitude toward the immigrant, particularly the more recent ones, and perhaps only those who have felt the isolation and loneliness of the newcomer can comprehend its cruelty.

An educated Chinese merchant who once called at the settlement apologized for the eagerness with which he accepted an offer to show him over the house, explaining that although he had been thirty years in this country ours was the first American home he had been invited to enter.

We need also to analyze the philosophy of much of the discrimination against aliens in the matter of employment, and it

is not pleasant to remember that until recently a state employing an enormous number of foreign workers forbade the bringing of suit by the non-resident family of the alien, although he might have lost his life in an accident through no fault of his own.

Scorn of the immigrant is not peculiar to our generation. A search of old newspaper files will show that the arrival of great numbers of immigrants of any one nationality has always been considered a problem. In turn each nationality as it became established in the new country has considered the next comers a danger. The early history of Pennsylvania records the hostility to the Germans — "fear dominated the minds of the Colonists" — despite the fact that the German invaders were landowning and good farmers.

An Irish boy observed to one of our residents that on Easter Day he intended to kill his little Jewish classmate. Having had long experience of the vigorous language and kind heart of the young Celt, she paid little attention to the threat, but was more startled when the soft-eyed Francesco chimed in that he was also going to destroy him "because he killed my Gawd." "But," said the teacher, "Christ was a Jew." "Yes, I know," answered the young defender of the faith, "He was then, but He's an American now."

Despite its absurdity, was not the boy's conception an exaggerated illustration of that surface patriotism which is almost universally stimulated and out of which soul-deadening prejudices may grow — may take root even in the public schools?

Great is our loss when a shallow Americanism is accepted by the newly arrived immigrant, more particularly by the children, and their national traditions and heroes are ruthlessly pushed aside. The young people have usually to be urged by some one outside their own group to recognize the importance and value of customs, and even of ethical teaching, when given in a foreign language, or by old-world people with whom the new American does not wish to be associated in the minds of his acquaintances. This does not apply only to the recent immigrant, to whom his children often hear contemptuous terms applied. I remember attending a public hearing before the Department of Education of New York City at which Germans vigorously urged the study

of their native tongue in the public schools, because of the impossibility of persuading their children to learn or use the language by any other means than that of having it made a part of the great American public school system.

It is difficult to find evidence of any serious effort on our part to comprehend the mental reaction upon the immigrant of the American institutions he encounters. Indeed, gathering up the story of the immigrant, I sometimes wonder if he, like the fairies, does not hold up a magic mirror wherein our social ethics are reflected, rather than his own visage.

What we are to the immigrant in our civic, social, and ethical relations is quite as important as what he is to us. We risk destruction of the spirit — that element of life that makes it human — when we disregard our neighbor's personality.

Recent discussion of immigration bills focuses attention on two points deemed of fundamental importance by the settlement groups.

Three Presidents have vetoed bills for the restriction of immigration by means of a literacy test or by conditions that would virtually deny the right of asylum for political refugees. Once, in addressing a committee of the House on such proposed legislation, I protested against a departure from our tradition and reminded the members of the committee of the splendid Americans who would have been lost to this country had the door been so closed upon them. A young physician of Polish parentage followed, and his cultured diction and attractive appearance lent emphasis to his story. "My father," he said, "came an illiterate to this country because the priest of his parish happened not to be interested in education, not because my father was indifferent. He has struggled all his life to give his children what he himself could never have, and has worshiped the country that gave us opportunity."

In his veto of the bill President Wilson admirably formulated his reasons for opposing restriction of this character, and as these are exactly the arguments upon which social workers have based their objections, I cannot do better than quote him here :

In two particulars of vital consequence this bill embodies a radical departure from the traditional and long-established policy of this

country, a policy in which our people have conceived the very character of their government to be expressed, the very mission and spirit of the nation in respect of its relations to the peoples of the world outside their borders. It seeks to all but close entirely the gates of asylum, which have always been open to those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the natural and inalienable rights of men, and it excludes those to whom the opportunities of elementary education have been denied without regard to their character, their purposes, or their natural capacity.

The immigrant brings in a steady stream of new life and new blood to the nation. The unskilled have made possible the construction of great engineering works, have helped to build bridges and roadways above and under ground. The number of skilled artisans and craftsmen among immigrants and the contribution they make to the cultural side of our national life are too rarely emphasized. Alas for our educational system! we must still look abroad for the expert cabinetmaker or stone-carver, the weaver of tapestry, or the artistic worker in metals, precious or base.

In another place I have spoken of the rise of certain needle trades from those of sweaters and sweaters' victims to a standardized industry, with an output estimated at hundreds of millions yearly. The industry of cloak and suit making has been to a large extent developed by the immigrants themselves. When the stranger looks upon the lofty buildings in other parts of the city, gigantic beehives with the swarms of workers going in and out, he seldom comprehends that great wealth has been created for the community by these humble workers.

The man who now stands at the gates of Ellis Island turns his socially trained mind toward the development of methods for the protection and assimilation of the immigrant after the gates have closed upon him. But the best conceived plans of this Commissioner of Immigration and others who have long studied the question will be fruitless unless, throughout the country, an intelligent and respectful attitude toward the stranger is sedulously cultivated.

In the early glow of our enthusiasm, when we were first brought in contact with the immigrant, we dreamed of making

his coming of age — his admission to citizenship — something of a rite. Many who come here to escape persecution or the hardships suffered under a militaristic government idealize America. They bring an enthusiasm for our institutions that would make it natural to regard admission to the rights and responsibilities of citizenship with seriousness. Years ago we urged the use of school buildings, that registration and the casting of the ballot might be dignified by formal surroundings. This has been done in several cities, although not yet in New York.

The foreign press, particularly the Yiddish, has a distinct Americanizing influence. Many adults never learn the new language and, indeed, acquire here the habit of newspaper reading. The history of the United States, biographies of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and other distinguished Americans appear in the pages of these papers, and one Italian daily published serially the Constitution of the United States. Effective, too, as an educational and assimilating measure have been the lectures in foreign languages conducted for many years by the Educational Alliance on East Broadway and by the various settlements, and included, for some years past, in the evening courses of the Department of Education.

In our neighborhood the physical changes of the last twenty years have been great. Since that first disturbing walk with the little girl to the rear tenement on Ludlow Street asphalt has replaced unclean, rough pavements; beautiful school buildings (some the finest in the world) have been erected; streets have been altered, and rows of houses demolished to make room for new bridges and small parks. Subway tubes take the working population to scattered parts of the greater city; piers have been built for recreation purposes, and a chain of small free libraries of beautiful design. A Tenement House Department has been created, charged with supervision and enforcement of the laws regulating the housing of 80 per cent of the city's population, and so far assaults upon this protective legislation have been repulsed, despite the tireless lobby of the owners year after year.

As our neighbors have prospered many have moved to quarters where they find better houses, less congestion, more bathtubs;

but an enormous working population still finds occupation in the lower part of the city. Carfare is an expense, and time spent in overcrowded cars, which scarcely afford standing-room, adds to the exhaustion of the long day, and these considerations keep many near the workshop. Despite the exodus, we still remain an overcrowded region of overcrowded homes. Through the tenements there is a stream of inflowing as well as outflowing life. The newcomer finds a lodging-place most readily in this vicinity, and the East Side is the shore of the harbor.

The settlements have been before the public long enough to have lost the glamour of moral adventure that was associated with their early days. Many who were identified with them then have steadfastly remained, although realizing, as one of them has said, that high purpose has often been mocked by petty achievement.

A characteristic service of the settlement to the public grows out of its opportunities for creating and informing public opinion. Its flexibility as an instrument makes it pliant to the essential demands made upon it; uncommitted to a fixed program, it can move with the times.

Out of the enthusiasms and out of the sympathies of those who come to it, though they be sometimes crude and formless, a force is created that makes for progress. For these, as well as for the helpless and ignorant who seek aid and counsel, the settlement performs a function.

The visitors who come from all parts of the world and exchange views and experiences prove how absurd are frontiers between honest-thinking men and women of different nationalities or different classes. Human interest and passion for human progress break down barriers centuries old. They form a tie that binds closer than any conventional relationship.

THE IMMIGRANT AND THE STATE

A. THE WORK OF THE CALIFORNIA IMMIGRATION COMMISSION

FOREWORD

DURING the whole period of the war, even when it seemed far removed from America, the Commission of Immigration and Housing was in intimate touch with the world conflict. It knew the changes as they came in the early days in the foreign quarters, in the camps, in the night schools. It knew when the first groups drew apart, when the first contingents mobilized, where the families were left and how. It knew this in many ways but particularly because the whole story came in scraps through the interpreters to whom the men and women came for help in adjusting wage claims, contracts, life insurance, and tickets. For in those days the war was essentially an unsettler of the immigrant and his activities — an immigrant problem.

Thus, while America was still but an observer of the whole war, the commission anticipated the necessities of the state as a whole as well as those of the people whom it was created to serve, and flexed its machinery for that service.

In face of a sweeping sentiment for "the English language only" and for the suppression of the foreign press, the commission installed more foreign-speaking agents in its various offices and used the foreign language as a medium of communication with the immigrant population.

When this country entered the war and the first registration was ordered, the commission was ready with a foreign language policy. It knew the uneasiness, the suspicion, the utter helplessness of a great part of the population ignorant of our language — it knew that no war order in English only would reach these people, and so it prepared a sign which in sixteen languages carried a notice explaining the order and its importance.

These signs were distributed throughout the state wherever they could reach non-English speaking people.

And in this way, and at this time, began the definite war program which finally took possession of the various departments. As each government order was issued, whether it related to food or fishing, to baby weighing or naturalization, to education or Liberty Bonds, to housing or shipbuilding, it became the mission not only of the foreign-speaking agents, but of every officer of the commission. And so the commission became a government messenger and carried the federal orders through the length and breadth of the state.

This campaign won the interest and coöperation of the immigrants of California for each federal order, for each national drive. In one short year the major part of the citizenry of the state was welded together for a common cause by coöperation and education — vigorous, persistent, intelligent. Best of all, *mutual understanding* was established, and now the commission has a new vision of its duties and its opportunities. All that it has learned of service, and coöperation, all that it has learned of organization for war, must now be used to set in motion the forces that make for better living and working conditions, for broader educational opportunities in California.

THE STORY OF THE COMMISSION

Five years ago California established her Commission of Immigration and Housing to protect and aid immigrants within the state.

This commission was built upon the conviction that all the problems which touch the immigrant take on a distinct aspect peculiar to no problem of the native-born. It was built upon the conviction that the foreign-born suffers great hardships because, from the moment of his arrival, he is placed at a disadvantage, and that, in order that he may be placed upon an equal footing with his native-born neighbor, definite constructive aid must be given him in overcoming his handicaps. Furthermore, it was built upon the conviction that as the immigrant suffers from his shortcomings so does the community in which he lives suffer with him.

In establishing the commission, California had no definite precedent to follow. The experiment was new to herself, new to America, new even to the world at large. And, as in the case of all experiments, confidence in its success was not unmixed with doubts.

And then — came the war, came war work, came the cry for Americanization. California found herself a Prophet and a Pioneer, found herself five years in advance of the times, found the country as a whole frantically organizing for the tasks which she had undertaken long before. And she had undertaken them not as a hasty war measure — for the world had not yet dreamed of war — but as her plain and simple duty to the immigrant, to herself, and to America.

From the start, in the scheme of the commission, these tasks outlined themselves, following the belief that before a man should be asked to become a good American by being worthy of his surroundings, those surroundings should be made worthy of a good American.

The immigrant did not understand his rights, did not understand our laws, his ignorance was exploited on every hand; so the commission's Bureau of Complaints came into being, to advise him, to adjust his difficulties, and to remove the causes for those difficulties.

In the labor camps he worked — for the most part — under wretched conditions which he could not change, and the remedy for this was the commission's Bureau of Labor Camp Inspection which, in five years, has revolutionized the labor camps of the state.

He lived by his work and little help could be given him if he were deprived of that work; and the question of unemployment with the problems leading up to it, the problems arising from it, and possible solutions, became part of the commission's undertaking.

From the moment of his arrival he was crowded into the badly congested quarters of the city and so the problem of Housing was accepted as part of the bigger problem of immigration, and the commission set about the task of awakening the state to its obligation of furnishing proper living conditions even for those who can pay little rent.

He did not know the English language, and the commission's Bureau of Immigrant Education turned to this new task of education.

Even so, he could not wait to learn the language of America before assuming some of the duties toward her; her ideals and hopes had to be made clear to him in his own tongue; and the commission's Foreign-Language Speakers set out upon their mission of enlightenment.

Now the labor camps of Oregon and Washington are being inspected under the federal government's program of war necessity. Housing surveys are now being undertaken as part of the country-wide Americanization movement, and yet there was much wondering when, five years ago, California linked the two. Educators throughout America are realizing that teaching English to the foreign-born is a new profession for which new provision has to be made. And the coöperation of the leaders of these foreign-born is being enlisted in carrying America's message to their countrymen in their own tongue, a measure which has long been a vital part of California's plan for assimilation.

It is the hope of the commission that the brief pages which follow will give a clearer interpretation of its work in these several departments.

THE BUREAU OF COMPLAINTS

The purpose of the commission was clear from the start: to protect and aid immigrants in California.

The method of procedure was not so simple. To protect against whom and against what? To aid to what end and by what means?

There were many books and many reports on the subject of immigration. And the commission laid them all aside and opened its Bureau of Complaints.

"Not to theorize concerning the problems and difficulties met with by newly arrived immigrants, but to find out from the immigrants themselves what those facts and problems are." This statement went into the first annual report of the commission, and there has been no occasion, in the years which followed, to change the words.

From the start the Bureau of Complaints became the point of contact between the state and the people whom the commission was to serve. From the start it became evident that it was to be the chief protective branch of the commission, and from the start, its work divided itself into three parts.

In the capacity of clinic, the bureau takes up the work of research, isolating a given problem as presented by the complaints brought to its office, and determining the circumstances which made it possible. Here the *causes* of the immigrants' difficulties are sought out.

Then the individual complaints are adjusted. Land frauds, insurance frauds, wage claims, industrial accidents, bad housing conditions, insanitary camps, and unnumbered other difficulties are referred to their proper departments and settled in the best way possible.

The work of legislation forms the third part of the work and is the logical end of research. And the commission takes just pride in the laws which have been enacted for the protection of the stranger.

THE BUREAU OF COMPLAINTS SOMETIMES BECOMES THE BUREAU OF INFORMATION

The Bureau of Complaints is a vital branch of the commission's work. But sometimes the foreign-born come with *inquiries* instead of *injuries* and the Bureau of Complaints becomes the Bureau of Information.

Work ; always they come for work. Where to apply and how, and then that question which hides a bitter tragedy : "Where can I find *my* work?" It is a ghastly history, the history of the foreign-born misfit. A decorator working for a plumber, a cabinetmaker carrying bricks, an engineer digging ditches — and always the same story — the lack of information, the absence of self-confidence, the ignorance of English.

Men come to ask concerning laws on land, on wages, on naturalization, on housing, on bad camps. Men come for help with money orders, with letters, with loans, with investments. The commission's agents must know how a divorce is obtained, where free blankets and free seed samples are to be had, must be

able to advise on labor unions and pastures, on charities and dentists — on everything which touches human life.

During the trying months of war the commission spread information far from its offices. Two thousand eight hundred letters were sent out to the leaders of foreign-born asking their coöperation in helping their people to register properly, and to answer the questionnaires. This appeal was strengthened by letters sent out by the Governor of California.

The commission itself was kept very busy with these. In the Los Angeles office alone, more than two thousand questionnaires were filled. When one considers the difficulties of native-born Americans with these questionnaires, the state of mind of the immigrant required to answer the questions can scarcely be imagined. Knowing how easily mistakes occur, the commission carried its assistance through the attesting of the signature and the sealing of the envelope, after which it considered its duty done. Until one day the commission's agent discovered a man whose questionnaire he had just filled out, solemnly depositing that document into a street garbage can. As both the mail box and the garbage can are made of metal, as both have slots, and as the man probably never mailed a letter before, the mistake is not so strange. But it is significant as an example of the ease with which mistakes and difficulties occur in the case of the unprotected foreign-born.

"NOT A UNITED STATES MARSHAL, BUT AN INTERPRETER"¹

The war has acted upon our international communities like the wrong kind of acid dropped into a solution. It has suddenly started a reverse action. As a Polish teacher expresses it, "People had begun to forget their feeling for nationality; and then the war! And the differences have all reappeared." Every one is sensitive about his nationality now. I believe this resharpening of nationalistic prides is a good thing for all of us, so far. We can no longer step so blunderingly all over our patient, voiceless foreign peoples! If we rise to the challenge of these international times, this sudden emphasis upon the kinetic life of America will continue to be good.

¹ From "Our International Communities and the War."

This reverse action has compelled us in spite of ourselves to know who and what these different peoples are. It has injected into our international communities the old vivid feelings, and differences and prejudices which have kept the people of Europe in a fever of suspicion and hate against each other, but not heretofore against America. In a mining camp in California, the manager began to notice a restlessness among the South Austrians. They were Croatians, but he did not know that. The unrest grew. He could discover no real cause for it and began to fear real trouble. The Immigration Commission office up in San Francisco heard of the stir and wired to wait, for they would send down an interpreter who spoke the language of the men. The interpreter arrived and announced he intended to live among the men and find out just what all the noise was about. The office objected on the ground that it was dangerous and his life wouldn't be worth a cent. He answered, "But you forget these are my own people. And I understand them." He found a bunk in a lodging house. At the end of the second day he reported back to the office that the row was the result of a feverish debate, in which the whole camp was involved, as to where the new capital for the new republic of Jugo-Slavia should be located! That man went about explaining to them the United States' part in the war. At a mass meeting he spoke of the Red Cross, and every man present joined. And later he sold \$6000 in War Savings Stamps. The men were eager to give. They bought Liberty Bonds, too. The management said, "All that we needed was an interpreter to help us understand the men."

LABOR CAMP INSPECTION

In the first year and a half of its existence the commission acted merely as an advisory body in the work of labor camp inspection, with no authority to enforce the improvements which it recommended. In 1915 the legislature amended the Labor Camp Sanitation Law, and placed the power of enforcing it in the hands of the commission. But, where possible, the commission still preferred to act in an advisory capacity. In the words of one of its inspectors, "We talk and work and fight and plead, and only as the last resort do we use the law."

In the last five years the living conditions of California labor camps have been revolutionized, and during these years no serious labor disturbances have taken place in California. Slowly the camp operator has become converted to the commission's point of view.

One railroad company, which at the beginning of the commission's work could claim some of the worst camps in the state, has just agreed to put up model car camps for its section and bridge crews and its extra gangs, and the result of this change will affect all railroads in California.

Five years ago, one bath was found in all the lumber camps visited. To-day, practically every lumber camp in the state is equipped with bathing facilities.

Operators of mines have been ready to make improvements. All of the larger mines and most of the smaller ones have been inspected and improved by the commission.

Much progress was made in improving the state's farm labor camps. These are difficult to handle, as the farm is often rented and no one considers himself responsible.

The standard of sanitation for the fruit, berry, and miscellaneous camps has been entirely changed in the last five years. It was in the work with these camps that the commission has evolved its plans for community camps.

By this plan a number of small holders erect a camp at a central point and operate it jointly. This plan has been already tried and will be undertaken on a large scale next summer in the counties of Fresno, Tulare, and Kern.

Education in the matter of improvements was not confined to the employers. The commission itself discovered ever new methods for improving its own plans, as its experience grew. The advisory pamphlet on the building and maintenance of camps, published in 1915, no longer meets the commission's own standards of 1918, and a revised pamphlet is now nearing completion.

This pamphlet, with its drawings and descriptions, gives the camp superintendent plans, by which he can make a camp habitable and up to standard at a minimum of expense. It considers the employer as well as the laborer. Not only California has used it, but it has been sent upon request to every state in

the union. Recently the Japanese have translated it into their language for distribution among their countrymen.

Also, out of the commission's experience have come recommendations for strengthening the Camp Sanitation Law. The law is now adequate for those who stand ready to coöperate with the commission. For the others (those who still hold that anything is good enough for labor) more stringent regulations are needed if the work of camp sanitation is to develop to its fullest capacity.

The past two years have been trying ones, marked by unrest of labor both in cities and rural districts throughout the United States. While other states were experiencing strikes and labor disturbances brought about by unlivable camp conditions, it is significant that but one minor instance of labor trouble on account of insanitary camp conditions was recorded in California. When the labor situation became serious other states had to call on the federal government for advice and assistance to carry out what California had accomplished through the Camp Department of the Commission of Immigration and Housing. During the same period the War Department found it necessary to detail seven commissioned officers to devote their time to reconstructing labor camps in the spruce district of the Pacific Northwest.

LABOR CAMP SANITATION

Unfortunately, in preventive work it is always difficult to prove results, or to prove that trouble has been prevented. But it is fairly certain that the movement for labor camp sanitation in California during the past few years has done much to ward off and prevent outbreaks on the part of the 75,000 or 80,000 unskilled, migratory workers in the state. At various times during that period labor trouble has threatened to reach the violent stage in different localities, where one of the causes of complaint has been insanitary and objectionable living conditions. Inspectors have been rushed to these points and the operators have been persuaded to furnish proper living conditions without the threat of legal pressure being brought to bear. With the granting of these proper demands, the temper and mood of the workers has always changed and peaceable negotiation concerning the other matters in dispute has been made possible. The commission has had such experiences throughout the state.

Moreover, a recent request from the Lumbermen's Congress of all the Northwestern states for several hundred copies of the commission's advisory pamphlet on camp sanitation and housing, for immediate use, indicates the fact that attention to this matter is absolutely essential, particularly in the rougher industries of the far Western states.

The operators have finally come to realize these facts, and their belated appeal to California is really proof of the fact that California owes her freedom from trouble in the lumber camps, partially at least, to the state's foresight in providing better living accommodations during the past years.

As additional proof of the importance of this particular work the following unsolicited statement from Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, nationally prominent in sociological work, is presented. Dr. Hoffman sent us this communication after a personal investigation of conditions in California lumber camps :

My general conclusions regarding the work of the Commission of Immigration and Housing were distinctly favorable. I was gratified to observe in my personal inspection of camps throughout northern California that a decided improvement of camp conditions has been secured, through hearty and intelligent coöperation of large employers of labor with the officials of the commission. What has been done in this respect in California should be followed without needless delay in other states. Conditions at labor or construction camps are, as a rule, throughout the country, unsatisfactory. No other state has made progress in this respect comparable with California. The model plans, rules, and regulations promulgated by your commission are admirable and deserving of nation-wide consideration.

The men who are employed in the woods, or in construction work, or in seasonal fruit gathering, are entitled to be housed and cared for in conformity to modern sanitary requirements. What is done for them as a matter of justice is, however, certain to benefit in the long run the community as a whole. Proportionate to the results achieved, the expenses incurred must be considered reasonable. Your success is primarily to be attributed to the careful selection of your official staff. I am sure that my views are shared by the large employers of labor, and the large body of employees, who are much more familiar with the facts. It is sincerely to be hoped that other states will follow California in the adoption of corresponding methods of labor and construction camp supervision and control.

In line with the labor camp sanitation work has been the safety movement under the Industrial Accident Commission whereby the general working conditions have been made much safer, and better in other respects. Likewise, the State Labor Commissioner and the Industrial Welfare Commission have done much to improve working and sanitary conditions in factories and canneries, etc.

THE MIGRATORY LABOR PROBLEM

One phase of labor problems peculiar to California is the direct result of our state's specialized crops where thousands of casual laborers are employed for a brief season of three or four weeks only. Farm crops are not diversified in California and, as a result, there are practically no opportunities for steady or all-year employment of agricultural laborers. The districts where the few large specialized crops are grown are widely scattered and, during the harvest season, the workers have to move over great distances in the course of what is termed their profession of "following the crops." This system has built up a class of many thousands of men who have no established residence or home and who are largely unemployed during from five to six of the fall, winter, and spring months. It might be said that it is only by accident that any of these people are enabled to casually fit themselves into the industrial scheme of things during these months when there is no opportunity for employment in agricultural pursuits. Those who find no casual employment during this time either hibernate in cheap lodging houses, living meagerly on their summer's earnings, or they become public charges.

The evils of the system are obvious :

First, the economic waste entailed in this undirected, more or less chance wandering about, hunting for casual, seasonal work during the summer months.

The first obvious step toward a remedy of this particular evil is the establishment of free labor exchanges or employment bureaus to direct and control the migration of these workers. The State Immigration and Housing Commission, in 1915, initiated a bill to create a system of free state labor exchanges. The legislature established such state employment offices; however, the state was not far sighted enough to provide funds

which would permit of the establishment of this work on a sufficiently large scale. The federal government has also established a sort of departmental system of free labor exchanges, but these offices, also, are not yet up to the requirements of the situation. Furthermore, besides such bureaus of intelligence and information, there must be some arrangement for rapid group movement of this labor by the railroads at reduced rates, and public employment offices will always be handicapped until some constitutional method is devised for abolishing the practice of private offices in charging fees for securing a man employment.

Second, there is the more fundamental evil of lack of employment for this class of labor during the winter months. Except at times when there is a universal shortage of labor which takes up all the slack, there is a tremendous economic and social loss involved in such unemployment.

The only complete solution that offers itself for normal times is a change in methods of farming by diversification of crops, providing regular employment in all districts of the state for longer periods of time during each year.

Another possible solution is an interstate systematized interchange of labor, supervised by a federal employment bureau.

Third, there is the equally fundamental evil presented by a large class of labor which can never become established home builders, or even responsible voting residents of any one community.

The only possible, final solution of this evil seems to be the abolishment of the whole system that requires an army of migratory workers.

Fourth, the fact that these workers are only temporarily employed makes exploitation more possible. The most important phase of this evil has already been pointed out under the discussion of the problem of labor camp sanitation. These roving, unorganized workers are practically compelled to accept the deplorable and degrading living conditions provided on most farms and ranches. Such a life lowers the physical, mental, and moral standards of the workers and weakens their whole fiber, besides breeding dangerous discontent and unrest.

HOUSING

Until recently the conception of housing as a social, as well as an economic, problem was considered an extravagant theory. But the work of the commission's Bureau of Housing has, from the first, been built on the conception that proper housing of any human being makes for steady employment, for contentment, for self-respect, for loyalty, and for good citizenship.

The commission's first task, after undertaking the work, was to educate the state as a whole to its necessity. Few knew how their neighbor lived, and surveys were made to bring actual conditions to their knowledge. In five years such preliminary investigations have been made in 55 cities — 25 before September, 1917, and 30 since. These began in the most difficult and congested districts of San Francisco and were continued until they have gone all over the state. The laws were so inadequate and the machinery for their enforcement so meager that little could be done except to create intelligent public opinion.

In 1915, the commission was given limited powers in the enforcement of the tenement house law. This did not meet the needs, so the commission called together representatives, including attorneys, physicians, architects, builders, health officers, and fire inspectors, of the state's 14 largest cities in a Housing Institute, and these, in coöperation with the commission, drafted new laws covering hotels, tenements, and single dwellings, which were passed by the legislature of 1917.

All the laws went into effect September 1, 1917.

The tenement house law is a great improvement over the old law. The hotel law is the most comprehensive in the United States. The dwelling house act is merely a skeleton bill, but at least paves the way for a really effective law later on. It applies only to incorporated cities and towns and it is the commission's hope that in the future the entire state will come under the protection of the law. *The commission was instrumental in having a county ordinance passed in Fresno covering the same points as the state law, and there is a possibility that other counties may adopt this method of reaching the rural communities.*

With this new legislation in effect, the commission began its tour of cities and towns with the purpose of securing uniform

enforcement and giving assistance to officials in the interpretation and explanation of the laws. Twenty-four cities were visited with this end in view, and inspections made in conjunction with the city officials. According to reports from fifty-nine cities in September, 1918, one year after the laws went into effect, much progress was made in securing changes in buildings. In seven of the large cities alone, over 2000 inside dark rooms were removed. On account of the war much of the actual reconstruction work was held up.

The commission prepared a manual for the use of inspectors and builders, explaining the laws, and their application, and giving drawings and charts to illustrate. This has done as much to prevent violations as to clean up existing conditions.

As a result of the department's campaign of education the University of California started a course in Problems of Housing. During 1918-1919, the course was conducted by a member of the staff of the commission.

It is interesting to note that where, five years ago, the housing work was looked upon as freakish reform, to-day the commission is constantly being asked by cities to make surveys and assist them in improving their conditions.

Industries likewise are awakened to their responsibility in providing decent housing accommodations for their workers. Requests have become numerous for information and definite plans as how best to house employees.

As was the case with all other departments of the commission, the housing work was modified to meet war emergencies. The director was called to federal service, having as his territory the entire Pacific coast. The state commission coöperated with the federal plan as far as possible. During December, 1917, and from January to May, 1918, the housing department devoted its entire time to war housing. Investigations were made in Oakland, Alameda, San Pedro and Vallejo to determine the extent of the housing facilities for shipyard workers. After the serious shortage of workingmen's homes was discovered, the commission coöperated with the federal government, cities, and private organizations to relieve the situation. Effort was made to induce large employers of labor to take some active part in providing housing facilities for their workers.

The war has emphasized the need and value of better housing; the years of reconstruction will no doubt give it the greatest impetus. It is toward education rather than toward laws that we must look for betterment of conditions. When wages are low, work irregular, families large, and rents high, it does little good to talk of enforcing the law against overcrowding. When families are ignorant of our language, the law alone has small effect. We must realize the basis of our troubles and assemble all the means at hand to educate landlords as to the social obligations, tenants and householders in their rights and duties, and the public in its responsibility, that California may set the standard of the whole country for good housing.

In order to achieve the results desired, a coördinated and systematic campaign of action must be formulated and adhered to. The heretofore apathetic attitude of some of the municipal and state officials must be changed. Good results will obtain if every public official, particularly the health officers, building and housing inspectors, at once commence an intensive survey or investigation of conditions in their respective cities and counties; platting and zoning their communities into districts, attacking first the district where the worst conditions obtain, and continuing the work diligently until every building used for human habitation is made to conform to the California state housing laws and to the local ordinances of the cities and counties.

Opposition may be encountered, but if traced to its source will be found only of a selfish sort because no individual or community has yet advanced a logical reason why bad housing should prevail; bad housing will exist only so long as the good-natured public will tolerate it. So long as the principle is right, and the laws back it up, consequences are not to be feared. An educational publicity campaign to get crystallized public sentiment behind the movement will in itself accomplish half of the task, by exposing those who stand for bad housing and all its attendant evils.

In the light of experience, and from the use of available information, the time has arrived when each individual and community, public official and civic organization, should take a stand either for or against bad housing.¹

¹ The commission's three pamphlets, *An A-B-C of Housing*, *A Plan for a Housing Survey*, and a *State Housing Manual* which contains the state housing laws, can be had upon application.

BUREAU OF IMMIGRANT EDUCATION

FOREWORD

Until May, 1917, there was only one person, the director, in this bureau. This director, by her personality and genius for hard work, was able to secure and use much volunteer assistance. She surveyed her immediate field and by her first report on "What it Costs to Neglect the Immigrant" was able to enlist the interest and coöperation of the community. Following this, she gathered the information and personally prepared Leaflets 1, 2, 3 and 4 on Education and all pamphlets issued prior to 1918.

She also planned "The Heroes of Freedom" and "A Community Survey of Los Angeles."

These reports are largely upon Los Angeles for two reasons: that Los Angeles is an immigrant center and because the director was held in that city as the head of the branch office.

REPORT

In section 6 of the act creating the Commission of Immigration and Housing, the commission is charged:

With "bringing to the immigrant the best opportunities for acquiring education and citizenship."

With "ascertaining the necessity and extent to which instruction should be imparted to immigrants"; and

To "devise methods for the proper instruction of adult and minor aliens in the English language and other subjects," and

To "put into operation practical devices for training for citizenship, and for encouraging naturalization."

This program to be carried out by coöperation with existing agencies rather than by creating new machinery.

Educational Work to Be Coöperation with All Existing Agencies

In compliance with this keynote of coöperation, the commission, through its Department of Education, has endeavored, not to establish new machinery for carrying on its work, but to encourage already existing agencies to understand their local immigration problem and extend their work to meet it.

For this reason much of the time has necessarily been spent in propaganda, in interviewing superintendents of schools, directors of public employment bureaus, of settlements, playgrounds, libraries, missions, and other agencies, public and private, always emphasizing the importance of making such modifications in a regular program as will fit the peculiar needs of the immigrant. Through its complaint department such questions as child labor and inattendance at school, among immigrant families, were reported to the proper authorities.

Compulsory Attendance of School Children

Through its labor camp inspection, the commission has a record of children of immigrants for whom "the regular schools are not easily accessible." This has been arranged by urging the county superintendent to open a school in compliance with the school law, or where this was not practicable, employers have been asked to provide instruction. There is much need for further work in this direction.

Propaganda to Educate Americans

In order to educate the American to a clearer and more sympathetic understanding of the immigrant, volunteer speakers, trained by the commission, have been sent out to arouse communities to their responsibilities and to give them a practical program.

Aside from this more indefinite part of the education program, which shows results only in a growing social consciousness that California has an immigration problem, which it can no longer neglect, there have been concrete activities which should be reported upon.

General Study — Home Teacher Legislation

First Year: During the first year of the commission, the Department of Education confined its activities to studying the agencies available for immigrant education. It found one great need. There was no American influence, except an occasional settlement, which reached the home. The only agency which

could adequately do this was the school. It alone came with no prejudice, and it had the widest contact. As teachers already were too overburdened for this additional service, the commission, after studying the best methods in other states, drafted a law which created the home teacher. Once the act was passed, the department devoted itself to explaining the functions of such a teacher and preparing a manual for her use. For the sake of having a definite illustration of the advantages of this appendage to the school system, and to work out standards, the commission induced a highly trained woman to work as a volunteer in the Los Angeles City schools for a year and a half.

Mobilization of Women's Clubs throughout the State to Study Immigration in Local Communities

Second Year: The Department of Education devoted most of its concrete work during the second year to the city of Los Angeles, because it hoped definite accomplishment in one place would be the best beginning for a successful state-wide program.

It did, however, mobilize the women's organizations throughout the state to study this local immigration problem, giving them a questionnaire and a program to follow:

Survey of the Cost of the Immigrant to Los Angeles Taxpayers

In Los Angeles, it began with a study of the cost of the immigrant to the city taxpayer. This convincing proof that education is cheaper in the end than remedial methods, was made the subject of an educational campaign. Large colored charts were prepared and used in speaking before the Board of Education, the Chamber of Commerce, County Board of Supervisors, women's and other civic organizations. The school board and county supervisors were especially urged to increase their budgets and give a larger proportion for the teaching of English in the night schools and in afternoon classes for women.

Study of the Neighborhood Schools

A careful study of neighborhood schools (public schools especially adapted for the local needs of immigrant communities,

a unique feature of the Los Angeles public school system) was prepared for the State Conference of Social Agencies in a "Report on Social and Economic Conditions of the Neighborhood School Districts."

Campaign to Get Foreigners into the Night Schools

Third Year: The third year opened with an intensive campaign to get the adult foreigners into the night schools of Los Angeles. The commission lent its office temporarily to the Board of Education for this purpose and mobilized every available agency in the city for advertising and inviting the foreign-born to the schools. New schools were opened where there was a demand, hours were adapted to special needs, and classes were organized in places outside school buildings, in factories, or wherever convenient.

In comparison with the tremendous efforts made, the results were inadequate, and it was necessary to find the reason. The teaching of English to foreigners, a highly specialized profession, was being done by teachers who had no training for this highly specialized work.

Intensive Study of Night School Methods and Attendance

Very few figures have ever been compiled about night school attendance. Therefore for information and as a basis for future programs an intensive study was made of all the night school classes in Los Angeles County.

An effort was made on the part of an investigator in Los Angeles County to find the causes for the very irregular attendance. The result of this study was published in a report, "A Discussion of Methods of Teaching English to Adult Foreigners with a Report on Los Angeles County." It revealed the startling fact that "*141 pupils never came back after the first night and that only 322 out of a total of 3448 stayed for sixty nights.*" *This pamphlet has been widely used by teachers to improve their method.*

Appointment of (1) Instructor in Methods of English Teaching at Los Angeles State Normal and (2) Supervisor of Immigrant Education in Los Angeles City Schools.

The next task was to see that the normal school included this in its curriculum. A splendid teacher, a veritable genius, was appointed to give two classes every Saturday, to which teachers as well as students were invited. This was followed up by the appointment of this same instructor as supervisor of immigration education in the city schools. The far-reaching results of placing this work upon the same basis with the same opportunity for growth and development of other departments, cannot be estimated. This was not done by the commission directly, but its urging and the public sentiment it had created were in part responsible. Too much stress cannot be laid on the fact, however, that Los Angeles has a school superintendent of great vision and with unusual experience and knowledge of the foreigner.

Classes for Foreign-born Women

Because the home teacher although employed in a few schools had never received universal indorsement by boards of education, the commission tried an experiment in the summer of its third year. The Los Angeles Normal School was asked to give credit to such students as would work under supervision during the summer, teaching classes of foreign-born women. Through the coöperation and with the supervision of the Normal, the School Board, the International Institute of the Y. W. C. A., and the commission's Director of Education, twenty-four classes were conducted for women of various nationalities. The report of this was published in "A Summer Experiment in the Americanization of Foreign-born Women."

Immigrant Education Work in Fresno

Fourth Year: The fourth year, the commission planned to carry its education campaign over the state by doing intensive work of two or three months in communities where there were large numbers of foreign-born. It began in Fresno, by making a

study of conditions and agencies for their amelioration with a suggested program of constructive work. This was published in "A Report on Fresno's Immigration Problem."

While in Fresno the director of the Bureau of Education got in touch with other communities in the San Joaquin Valley and stimulated them to fresh efforts. The commission was able to assist the Superintendent of Education of Fresno County to compile very valuable statistics gathered by the teachers, on the nationality, and the economic and industrial conditions, of the parents of school children.

Los Angeles Coöperative Survey of Educational Status and Living Conditions in Foreign Districts

During the winter, a unique survey was carried on in Los Angeles with the coöperation and support of the commission, in which over two hundred social workers and teachers took part. Most of the organizing and directing of this work was done by the Children's Librarian of the Los Angeles Public Library and the director of the Bureau of Education of the Immigration Commission. This survey is now ready for press.

English Classes in Concentration Camps

Fifth Year: Much of the work of this year was connected with war service.

In May of 1918 the commission was privileged to send a normal teacher to Camp Kearny to instruct a class of sergeants and corporals who were detailed to teach English to foreign-speaking soldiers. Two representatives of the commission assisted in the organization and teaching of the class. A report of this experiment by one of the teachers is given in the National Geographic Magazine of August, 1918, entitled "Bringing the World to Our Foreign-Language Soldiers." The government has used this report in the various cantonments.

The publication "Our Soldiers and the English Language" is a report of the splendid effort of the San Francisco teachers in volunteering their services at Camp Scott and the Presidio.

Oakland Normal Class

In order to have all teachers better prepared for their task, a normal class was held in Oakland under the joint auspices of the city school department and the commission. This supplemented a similar course given in the South by the University of California.

Organization of Counties in California for Americanization Work

When the revelations of the draft awoke the country to the necessity of national unity through education, it undertook in a large way the organization of public sentiment for the task so long neglected. At this time the Commission of Immigration and Housing was chosen as the Americanization Committee of the state, and much of the summer and fall of 1918 was occupied in organizing in the counties in California for this work. A study was made of the foreign-born communities, and their natural and wise leaders asked to serve on Americanization committees. County chairmen were appointed. Plans and programs were prepared for the instruction and direction of these chairmen. The commission now has three organizers and is ready to send a representative to visit each county and give necessary assistance. Various new leaflets have been prepared which can be used for Americanization work everywhere. They are "Americanization — The California Plan," "Heroes of Freedom," "A Plan for Speakers" and a revised "Home Teacher Manual."

The need for educational work is so great and the number of employees who can devote themselves to it so small, that the commission is conscious of tremendous gaps that are left unfilled. A strong program of county work which is now undertaken will do much to crystallize American feeling, to give accurate information and produce far-reaching results.

Such success as has been won in this department is due to

1. The wholehearted coöperation and loyalty of each and every department of the Commission of Immigration and Housing; camp and housing inspectors, officers at the complaint desks, foreign-speaking agents and Americanization organizers who

- have carried the message of education to every part of the state, urging men and women to learn our language and our laws ;
2. The coöperation of the social agencies of the state in spreading the new spirit toward our foreign population ;
 3. A speaking propaganda with speakers trained in the policies of the commission ;
 4. The coöperation of the press ;
 5. The free use of the educational pamphlets prepared by this commission, which are sought by many states beside California.

AMERICANIZATION

The program of Americanization in the state of California is in the hands of the commission. By this program the state is being organized for a closer coöperation between the foreign-born and the native-born in all that makes for the improvement of the living conditions of both, and the method of procedure followed by the commission is based upon the ideals which it brings to the task.

The commission holds that the foreign-born brings with him to America many fine traditions and fine traits and fine beliefs which would be of benefit to his community if he were given the opportunity to take his place in the advancement of that community.

It holds that an immigrant is at a disadvantage in his new home until he has overcome certain initial handicaps — ignorance of language, ignorance of laws and of customs. It holds that a man is largely made by the conditions under which he lives, that every man will choose good conditions in preference to bad if the opportunity of choice is but given him, that every man will do his part toward bettering his own surroundings if he is but shown the way in which he can be of use ; that it is unfair to demand good citizenship of a man who is disheartened and oppressed by handicaps which he cannot remove.

Good housing, decent working conditions, education, friendly advice when it is needed, real help when trouble comes — this is not too much to give to the man whom we ask to become worthy of America. And he must be helped toward acquiring these requisites of contentment, or else Americanization remains a hollow word.

The commission was formed "to protect and aid immigrants in California" and it has taken upon itself those tasks which touch the immigrant most closely. Yet a glance over these pages will show that work for the good of the foreign-born cannot but reflect upon the welfare of the entire state, just as neglect of the immigrant hinders the progress of the entire state.

COUNTY COMMITTEES OF AMERICANIZATION

The commission has issued a California plan for Americanization. This program provides for committees in each county of the state, working on the same general plan, for its successful carrying out depends upon groups in each county and each unit of the county — upon the local men and women who give themselves to community building for national unity. Upon them depends the making of local plans which shall be in harmony with, as well as a part of, the state program.

These committees will coöperate with all existing agencies; they may now be of especial service to the foreign-born men who have served in our army and who will apply to the placement bureaus. In helping to place these men, there may develop other opportunities for service.

Under the emergency act of May 9, 1918, foreign-born soldiers are being naturalized before demobilization. This naturalization, however, cannot fulfill its full purpose unless these men on returning home are brought to understand American life and institutions. Important as it is to find work for every discharged soldier, it is equally important that the foreign-born soldier be so directed that he will become an intelligent citizen of the country for which he fought.

Through the courtesy of General Borree, the commission has obtained many lists of the foreign-born registrants who need to learn English. These lists will be forwarded to the county committees as soon as they are ready for action.

The commission now has three Americanization organizers in the field, two working out from the San Francisco office and one from the Los Angeles office. The commission and its agents are at the service of the county committees, and will give careful attention to all questions submitted to them.

OUTSTANDING COÖPERATION IN THE AMERICANIZATION OF
CALIFORNIA

THE SAN FRANCISCO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

In the summer of 1918 the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce made a survey of the industries of its city in order to determine the number of employees who wished or needed opportunity to learn to speak and read our language.

On December 27 it made the following appeal to employers :

We are inclosing herewith list of alien employees in your establishment who have signified a desire to attend night school and fit themselves for citizenship. They should have your encouragement and support, for at this time an expression of personal interest from you, their employer, may be just the thing needed to convince the doubtful and the wavering.

The San Francisco School Department has provided additional accommodations for alien students, and each of your employees whose name appears on the inclosed list has received a letter from this committee, instructing him when and where to go, to begin his schooling.

One of the chief difficulties is to sustain the interest of the pupil until he has properly completed his course, and this may be largely overcome by delegating some one of sympathy and understanding who will watch the progress of the students and give encouragement and advice where needed.

This committee is confidently relying on you for the earnest support and coöperation which the importance of this program amply justifies.

At the same time it sent the following letter to employees :

Dear Friend :

Some months ago you wrote on a card which we sent you that you would like to go to night school and learn to speak English, so you could become an American citizen.

Men who speak and understand English can do better work and get more pay.

If you are going to live and work in America you should become a naturalized citizen, but you should first learn what American citizenship means by going to school and gaining a knowledge of the rights, duties, and privileges of a citizen.

San Francisco wants to help you and is giving lessons in citizenship at several of the evening schools, the names and locations of which are on inclosed list.

Go to the nearest one to your home any Tuesday or Thursday evening after January 1 and join one of the classes. It will cost you nothing, and you will learn much that will make you happier to live and work in America.

THE CROATIAN SOCIETY AND SOUTH SLAVONIC ALLIANCE OF OAKLAND

In a letter expressing the appreciation of the Croatian Society and the South Slavonic Alliance of Oakland at the appointment of a foreign-speaking agent, the following statement is made :

The above-mentioned organizations are well known in many lines of progressive endeavor, nationally and internationally speaking. Now, we are concentrating our efforts towards the securing of full protection for all southern Slavs who have the misfortune of still being Austro-Hungarian subjects, and educating that part of them who through illiteracy are still loyal to the monarchistic principle, so that they may come to a full realization of the advantages guaranteed by the great Constitution of our adopted country, and to instill into them a love and enthusiasm for those glorious principles for which America has harkened to the call of Mars even — so that they may be fulfilled, and *thereby* tear asunder the bonds which have fettered the southern Slavs for five hundred years.

THE JAPANESE AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION OF CALIFORNIA

The Japanese Agricultural Association, during the summer of 1918, translated the commission's Camp Sanitation pamphlet into Japanese for distribution to Japanese farmers. During the winter months of 1918-1919, the association has notified the commission that it will provide lectures by Japanese experts, for Japanese farmers, at fifty-six places in California.

Object

The object of such lectures will be to explain to the Japanese farmers :

1. The significance of the great war, and its influence upon the national ideals of America.
2. The new movement started by the American government and the American leaders of thought for the Americanization of the aliens residing in this country.

3. The necessity and wisdom, on the part of Japanese farmers, of acting in harmony with American farmers in all their activities, especially with regard to economic matters.
4. The necessity of organizing or strengthening growers' associations in standards of price for farm produce.
5. Farm management and sanitation.

THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

This national organization, representing 2,000,000 women, is committed to Americanization work, and a member of the Commission of Immigration and Housing of California is its Chairman of Americanization. At its annual meeting in Hot Springs, Arkansas, last April, its Chairman of Education, Dr. Mary E. Parker of the Western Reserve University, said :

Specialists in this work look to women to arouse public interest, to help in the raising of funds, and to give personal attention to specific problems. They urge also that no contribution can be of greater value than the individual and personal service of women who will themselves take a course in methods of teaching English to foreigners and thus make themselves trained teachers. In the opinion of the present chairman, a club or federation will do well to consider the plan of placing in the schools in the foreign quarters a "Home Teacher." Such effort attacks the problem at its point of greatest need and utilizes the public school, which must be in the last analysis the great instrumentality for Americanization. With a view to rendering especially efficient service in the cause of Americanizing our foreign women and their homes at a time when such work is not merely desirable but imperative, the recommendation is made *that all state chairmen during the next biennium inform themselves in regard to California Home Teacher Act and inaugurate a movement looking toward similar legislation in their own states.*

THE LAND SITUATION

The Commission of Immigration and Housing, in its work of protecting and caring for the immigrant, has found itself constantly confronted by various phases of the land problem, and particularly by the difficulties attending the prospective settler of small means who tries to obtain a secure footing on the soil. In its second annual report the commission, among other things relating to the subject, called attention to the fact that "idle

and unimproved lands seem to constitute one of the safest and most profitable investments. And, unfortunately for the unemployed, the investment in land does not need the assistance of labor or require the payment of wages, nor does it compel owners of wealth to bid against each other for labor. Wealth may thus be invested and large gains realized from it by merely waiting, without its owners paying out one dollar in wages or contributing in the slightest degree to the success of any wealth-producing enterprise, while every improvement in the arts and sciences and in social relations, as well as increase of population, adds to its value. By this means we foster unemployment, yet it is considered legitimate business to purchase land for the avowed purpose of preventing capital and labor from being employed upon it until enormous sums can be extracted for this privilege."

In furtherance of the views and purposes expressed in its previous report the commission has just completed a survey of large landholdings in southern California. This report is ready for the printer and should be available for distribution when the legislature reconvenes in March.

It is scarcely necessary to state that the need of definite information on the California land situation is both vital and pressing.

Misinformation is general, and wholly unfounded statements are made, often without contradiction. As an instance, it may be noted that during the recent political campaign the statement was repeatedly made and widely published that twenty million fertile acres of land in the state are lying idle. As a matter of fact, there are not twenty million fertile acres of land in the whole of California. The Conservation Commission, which in 1912 published a report of its survey of the state, gave the estimate of 21,936,325 acres of what is called "agricultural land," of which the irrigated portion was only 3,188,541 acres, and of which only 9,623,300 could, in its judgment, ever be irrigated. Though the term "agricultural land" is not clearly defined in that report, an analysis of the detailed figures shows that it was used in a manner broadly and even extravagantly inclusive. When one subtracts from this aggregate the areas underlaid with hardpan, the areas charged with alkali, the sinks and patches of "hog wallow," and the considerable areas for which there is an inadequate water supply, or no supply at all, one finds a

conjectural total which cannot possibly reach twenty million acres. What proportion of this total lies idle no man can say; and no guess made on any data now available is of much value.

The collecting and classifying of this information is, however, not an easy task. The contents of assessors' and tax collectors' books are not arranged for the gleaning of this particular sort of knowledge; while in the case of Los Angeles County the enormous number of entries presents at first sight an unexplorable jungle which might appall the most ardent investigator. Ownership, moreover, is in many ways disguised and cannot always be ascertained from the records. Data on related matters, and from sources other than the tax records, are sometimes so meager and again so conflicting that upon certain points the investigator can express only conjecture instead of substantiated fact. Yet, it is believed that the findings here assembled may supply some much-needed information, and that the accompanying suggestions may aid in the application of a remedy for a gross and long-continued evil.

A summary of the findings of fact, or of reasonable approximation, are as follows:

1. That in the eight counties of southern California there are 279 holdings (reducible by allowing for duplications to about 255 holdings), each of more than 2000 acres, comprising an aggregate of 4,893,915 acres.

2. That the Southern Pacific grant lands and "lieu lands" in five of these counties (there are none in the other three counties) aggregate 2,598,775 acres.

3. That of the total of non-railroad and non-public rural lands in these counties, roughly approximated by the federal census figures of "land in farms" (4,587,581 acres), 2,295,140 acres, or 50 per cent, are owned in about 250 holdings.

4. That apart from the railroad lands, there are at least 32 holdings each of more than 15,000 acres; that seven of these holdings exceed 50,000 acres each; that one of them is of 101,000 acres and another of 183,399 acres.

5. That of the 2,295,140 acres mentioned above, at least 666,886 acres, or 29 per cent, are now or potentially tillable.

6. That a considerable part of this tillable land lies idle; that another considerable part of it is not devoted to its most

beneficial use; that though there are many thousands of persons eager to get access to this land, much of it is not for sale under any circumstances, and that such portions as are for sale are held under prices usually beyond the productive value and on terms of payment which mean great hazard or ruin to the purchaser.

Some remedial suggestions follow. They include the extension on a large scale of the plan of the Land Settlement Board. But they lay the greatest emphasis on the need of making large landholdings unprofitable, and to this end the recommendation is made of a graduated land value tax.

RECONSTRUCTION WORK WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PROBLEMS AFFECTING THE COMMISSION OF IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING

I

Action necessary for distribution of immigrants and for getting on the land those who wish farms.

1. The breaking up of large land holdings by
 - a. Either a graduated tax on unimproved agricultural land held by one person, in excess of — acres.
 - b. A tax on unimproved agricultural land which is capable of cultivation.
2. The creation of a State Land Information Bureau, either under the State Board of Agriculture or the University Department of Agriculture, which board shall:
 - a. Give correct impartial written or oral information to prospective settlers in California concerning the soil, water supply, and agricultural possibilities, not only of various sections, but even of particular tracts of land.
 - b. Coöperate with prospective farmers in California by finding for them land suited to their particular needs and assisting them by advice regarding methods of financing themselves.
 - c. Assist settlers who are on the land by coöperation of county horticultural agents, county farm advisers, university experiment stations, and agricultural experts and by local farming associations.
3. By great extension of the California land settlement policy.

NOTE. If this program were put in effect there would be a large amount of agricultural land thrown on the market; the prospective farmer, either of native or foreign birth, could get accurate information regarding its location and value, would be advised of all available methods of financing himself, and would be constantly helped in making a success of his venture.

Land settlement by the state would supplement this opportunity of getting on the soil.

The Commission of Immigration and Housing could coöperate with such agencies in assisting immigrants to get land and thus aid in relieving tenant farming and urban congestion and at the same time increase food production.

II

The creation of a non-paid Farm Labor Board,¹ either under the Agricultural Department of the University, the State Board of Agriculture or the United States Department of Agriculture, this board to be made up of:

1. Representatives of agencies supplying farm labor, as —
 - a.* The United States Employment Service.
 - b.* The State Employment Bureaus.
 - c.* The Woman's Land Army.
 - d.* The Working Boys' Reserve.
 - e.* Miscellaneous.
2. Representative of farm and camp sanitation agencies:
 - a.* Commission of Immigration and Housing.
 - b.* Bureau Sanitary Engineering (State Board of Health).
3. Representative of Labor Protective Agencies:
 - a.* Bureau of Labor Statistics.
 - b.* Industrial Welfare Commission.
 - c.* Commission of Immigration and Housing.
4. Representatives of farmers and agriculture associations.

The need of such a clearing house was clearly shown at a recent conference held on the invitation of the State Council of Defense.

III

Part to be played by the Commission of Immigration and Housing in reconstruction of California.

1. Americanization.
 - a.* The commission will act as the Americanization committee for the entire state and will advise with and coöperate with all state-wide agencies.

¹ This body, which should meet at least once in two months, would form a clearing house for farm labor problems in California. The farmers could make known their needs the months and places when needed; the commission could advise regarding camps, both community and single, and give general advice on immigrant labor; the protective agencies could instruct farmers of the laws applying and the standards required.

The commission must have five field divisions for Americanization, as follows :

- (1) Southern — with one field agent working from Los Angeles.
- (2) San Joaquin Valley — with field agent working from Fresno.
- (3) Bay District — with field agent working from San Francisco.
- (4) North mountain region — with field agent working out of San Francisco or Sacramento.
- (5) Sacramento Valley — with field agent working out of Sacramento.

In addition to the field agents the commission's foreign language speaking representatives, camp inspectors, and housing investigators will aid the county organizations.

In each of the fifty-eight counties of the state an Americanization Committee under this commission will supervise Americanization activities and will coöperate with :

- (1) Educational agencies in order that
 - (a) Foreign-born children of school age attend school.
 - (b) Evening schools for adult immigrants be established and maintained.
 - (c) Factory classes be opened.
 - (d) Home teachers for foreign mothers be employed.
 - (e) Naturalization classes be established in immigrant centers.
 - (f) Library extension work be carried on in foreign quarters.
 - (g) Domestic science classes be established in foreign quarters.
 - (h) Classes in home economics be established in foreign centers.
 - (i) Neighborhood schools be encouraged.
- (2) With employers of foreign-born in order that :
 - (a) Factory classes in English and citizenship be established.
 - (b) Welfare work for foreign-born both within and without industries be provided ; this work might embrace (1) safety committees, (2) health insurance, (3) medical and dental care, (4) recreational, bands, drill teams, athletic teams, literary societies, dances, picnics, pageants, etc.
 - (c) Coöperation with public service corporations, especially railroads, for better educational and recreational facilities for adults and children.
- (3) With labor to secure just treatment for foreign-born employees and coöperation in demanding that English be understood.
- (4) With social service agencies, such as —
 - (a) County and city welfare departments.
 - (b) Settlement houses.
 - (c) Civic centers.
 - (d) Community centers.
 - (e) Playgrounds, parks, and recreation centers.
- (5) With local health departments, such as —
 - (a) Health officers, to enforce
 - (1) Housing regulations.
 - (2) Sanitary laws and rules.

- (b) Visiting nurses and school nurses.
 - (c) Clinics and dispensaries.
 - (d) County hospitals, to secure
 - (1) Adequate treatment of needy immigrants.
 - (e) Nurses' training schools, so that foreign-born girls or daughters of foreign-born parents be admitted and encouraged to become nurses.
 - (6) With civic and patriotic organizations for
 - (a) The fitting observance of national holidays.
 - (b) The encouragement of patriotic celebrations.
 - (c) The welcoming of newly admitted citizens by a public celebration.
 - (7) With protective agencies, such as —
 - (a) State agencies.
 - (b) Probation officers — juvenile courts, district attorneys, school attendance officers, etc., for protection of immigrants.
 - (8) With leaders of foreign-born in each county to get their coöperation in carrying Americanization among their own people. This will involve the coöperation of the
 - (a) Foreign language press, foreign language lodges and societies, foreign language churches, foreign language business organizations.
 - (9) With churches and church organizations.
 - (10) With labor placing agencies and employers of foreign labor to aid in bringing the man and job together and particularly for finding suitable work for discharged soldiers of foreign origin.
2. Immigrant education.
- a. Coöperation with the State Board of Education.
 - b. Coöperation with normal schools and teachers' training schools to the end that teachers for night school and home teaching work be adequately trained.
 - c. Surveys of immigrant education facilities in immigrant centers and advice and assistance to school authorities in getting proper facilities.
 - d. Issuance of publications regarding work of
 - (1) Home teachers.
 - (2) Night school classes.
 - (3) Methods of instruction.
 - (4) Factory class work, etc.
 - e. Holding seminars in order to supply expert speakers on immigrant education for teachers' institutes, club conventions and civic leagues, and training workers for immigration service.
3. Labor camp sanitation.
- a. Continuation of work of maintaining the high standards of sanitation already set in most large camps of California.
 - b. Extension of work to cover:
 - (1) Railroad section houses and box car camps. (Arrangements have already been made with Santa Fé.)

- (2) Mexican labor camp of south. (Coöperation has already been secured from American-Latin League and many of the Imperial Valley employers.)
 - (3) Coöperation with farmers' organizations for community camps, such as have been erected for the Woman's Land Army.
 - (4) Coöperation with the federal and state employment service for the reporting of insanitary camps to the commission. (The federal service has just agreed to do this.)
 - (5) Coöperation of labor organizations and employers for better mutual feeling as result of better standards of living.
 - (6) Coöperation with state agencies having field men so that they will report on all camps covered by them. (This is now done by the mine inspectors of the Accident Commission.)
4. Housing. With the resumption of building, the housing department of the commission will make particular efforts to see that local authorities secure compliance with the housing laws by
 - a. Surveys of their respective towns and cities.
 - b. By advice, both oral and written, from the commission's experts.
 5. Complaint and information bureau, which will continue to aid and advise immigrants in California by
 - a. Personal assistance at main and branch offices in matters relating to —
 - (1) Land frauds.
 - (2) Fraudulent shyster lawyers and medical quacks.
 - (3) Abuse and fraud of various sorts.
 - b. Coöperation with State Labor Bureau, Accident, and Industrial Welfare commissions in protecting immigrants who have claims under their respective jurisdictions.
 - c. By receiving complaints entered through county Americanization committees.
 - d. By reports sent in by foreign language speaking agents.
 - e. By investigations to show the presence of
 - (1) Anti-American foreign organizations.
 - (2) Anarchistic foreign agitators.
 - (3) Unpatriotic foreign press.
 - (4) Disloyal individuals.

B. MASSACHUSETTS BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION, STATE
HOUSE, BOSTON ¹

This service department of the Bureau of Immigration quickly proved an effective means of attracting large numbers of immigrants who had problems to solve. Branch offices were opened at New Bedford and Springfield, July 1, 1918. Through the coöperative spirit of the city authorities of New Bedford, the bureau has been given free use of a centrally located building owned by the city. For the use of this office, which is most conveniently accessible to the foreign born, and for the liberality shown in thoroughly renovating it, the bureau extends its thanks to the city of New Bedford and to its mayor, Honorable Charles M. Ashley. For those in the Boston district whose occupation prevented their coming to the State House during day hours, an evening office was opened July 15 at 261 Hanover Street.

While provision has been made for the activities of the bureau in southeastern and in western Massachusetts, appropriation so far made has not permitted the opening of a branch office in one of the great textile centers of the Merrimac Valley, which we believe to be greatly needed, and we recommend its early establishment. Such a branch office should be so located as

¹ The Commonwealth has created for the service of its residents of foreign origin, especially those from non-English speaking countries, a State Bureau of Immigration.

The office of the Bureau is intended to provide contact between the State and its foreign-born residents, so that each may learn more of the other and how each may be helpful to the other, and thus, through mutual coöperation, strengthen the bond of friendship and good will which already exists.

In a strange country, speaking a strange language, meeting strange customs, and with new experiences in everyday life at home and in employment, residents of foreign birth often meet problems for which trustworthy explanation, advice, and guidance would be of great advantage.

This service the Massachusetts Bureau of Immigration is created to perform. It earnestly desires and proposes to merit the confidence and friendly coöperation of all those who have come to Massachusetts to find freedom, opportunity, and happiness under the laws and institutions of our common country.

Whatever and whenever questions arise affecting these interests you are invited to come to the office of the Bureau in the State House. You will there be given courteous attention, opportunity to state your difficulty, and an honest endeavor will be made to solve it.

to permit of effective operation in Lowell, Lawrence, Haverhill, and certain industrial centers in Essex County.

LOCAL CORRESPONDENTS

The bureau has appointed local correspondents in many cities and towns having a considerable foreign population. These correspondents have been selected with care, as persons of good judgment, well known and respected in their respective communities. They not only act as "first aid" to the immigrant in any difficulty which confronts him, but also furnish the bureau with first-hand accurate information concerning local conditions as they affect the foreign-born. The bureau keeps in frequent touch with the local correspondents but has left the working out of local problems largely to their initiative. Through them, in many cases, active coöperation has been secured with reliable and competent foreign-born of the principal nationalities in matters affecting their group, and of the relation of foreign groups to the Commonwealth. Data in regard to housing, industrial conditions, educational, social, and civic opportunities have been placed at the disposal of the Bureau through the voluntary assistance of these workers.

Through the coöperation of Dr. Ira N. Hollis of the Committee on Public Safety, the Chamber of Commerce, the mayor and the school department of Worcester, an active and energetic committee was organized on Americanization, with a well-charted plan of operation. As a result of its effort the city of Worcester can be credited with a greater number of industrial plant classes than any other city in the Commonwealth.

The Springfield Chamber of Commerce has also been actively interested in the solution of this problem, and has shown great energy in bringing together large numbers of manufacturers throughout the Connecticut Valley, many of whom have introduced classes for the teaching of English and primary civics within their plants.

The usefulness of these correspondents as well as their number could be greatly increased if appropriation permitted frequent visits by a competent field agent,

PROTECTION AT PORT OF ENTRY

The preliminary survey of 1914 outlined the need of special oversight by the State of conditions surrounding the arrival and release of immigrants, and their journey from port of arrival to destination. Because of the practical cessation of arrivals at the port of Boston during the war, and the secrecy surrounding the movement of ships, the bureau could not be active in this direction. Such cases as required attention were handled by agents of the bureau or in coöperation with existing private or quasi-public agencies. When normal transportation has been resumed, the bureau will endeavor to meet the special needs arising therefrom, and, with the assent of the Commissioner of Immigration, Henry J. Skeffington, who has already given the bureau his cordial coöperation, will undertake the supervision of the various agencies, private and semi-public, participating in this work.

Resumption of immigration on a large scale may be anticipated after the signing of the peace treaties unless Congress passes some additional restrictive measures, — a subject deserving most careful and statesmanlike consideration. Aggravation of conditions now existing would be most unfortunate. Where, however, the immigrant intends to remain and become a citizen, the coming of the wife and children who were left behind should not be prevented, although adequate means for their prompt acquirement of our common language should be adopted and enforced. On the other hand, there is evidence of heavy, at least temporary, emigration as soon as passports and transportation are obtainable. Already large numbers have left their homes in the interior and congregated at the seaboard in expectation of early ocean passage, a condition which lends itself to additional exploitation. It is uncertain whether, under existing laws, many of these emigrants, on account of their illiteracy, can return to the United States.

EMPLOYMENT

Because the demand for labor during the past year far exceeded the supply, practically no complaints regarding

employment agencies have been brought to the attention of the bureau. There has been little need of recourse to private employment agencies, and the shifting of employment has been due to the restlessness of labor and the attraction of higher wage in some other employment. Industrial conditions incident to placing production upon a peace basis and the return to civil life of the men now in military service will, no doubt, lead to a recurrence of the abuses which were clearly set forth in the report of 1914. Therefore, attention is again directed to the recommendations of that commission, some of which have since been acted upon.

HOUSING

Through various channels, including personal visits of its agents, and through its local correspondents, the bureau has become acquainted with housing conditions affecting the immigrant. Investigations have been made of conditions in the North and West Ends of Boston and at some war emergency plants. Individual cases of evident abuses of sanitary laws have been reported to the proper authorities.

The cessation of building operations because of the war and the pressure of war needs on industry have necessitated the continuance in various localities of conditions fatal to proper standards of living. While constructive plans along the lines of improved housing are receiving much more general attention, abnormal building costs are likely to handicap and retard any adequate provision by private enterprise, and it would seem that State and municipal credit must be utilized if any substantial progress is to be made. The increased cost of transportation, as well as of every item of living expense, has tended to aggravate the congestion in immigrant districts.

In cities and towns where there has been an added congestion of population because of war industries, there have undoubtedly been situations fraught with both moral and physical danger to the foreign-born. The immigrant is compelled, from both economic and sociological reasons, to accept housing accommodations in the most worn-out, most overcrowded section of our cities. If housing is bad it necessarily presses

most heavily and most deplorably upon him. The awful toll of the late influenza epidemic proved this in tragic fashion.

The dangers revealed by the report of the Commission of Immigration of 1913-1914 in connection with the lodger problem, both in relation to the housing of unmarried girls and non-family groups of men, still exist. The observations above regarding new construction are also applicable to this problem.

SERVICE IN GENERAL

The bureau has aimed to become a clearing house of information useful to the immigrant, whose ignorance of the language renders him particularly liable to misunderstanding, fraud, and abuse. He is often ignorant of the civic, social, and philanthropic resources of the community. A brief questionnaire sent to the State boards and commissions to ascertain what services or particular functions were rendered by each to the foreign born has been tabulated for ready reference. Private agencies dealing with the immigrant have also been listed and the nature of their activities recorded for easily accessible reference. The value of such information is apparent, not only to prevent possible duplication, but as cumulative information concerning the facilities afforded by the Commonwealth at the disposal of the immigrant.

In many cases our service has been to personally bring the applicant coming for advice and assistance into direct contact with the proper agency. Often additional aid in interpretation has been given because of ignorance by the applicant of the English language. In many cases a preliminary investigation by the bureau assisted in the solution of the problem by the agency to which it was assigned. From the opening of the bureau up to December 1, 1918, 3905 applications for service have been made at the bureau on which it has been necessary to have correspondence. For the same period of time, 2018 applications for service have been made which needed no correspondence. From the time the naturalization division began work until December 1, 1918, 1450 persons were aided in that department. This makes a total of 6373 persons applying for assistance at the Boston office of the Bureau of Immigration. The

New Bedford office has had 1781 applications and the Springfield office 411. This makes a complete total of 8565 persons applying to the Bureau in its Boston and branch offices.

WAGE CLAIMS

The bureau has received numerous applications for assistance regarding collection of wages. The bureau in no sense aims to act as a collection agency, but difficulties due to the migration of the immigrant from place to place, his inability to speak English or write for himself concerning money due him, the uncertain delivery of mail, and the confusion which sometimes arises from the use of check numbers were often eliminated by friendly correspondence with the employer, which cleared up many of the misunderstandings — frequently those of the employee — in the matter of wage contracts. Such cases as could not be settled by friendly intermediation were referred to the State Board of Labor and Industries, if the evidence warranted such reference, or to the Legal Aid Society, both of which have been most cordially coöperative.

THE IMMIGRANT AND MONEY TRANSMISSION

Transmission of money by immigrants to their relatives abroad, especially to countries in the war zone, has been extremely difficult. The cases brought to the attention of the bureau involved not only the banks known as "immigrant banks," but also those of established reputation and reliability. In all cases the transmission has been traced to the larger bank with a foreign office through which the local bank transmitted the money, and the date of transmission has been verified. The bulk of the transmissions concerning which information was sought were those to Russia. The present chaotic condition in that country made it impossible to carry many of these investigations to a satisfactory conclusion. In the cases which involved transmission to Greece or Italy, the usual reason for the money not being received by payee has seemed to be because of lack of accuracy in addressing by the transmitting agency. Where it has been possible to secure proof that money had not been received by payee, refunds have frequently been secured.

In some few cases violations of the seven-day transmission limit of the banking law have been found; in some of these the persons sending money to dependents in their home country stated that grave injustice had been done them by the delay in transmission, claiming that money for the imperative need of their families was illegally retained by the banker until war conditions rendered transmission impossible, and that because of this failure to transmit, their wives and families had suffered unnecessary hardship and privation. While these persons have redress in civil action, no refund of money could change the privation which the delay caused; nor should the immigrant of little means be forced to expend in such civil suit most if not all of the money involved, together with his loss of time. The attention of the Bank Commissioner has been called to these violations.

In many cases where a misunderstanding existed between banker and immigrant an amicable settlement was made. In numerous instances refunds, approximating \$2300, were made through the services of the bureau, the smallest being \$20 and the largest \$702.52.

The immigrant patronizes the racial or immigrant bank mainly because his language need is not met by the American banks. In normal times enormous sums, running into the hundreds of millions, are annually sent to foreign countries for saving and investment as well as for support of dependents. The large contributions which the foreign-born have made in the different campaigns for the Liberty Loan are conclusive proof that if approached by their own racial leaders, or by Americans in the proper fraternal spirit, they will invest their savings in America rather than in their native country.

There is no advantage, either to the immigrant or to the community, in permitting a multiplicity of "banks" or "bankers" with little capital and little or no knowledge of the banking business. Banking functions are of such vital importance that they should be performed by persons of unquestioned probity, well trained in the technique of banking, with ample capital and of undoubted financial responsibility to the full extent of their obligations, and our banking laws should be so framed as to exclude those not thus qualified. While it is

desirable that properly qualified persons of moderate means shall be permitted to conduct a banking business, there is a point beyond which the argument in favor of freedom of personal choice of occupation can be carried to absurdity. Furthermore, it should not be possible for any persons to conduct a deposit, savings, and money transmission business unless under State supervision and upon the filing of adequate bonds.

In carrying on investigations in connection with a large number of complaints regarding the transmission or failure to transmit money through various immigrant banks, the importance of further amendments to the banking laws of the Commonwealth, which will increase the protection of the depositors in and senders of money to foreign countries through such banks, has strongly impressed itself upon the bureau, and to accomplish this purpose it recommends such amendments as it believes to be essential in the public interests.

EXPLOITATION IN FACTORIES

An apparently well-founded impression prevails that foreign-speaking workmen in many factories, construction camps, etc., are compelled to make regular payments to foremen and others in order to retain their jobs. The prevailing industrial unrest, together with the difficulty of creating an understanding between employer and employee, can sometimes be traced to the fact that those coming in direct contact with the foreign-born workmen have too often, because of the indifference of the employers, been able to exploit these foreign-born in matters of securing and holding their jobs. The elimination of this type of exploitation will do much to convince the foreign worker that he can find in America an opportunity for fair play. Unless Americanization work has this basis of just treatment for one and all in the Commonwealth, no propaganda work can have permanent success.

Many non-English speaking employees in a shoe factory in Massachusetts testified at a public hearing that for over thirteen years they had constantly paid money to their foreman for their jobs and for increases in pay, or for reemployment after semi-annual stock takings, when, instead of being temporarily

laid off, if necessary, they were discharged, and had to buy their job over and over again. The foreman in question was found guilty by the bureau, resigned his position, and has since been indicted by the Plymouth grand jury. His case is to come up during the February, 1919, session of the Superior Court.

THE IMMIGRANT AND THE COURTS

The immigrant often receives his first and most lasting impression of American justice in the courts. In his contact with the law he must frequently use an interpreter, and it is highly important that such interpreters should be directly under the supervision of the court and be competent and reliable. While the municipal court of Boston now has official court interpreters, not all of the courts in the Commonwealth, even in communities with a large immigrant population, are so supplied. The recommendations of the 1914 Commission on Immigration that all interpreters should be salaried officers of the court, appointed after a thorough examination by the Civil Service Commission, still obtains.

A flagrant abuse of the non-English speaking immigrant has been through the operation of solicitors — “runners” — who securing promptly the name, address, and complaint against persons arrested, often on trivial charges, and occasionally on charges apparently deliberately framed to secure the arrest of foreign-speaking peoples, seek them out and undertake to secure bail and counsel for them. Their plan includes the taking of security — usually money or a savings bank book — with signed orders to be held pending disposition of the case, and returned, if at all, indefinitely thereafter, minus outrageous charges for legal or fancied service.

Investigations of the bureau disclosed the fact that over twenty individuals were found daily in the corridors of the municipal criminal court in Boston soliciting business for attorneys and furnishing bail for persons arrested. Many of these “runners” had criminal records. They dealt mainly with foreign-born, ignorant of our customs, our language, and legal procedure. They pretended powerful influence with the police, the district attorney, and the courts, and they guaranteed to secure the

discharge of the person, whether innocent or guilty, for a sum of money to be paid to them or to the attorney in whose interest they were working. They boasted of political influence and of the fact that for over fifteen years they were permitted to do business there, and that not one of them had ever been punished.

Many foreigners who found themselves brought into court for minor offenses, such as assault and battery, violation of the sanitary laws, etc., were urged to engage certain attorneys and threatened with a long prison term if they did otherwise. Exorbitant sums of money were extracted as attorneys' fees.

To abate the evil the matter was taken up with the chief justice of the municipal criminal court and the chief probation officer and their active coöperation secured.

The Legislature of 1917 enacted chapter 267 (General), which reads as follows :

It shall be unlawful for any person, not being an attorney at law, to solicit for himself or another from a person accused of crime or his representative, the right to defend the accused person. Violation of the provisions of this act shall be punished by a fine of not more than one hundred dollars, or by imprisonment for not more than six months, for a first offense, and by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars, or by imprisonment for not more than one year, for any subsequent offense.

After conferences with several prominent attorneys and the chief justice of the municipal criminal court it was decided to prosecute these "runners" for violating the above act. Several were arrested, convicted, and sentenced to terms ranging from six to ten months' imprisonment, and in some cases heavy fines were imposed. In these prosecutions Henry F. Hurlburt, Esq., and John P. Feeney, Esq., gave valuable coöperation. The Boston police department and the inspectors detailed for this work gave hearty coöperation in the investigation and preparation of these cases.

As a result of these prosecutions "runners" have practically disappeared from the corridor of the courthouse. Those who are there do not solicit business, but claim that they are professional bondsmen who are furnishing bail. A sharp watch for their reappearance is being maintained.

Any work undertaken with the view to stimulate the assimilation of the immigrant into the body politic, to awaken in him appreciation of American life and ideals, must necessarily be fruitless unless it be based on a foundation of confidence in American justice. It is of paramount importance that the courts should not be misrepresented to the foreigner as unfair or corrupt. Any movement to rid the courts of those who mislead ignorant foreigners in regard to the working of American justice is a most essential and fundamental step in Americanization.

Justice Charles E. Hughes has summed up the situation in the following language :

If our Bar Association could create a sentiment which would demand that in all our cities the police courts and minor civil courts should fairly represent the republic as the embodiment of the spirit of justice, our problem of Americanization would be more than half solved. A petty tyrant in a police court, refusals of a fair hearing in minor civil courts, the impatient disregard of an immigrant's ignorance of our ways and language, will daily breed Bolsheviks who are beyond the reach of your appeals. Here is work for lawyers. The Supreme Court of the United States and the Court of Appeals will take care of themselves. Look after the courts of the poor, who stand most in need of justice. The security of the Republic will be found in the treatment of the poor and the ignorant ; in indifference to their misery and helplessness lies disaster.

NOTARIES PUBLIC

The investigations of the bureau confirm the findings of the New York Bureau of Immigration in regard to the misunderstanding current among the foreign born as to the authority and standing of notaries public. In Europe, especially in Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Italy, notaries are men of high standing, learning, capacity, and professional and legal training. They are under much stricter control by their respective governments than those of similar title in the United States. Their work is strictly supervised, and they enjoy general confidence and respect.

The foreign-born in America require the services of notaries public in connection with renunciation of allegiance to the

country of origin, in securing exemption from military service, in the matter of legal papers to be sent to Europe, and in making affidavits which must be sent to countries binding them to support relatives whom they desire to have join them in America. To execute these papers properly a knowledge of the laws of the respective countries involved and of the United States immigration laws is essential. Advertisements appearing in the foreign language papers inserted by various notaries public lead the immigrant to conclude that the person advertising is an especially appointed governmental agent to look after the interests of a particular race in America. In actual practice these notaries are frequently men of little or no knowledge of either American or foreign law.

It is highly desirable that notaries public be subjected by the Civil Service Commission to such examination as will determine their competency, general fitness, and reputable character, and there should be a more strict definition and limitation of the authority vested in such officials, so as to prevent their assumption of functions which require legal training.

DIVISION OF NATURALIZATION

The work of this division includes assistance in the filling out of both first and second papers, instruction for the better preparation for citizenship, and assistance in the explanation and elimination of technical difficulties. Lists of those eligible for second papers are on file, and letters are sent to declarants informing them of the assistance available to prospective citizens throughout the Commonwealth. A class was organized in coöperation with the University Extension Department of the State Board of Education, under the direction of Mr. Charles F. Towne, director of immigrant education, for training women in teaching citizenship to aliens. One hundred and fifty persons enrolled, and attendance was well maintained during the entire term. A feature of the class was the "question period," when questions concerning various phases of citizenship were discussed. Cases illustrating practical difficulties in the path of the prospective citizen were explained by the naturalization representative of the bureau. A conference class has been established by

the bureau for practical training in this work. For the awakening of public interest in this phase of the work the bureau is greatly indebted to Mrs. Grace H. Bagley of the Advisory Commission, Council of National Defense, who has been largely responsible for the organization of this class.

The formal induction of the foreign-born into American citizenship is attended with much difficulty, expense, and inconvenience, owing to the comparatively few courts of naturalization, their infrequent sittings, and their distance from various cities and towns within their jurisdiction. This involves travel and loss of working time both for the applicant and for his witnesses; and not infrequently non-compliance with some technicality results in postponement and a subsequent trip to the court, provided the applicant has not been discouraged by his first experience. The chief naturalization examiner at Boston, Mr. James Farrell, has been ready to assist the bureau in every possible way, and has done much to facilitate its group naturalization work.

A fruitless attempt was made to secure, from naturalization examiners in various parts of the country, suggestions as to modifications in present practice, but they manifested a singular reticence in almost every instance, apparently being afraid to display any individuality or to express any opinion that might even remotely appear to reflect upon existing methods.

We believe that there should be more frequent opportunities for naturalization, and that, wherever practicable, night courts for the induction of new citizens should be held.

THE DIVISION OF WOMEN'S WORK

The services of a specially trained worker in the difficult problem of the immigrant woman in home and in industry were donated to the bureau for six months by the War Work Council of the Y. W. C. A. in order to demonstrate the necessity of such work. The Bureau fully realized this necessity, but its appropriation did not permit the undertaking. Miss Minnie M. Newman, the special worker among foreign-born women thus provided, was entirely under the control and direction of the bureau, the contributing organization merely paying her salary from its special war fund.

Through this division effort was made to further the interest of the community, especially of the native-born women, in the problem of the foreign-born women, and to suggest and stimulate methods by which the non-English-speaking women could be brought into closer neighborhood relations.

This problem involves education and protection for the foreign-born women, and education for the native-born woman concerning her foreign-born neighbor. Contacts were made with as many individuals and organizations as time permitted. The aims of the bureau and its desire to be helpful to foreign-born women were explained, and recommendations were made based upon surveys of various communities.

Among the cities visited were Attleboro, Brockton, Cambridge, Chelsea, Fall River, Fitchburg, Gloucester, Holyoke, Hyannis, Lawrence, New Bedford, Salem, Somerville, Springfield, and Worcester.

In getting this information about communities emphasis was placed upon personal interviews in both office and field, because the work of the bureau itself was still comparatively new, and that of its division of work for women very new, and it was felt, therefore, that personal contacts were the best means of putting the bureau into touch with existing activities in behalf of the foreign-born as well as to extend interest in and effort for the work of the State in this direction. The following table is a record of interviews :

Social workers and relief agencies,	60
School superintendents and evening school directors,	25
Representatives of women's organizations,	65
Teachers of immigrant classes,	23
Organizers of method for immigrant classes,	14
Foreign-born representatives,	35
Librarians,	10
Priests,	5
Ministers,	2
Editors and newspaper representatives,	6
Commercial club officers,	6
Food experts,	7
Business men,	8
Miscellaneous,	20
Total,	286

Supplementing the foregoing, nearly two hundred visits were made to different agencies or activities intimately connected with the life of the foreign-born.

The home life of the married non-English-speaking woman is often peculiarly and tragically isolated, in that the husband from his industrial contact frequently gets an imperfect smattering of English, the children attending school become more or less proficient in English, but the mother remains ignorant of the language, often throughout her entire life. The father and children manage to converse in English, but the mother is shut out from the common conversation by reason of her inability to speak English and the lack of knowledge of her native language by the children. This too frequently begets a contempt upon the part of the children for the "ignorance" of the mother, and largely destroys maternal authority. It creates a gulf within the home which is pitiful, and alike injurious to the ultimate welfare of the family, the child, and society. The remedy for these conditions lies in teaching these women to speak English, — a very difficult matter because of their reluctance to enter classes, as well as the difficulty of giving time to make necessary changes in dress for attendance at such classes. The first step in this direction must be the overcoming of their traditional reserve and the misapprehension of these women as to the motives of those who seek to secure their confidence. This effort can be made successful only by women of broad sympathy, of great tact, and of sound common sense, and, above all, by avoiding the slightest suspicion as to any religious bias, for it is of fundamental importance that the religious affiliations of those women, as of all the foreign-born, shall be profoundly respected.

It is but recently that the necessity of including these foreign-speaking women in the homes in the general plan of Americanization has begun to receive the attention which it requires. So far the matter has been left to private initiative, with the exception of some few places, notably Boston, Fall River, and Lynn, where women's classes in day hours have been carried on under public school supervision.

The most comprehensive effort that has been made in this direction has been in California. The Los Angeles plan includes supervision by the public schools, although the actual

teaching may be done wherever and whenever the group of girls or women can be recruited, — the classes being held in evening schools, in the rooms of racial societies, in the city library, in factories, in churches, in labor camps, in day schools in the afternoon, and in hotels for hotel help.

Like most innovations there is at present a difference of opinion among experts as to the actual results through this agency. We believe, however, that it should be tried out on a modest scale in a few places in this State. Then, if the experiment justifies itself, it should rapidly be extended. For obvious reasons all educational work for these women should be under the supervision of the school authorities of the city and State.

The visiting nurse affords another excellent means of approach to the confidence of the foreign-speaking women, and her influence tends toward a reduction of midwifery, often ignorant, usually unable to cope with any emergency, and to increase the desire by those women to secure thoroughly trained assistance at time of childbirth.

The special worker for foreign women accepted many invitations to address organizations of English-speaking women in women's clubs, Americanization committees, and church societies, and an earnest effort was made to interpret through these talks the foreign-born women to the native-born.

Two programs for club women were prepared, the one on Americanization being published and the one on immigration being a proposed publication. These were in no wise put out as complete guides, but merely as suggestions in the method of approaching such studies.

It is earnestly hoped that the bureau will be given a sufficient appropriation next year to carry on the work which has been voluntarily provided for during the past six months.

FOREIGN-BORN IN INDUSTRY

To learn approximately the number of the foreign-born in Massachusetts industries, with more or less accurate information as to their citizenship, race, and ability to speak English, a questionnaire was sent out in May, 1918, by the bureau in

coöperation with the committee on war efficiency, to all industries in Massachusetts employing more than fifty persons. The industries approached, almost without exception, furnished the desired information, although the task under war-pressure conditions was a most difficult one.

Statistics on these points have been obtained from plants having 645,785 employees. Of this number of employees there were 432,637 males and 213,148 females, with a total of 299,269 foreign born, or 46 per cent of the total. More than half of the foreign-born workers are aliens. Of the foreign born, 38,113 could speak no English whatever, 65,547 could speak and understand English but slightly, which practically means "not at all," and 195,609 could speak English with more or less facility. Experience has shown that the English language accomplishment of those said to speak it "slightly" is negligible, not differing materially from those designated "not at all."

FOREIGN BORN IN INDUSTRY IN MASSACHUSETTS¹

	ALIENS	FIRST PAPERS	SECOND PAPERS	TOTAL
Austria	2,884	588	828	4,300
France	3,435	745	1,695	5,875
Great Britain and Possessions .	50,623	15,423	47,319	113,365
Germany	1,264	661	3,389	5,314
Greece	11,366	783	427	12,576
Italy	29,533	4,624	3,674	37,831
Norway	507	224	523	1,254
Poland (Austrian)	13,445	1,158	1,132	15,735
Poland (German)	452	59	212	723
Poland (Russian)	13,315	1,264	1,096	15,675
Portugal	26,555	577	1,299	28,431
Russia	11,708	2,508	2,225	16,441
Finland	3,404	573	571	4,548
Lithuania	7,661	633	619	8,913
Sweden	2,651	1,488	4,334	8,473
Switzerland	141	33	136	310
Turkey	4,205	306	308	4,819
All other	8,303	1,336	5,047	14,686
	191,452	32,983	74,834	299,269

¹ This table approximates the number of foreign-born employees in Massachusetts industrial concerns employing more than fifty persons.

THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS

The foreign-language newspapers published in Massachusetts and New York have shown a most friendly attitude toward the bureau, and through their coöperation much information of importance to our foreign-speaking residents has secured widespread publicity.

Through the coöperation of the foreign-language press the publication of notices announcing the existence and possibilities of the bureau have frequently been made. The office of the Adjutant-General from time to time requested the bureau to translate statements concerning the selective service law, and to secure their insertion in the foreign-language press. Such translation and publication has invariably been secured through the courtesy of the editors of the Boston foreign-language papers, although often the work must have involved a considerable sacrifice of time and effort.

A column giving answers to questions concerning the draft, a series of ten naturalization lessons giving the main points necessary for the completion of citizenship, and a brief series of articles on the war — its causes and the ultimate issue — were also published in the foreign-language papers.

In addition to the publication of the foregoing, articles on particular phases of the exploitation of the immigrant, including an explanation of the difference between notaries public here and abroad, have been published in the foreign-language press, — for all of which coöperation the bureau expresses its grateful appreciation. Lack of space unfortunately forbids our enumeration of the different public-spirited men and women of the various nationalities who generously translated numerous articles for the press.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE BUREAU

The bulk of the publications issued by the bureau, either separately or through the press, has been for the purposes of acquainting the foreign-born with the existence of the bureau which the Commonwealth has created for his protection and assistance, or specific warnings against particular forms of exploitation, newly launched.

In addition to these service bulletins and warnings, a series of leaflets, printed in six languages and containing six different reasons for the learning of English, has been distributed to manufacturers for insertion in pay envelopes. These leaflets have been distributed by the Boston Chamber of Commerce to industries in Boston. They have been also distributed in Brockton, Worcester, Haverhill, New Bedford, Gloucester, Springfield, and elsewhere.

Fliers in different languages, urging attendance at evening schools, were circulated at foreign churches, clubs, etc.

A brief booklet, "Who is Your Neighbor," told the aims and functions of the Massachusetts Bureau of Immigration.

A folder giving reasons for the necessity of the enrollment of the services of trained women for the teaching of civics to prospective citizens was issued for distribution at the Americanization Conference, held at the State House, September 19, 1918.

A folder, "Americanization for Club Women," has been issued for the use of women who have been coöperating with the division of women's work.

EDUCATION

The fundamental factor in any effective assimilation and Americanization of the non-English-speaking foreign-born is education that will include a sound working knowledge of the English language and at least a comprehensive outline of the structure and aims of our government. The menace of a polyglot nation has now aroused the deep concern of the Federal and State governments and of thinking men and women throughout the land. They realize that no such nation ever was or ever can be permanent, and that until this nation as a whole speaks the one language, national solidarity and national spirit are impossible.

The problem is in the main an adult one, as the vast majority of these non-English-speaking people are more than twenty-one years of age. There are, however, many children in Massachusetts who are not acquiring that proficiency in English which is essential to the welfare, the social and political safety of the nation. When children of age up to the limit of

compulsory day school attendance, born and reared in Massachusetts, are illiterate, the need of some more effective means of insuring to every child an adequate speaking, reading, and writing training in English is clearly manifest.

That the various attempts at a solution of the adult problem throughout the country have been more or less a failure is clearly evident by the nation-wide illiteracy as shown in the draft. In the past the principal reliance throughout the country has been upon night schools, which have reached a comparatively small number of adult immigrants; the secondary one, upon semi-public and religious organizations, which have come in contact with a still smaller number than the night school. With a full realization of the earnestness of the night school authorities and teachers, their faithfulness and earnest desire to accomplish worth-while results, it must yet be stated that, in proportion to the magnitude of the entire task, night schools have accomplished but little, and it is evident that, because of certain inherent difficulties over which the school has no control, no effective solution of the problem in its entirety can be secured through night school endeavor.

After a day of strenuous toil the foreigner brings to the task of learning a new language a mind and body already exhausted and depressed. Not only is the work of the night schools definitely restricted physically and psychologically by these conditions, but the family cares of the adult immigrant, the lassitude which necessarily follows the heaviest meal of the day, the reluctance of adults to change their dress and go, possibly a considerable distance, to a night school, and there to adapt themselves to equipment and material designed for children, seriously impair the possibility of worth-while results for the bulk of the adult population.

Religious or semi-religious effort, however free from any purpose of interference with the spiritual affiliations of the non-English-speaking peoples, is nevertheless subject to suspicion and prejudice. However unfounded these suspicions and prejudices may be, they nevertheless seriously handicap the effort of all such organizations.

The remaining and the most promising opportunity for the successful teaching of English and primary civics to the

non-English speaking adult is within the industrial plants, during the day hours, the time being so arranged as to least interfere with the ordinary operation of the plant. To ascertain with what success constructive measures to educate the immigrant have been tried in industries in the United States, a questionnaire was sent to those industries throughout the country which had tried classes in the plant. The majority of the plants answering the questionnaire were unanimous in agreement that classes in industry are a successful solution of the problem of teaching the adult immigrant English; that such classes pay in dollars and cents, promote industrial security, lessen industrial accidents, increase efficiency, lessen spoiled product, promote plant harmony, and reduce labor turnover. The executive secretary, Mr. E. V. Hickey, made an extensive trip through western industrial centers where direct, dramatic methods of teaching the foreign-born have been successfully adopted. The results of his investigation were transmitted to the State Board of Education, with the suggestion that it undertake the training of teachers in this method. The suggestion was cordially received by Honorable Payson Smith, Commissioner of Education, who delegated the immediate supervision of this new departure to Mr. James A. Moyer, director, University Extension Department, who fully realized the necessity for this provision and gave it his energetic coöperation. A director of immigrant education, Mr. Charles F. Towne, assistant superintendent of schools, Providence, Rhode Island, was appointed, and has been working most successfully throughout the State during the past several months.

The plan placed in operation by the Massachusetts Board of Education combines the coöperation of the State, the local municipality, and the industry. The State Board formulates the texts and trains teachers in the direct, dramatic method of teaching the language. It also trains teachers from the public schools or other school teachers, or trains teachers from within the industrial organization. In conjunction with the local school authorities of towns and cities, it organizes the classes within the plants and makes the teaching program. The local school authorities frequently provide teachers for the inauguration of the work or train special teachers for the further

carrying on of the work, have direct supervision of the teaching itself, and of the checking up of the results. The industry provides the place, opportunity, and such inexpensive equipment as is necessary. Many industries are now paying employees during their attendance in these plant classes, others are dividing expense, still others are making no contribution toward employees' time.

Experience has shown that the first plan is the one productive of most successful and quickest results, but all effort in this direction is to be commended and no hard and fast rules can be laid down. This acquirement of English enables the foreign-born from an early stage to be told what democracy really is, — the fundamental need of law and order in the interests of all, the humble as well as the more fortunate in material things, — of the readiness with which the will of the people is enforced through the ballot box, and of the political equality of every individual who enters the voting booth, of the ease with which men and policies are thus overturned, and of the cheerfulness with which the registered will of the majority is accepted by all. They can also be informed of the ruthlessness of mob rule and its utter contempt of life or property of the individual, whether rich or poor. Such education, given first hand in the language of the country, would enormously promote and safeguard the political, industrial and social life of the Commonwealth and of the Nation.

In order to secure for communities throughout the State the advantages of teachers trained in the standard method for teaching immigrants authorized by the State Board of Education, the Bureau has sought the coöperation of school superintendents throughout the State. A series of instruction conferences arranged during November at the State House was attended by teachers throughout the State for instruction in this method. There are now at the service of cities a large number of teachers from the public schools trained to handle the work in such industries as desire to inaugurate it.

While the bulk of the adult immigrant population can best be reached through industry, there will probably always be a sufficient number of persons employed either in such small numbers in various industries or in occupations at which

instruction during working hours would not be feasible, so that night schools will always have a part in the education of the adult immigrant. The interest shown by the different communities in having teachers trained in the approved method of instruction shows a praiseworthy attempt to raise the standards of immigrant instruction throughout the State. Modification of equipment to the needs of adults, greater elasticity in making out programs, careful arrangement of classes to eliminate racial prejudices, modification of hours to accommodate local needs, — all such adjustments would give additional impetus to the work.

There are in this Commonwealth several hundred thousand illiterate persons. The basic factor in Americanization of the non-English-speaking foreign-born is the acquirement of a working knowledge of the English language. We believe that the present excellent effort of the State Board of Education, which is now handicapped by lack of sufficient funds, should be widely extended. We therefore have recommended a special appropriation of \$100,000 to be devoted to this work through the University Extension Department of the State Board of Education.

All important as education is, it will not in itself assure that national unity which is the ultimate aim of all effort to amalgamate the many races which now constitute our population. It must be accompanied by even-handed justice in everything that affects their everyday life, by opening wide to merit the door of opportunity, by higher standards of living, by generous appreciation of the invaluable contribution these peoples can make to the enrichment of our national life, and by their invariable inclusion in the activities of the communities in which they live. Such contact will promote human relationships, broaden mutual understanding, respect, and esteem, thus providing the surest guarantee of the supremacy of constitutional government and the perpetuation of our national existence.

VIII. DISTRIBUTION

IMMIGRATION AND DISTRIBUTION ¹

JOHN E. MILHOLLAND, PUBLICIST

THE present conflict in the Old World finds comparison with the Napoleonic wars of a hundred years ago. But these wars were without any impressive effect upon our immigration. The tremendous upheaval throughout Europe subsequently, that culminated in the abortive German Revolution in 1848-1849, was not made conspicuous by the immensity, but the mentality and spiritual force of the exodus from Germany. It was the quality, not the quantity, of that immigration which, under the leadership of such men as Carl Schurz, attracted at that time so much attention.

Nor did subsequent conflicts, the Crimea, the war between Germany and Austria in 1866, nor the terrific Franco-Prussian War of 1870, impart any large impulse to emigration here. It was confined mostly to the Germans who came here to escape militarism, and this, with the natural birth increase, is the real explanation of our vast Teutonic citizenship, and also of its peace-loving anti-militarist tendency. Practically little came to us from France following the peace of Marseilles because almost every patriotic Frenchman threw himself into the task of rehabilitating his country. Just as the Belgians passionately declare they will do for Belgium.

The tremendous immigration of recent years from Russia was not due to the war with Japan but to that bad system of government which is at the base of Russia's troubles — a government that tries to kill, imprison, or exile to Siberia those of its people who identify themselves with progressive expression — a veritable conspiracy against the rights of man. This is also true of the Turkish Empire which has driven to us the Syrians, the

¹ From *The American Hebrew*, 1916.

Armenians, and other unfortunate peoples who cannot possibly live under such a régime. What else can they do but flee whenever they can from a place where life and property are not only without security, but with appalling frequency are ruthlessly destroyed?

It was not England's wars but England's misrule of Ireland through generations that caused half the Irish people to emigrate. Through the Land Bill, the County Councils, and various other Reform measures Ireland has at last come to enjoy practically Home Rule and what is the result? Irish immigration has dwindled precisely as that from England, Scotland, Holland, Belgium, France, and every other country that is governed with any degree of decency.

From being one of the worst-ruled countries Italy is rapidly becoming one of the best-governed nations in the world. In direct consequence our Italian immigration is seriously falling off. That will be the case ultimately with Russia, with Turkey, with every nation in the Old World as soon as each advances, because a well-governed nation spells opportunity just as much in Siberia or China as it does in Canada or the United States of America.

The immigration question is, perhaps, the most misunderstood of all that press upon us for solution. It is the one over which the American people seem to go into hysterics at irregular recurring intervals. Possessed now with the absurd notions that we are going to be overwhelmed by a tidal wave of foreigners after the war — whereas there is more need for apprehension that none will come at all — a condition of panic reigns among those who reason hastily or from insufficient data; and the various propositions that are seriously discussed to offset the imaginary impending evil would be farcical were they not attended by such dangerous possibilities in the way of such drastic legislation.

The solution of the immigrant problem is summed up in one word: Distribution; the solution of the emigration problem is summed up in two: Good Government. No other conclusion is possible from any scientific, comprehensive examination of the subject.

Why does California have a Japanese or a Chinese problem? Why is New York troubled with the thought of becoming a Jewish

community? Why is the south in terror over its Black Belts? Because distribution in none of these cases has had its perfect work. A horde of Chinese, mostly of the coolie type, came from Canton, Peking, and other big Chinese cities more than forty years ago. They were allowed to settle down and become congested in San Francisco, instead of being sent broadcast so as to make their Americanization rapid. The nation's digestive powers are tremendous, but the strongest stomach suffers indigestion in bolting food whole. This is true of the Japanese, true of the Russian, Galician, and Polish Jews, true of the Hungarians, as when the last named were taken by the thousands into the coal fields of Pennsylvania and other industrial states and encouraged by greedy short-sightedness to build up colonies of their own completely out of touch with their own institution.

For centuries, during the Middle Ages, the gain in population was so slight that there were less than fifty million people in Europe even in the twelfth century.

Let me go a bit further in this effort to quiet the nation's nerves. Italy, the last year before the war, sent us about 284,000 of her 34,000,000 people, but if every Italian, man, woman, and child, were taken into Texas to-morrow the Lone Star commonwealth would require the forty million of French people to give it as many people to the square mile as are now in Italy.

Then there is the wild talk about the "Yellow Peril" and the possibilities of Oriental populations, such as those of India, for example, becoming restless. Well, suppose they do. Suppose the 315,000,000 of people in India — for that is according to the last reliable statistics I can find in the British official records — move swiftly and land some night on our Pacific Coast. What would happen? Why, the nine Pacific Coast States could absorb them all without a single East Indian getting beyond the Rocky Mountains, and even then Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Wyoming could accommodate them all with just as much land as they have in India, and there could still be room for the multitude that are still following Horace Greeley's advice: "Go west, young man, go west!"

Why, old Missouri could swallow up all the people of Portugal, and find itself no more crowded than Portugal is at present, and

if 130,000,000 immigrants were to settle down in the South on the other side of the Mississippi the whole Southern section would not be half so thickly populated as Massachusetts is at this moment with a population of 3,666,000, and no end of deserted farms worthy of occupancy.

Why don't more immigrants go South? For the very reason that Irish immigrants and Polish immigrants come to the North; they don't like the lynchings, such as that last one in Texas. They have a feeling that life is not so secure as it should be, and that horrible affair in Georgia did more to keep immigrants away from that wonderful country than all the stump speeches that can be made in a year, to bring them there.

But right here let me say with profound satisfaction that the South is awakening to the importance of this and also to another matter — popular education. Every candidate for Governor of Georgia this year is reported to have pledged himself, if elected, to put down lynching; and the splendid campaign started in Alabama to eliminate illiteracy in old and young will be a good example for the entire South and invite immigrants to the Southland. . . . We need the representatives of all nations to give effect to our wonderfully complex development and to the resources of our country.

Why, if Immigration Commissioner Howe should continue to receive at Ellis Island 1,000,000 immigrants annually and half of these should go to the Southern States he would be kept busy for the next hundred years trying to fill up Dixie, and, even then, the 10,000,000 colored people would have abundance of elbow room. The South can take care of 250,000,000 of people without feeling the strain of excessive population. The United States can take care of 500,000,000 and yet have room in abundance for baseball fields.

We need every decent immigrant that may come to us. We are losing precisely in proportion as the other new undeveloped or misgoverned countries of the world are being roused and reformed. The opening up of Siberia I have already mentioned. But think what it will mean to the Balkan regions, that have been sending us so many of late, when those big railway trunk lines are run through Mesopotamia and the Euphrates Valley to the Persian Gulf, and the old empires of Nineveh and Babylon are

being governed and cultivated and built up along the lines of modern science and experience! South American nations are just getting upon their financial feet; existing stable government is a recent story with them. But wait a few years and see what will happen in the way of enticing immigration to Argentine and Brazil, as well as through Central America, which has taken on a new meaning since the building of the Panama Canal.

The United States has, however, a tremendous advantage, because we have, beyond all our shortcomings, the best government on earth; because this country is simply another name for opportunity and the most free play of human powers. To the bold, adventurous spirits of the Old World, to noble natures that sicken under the weight of convention, restraint, and caste, we afford a chance for them to live up to the highest range of their abilities, and they have taken it. And they will take it, until their own home governments are fashioned after ours, and have become abiding as, for example, Switzerland and the French Republic.

The Immigration Bill now before the Senate is an anachronism. It is out of place, out of time. Within twenty-five years we will be advertising for immigrants just as some States and Territories are doing now.

I refrain from discussing a single feature of the measure, the absurd literacy test or anything else. It is bad *in toto*; it belongs to the Congressional slag heap.

DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL IMMIGRANTS¹

ONE of the first problems of the conservation of the agricultural industry is the maintenance of a wholesome, happy rural population. Upon the character of the rural people — their intelligence, morality, ideals, and material well-being — more than on any other one factor depends the general welfare of the nation as a whole. A second but less important problem is the conservation and efficient utilization of natural resources, the restoration and maintenance of soil fertility. With these two problems the question of immigrant distribution is very closely interwoven.

Rightly settled, even on mediocre land, the foreigner from the agricultural districts of the old world has proved his capacity for agricultural development as well as for rural citizenship in a hundred instances. Under present conditions the capable hard-working foreigner with his family is able to out-compete the industrious American, with a smaller family, a higher standard of living, and a stronger desire for the "appurtenances of leisure." The ultimate settlement of rural New England by foreign farmers — Italian, Slavic, Hebrew, perhaps Teuton — seems inevitable. Gradually they are dotting the rural districts with their farms, slipping quietly but surely into the homes vacated by native New England farmers. The movement has up to the present been sporadic, unorganized, geographically scattered, and officially unrecognized — though it has been going on in the East for about twenty years.

State departments of agriculture in the East have been strangely blind to any duty or responsibility in the matter of immigrant distribution. Maine and New Jersey have taken occasion in their reports to describe and praise the industry, thrift, and foresight of certain large colonies settled within their borders. New York maintains a sort of bureau of immigration,

¹ From *The Survey*, October 7, 1911.

but so far from rendering any material recognition, aid, or assistance, they have held it no part of their business. The federal authorities consider their duty well done when they have safely landed the newcomers in New York city. With very few exceptions privately organized colonization companies have been formed with a single eye to personal gain, regardless of the present or ultimate well-being of the colonized; of public colonization schemes there are none.

The results of this haphazard, devil-may-care method of settling our worn-out lands may be seen by any one who cares to investigate — even casually — the scattered foreign farm communities in New England. Exploitation by real estate agents, settlement on unprofitable soils, fruitless endeavor to wrest a living from exhausted acres, discouragement, disappointment, economic disaster, are the too frequent accompaniments of this form of settlement.

The essentials of successful immigrant occupation are a fairly compact settlement in groups large enough to maintain a church and perhaps a school; land sufficiently fertile to produce the staple crops; capital to purchase a minimum equipment for the type of agriculture adopted; day labor or some other immediately available form of income to enable the foreign settler to support his family until his farm becomes self-supporting. Let the foreigner pay for his purchase not more than 25 per cent above its productive value, and nine times out of ten he will win out on these terms. As long as New England or any other region permits the exploitation of the rural immigrant for private gain, the results of immigration will be disastrous both to agriculture and to the foreigner.

But beyond assistance in settlement and information concerning the character, uses, and values of farm land which every State Board of Agriculture should make easily and practically available to all home-seekers, it seems reasonable that the state colleges of agriculture and experiment stations should put their foreign-born farmers and prospective citizens in vital touch with the best methods and materials of agriculture. Successful agriculture in New England is specialized, intensive, and commercial. Careful preparation and tillage of the soil; selection of seeds; selection, mixing, and application of fertilizers; up-to-date

methods of preparing, packing, handling, and marketing the products of the farm must be studied carefully and continually. The colleges have this information; it is free for the asking; but the immigrant knows nothing about experiment stations, and a bulletin in English is a sealed book. Massachusetts Agricultural College is one of the first, perhaps the only one, of the state colleges to recognize and make such provision, in a small way, by inaugurating a Polish-American "Farmers' Day," in the spring of 1911, for foreigners in the Connecticut Valley onion and tobacco district. Seventy-five Polish farmers visited the college, inspected the plant, listened to practical talks delivered through an interpreter, and asked questions on onion culture, dairy feeds, and good citizenship. No body of men who come to that college listened more eagerly or derived more benefit from a day's instruction than those Polish onion growers. But this is only a beginning.

Perhaps the nearest approach to an ideal method of supervised colonization is that of the Carolina Trucking and Development Company at St. Helena, North Carolina, where the promoters build the houses; sell the land on easy terms; provide work for the newcomers at fair wages; buy the timber cut from the individual clearings, at a remunerative price; provide expert farmers who teach the settlers in their own tongue how to clear the land, prepare it, plant the proper seed, and care for the crop in the most approved fashion. The company further gives personal and expert attention to the marketing of the perishable truck crops raised, and maintains an experiment station for the determination of practical methods, plants, and fertilizers, the results of which are at once communicated to the foreign farmers for whose benefit the station exists. The scheme is elaborate and detailed, but it seems likely to prove profitable and to result in a few years in a semi-foreign community of very superior small landowners, settled on land made valuable by their own intelligently directed industry.

The day is coming when the needs of the south-European farmer in the Eastern states must be recognized and ministered to by our federal and state institutions of agriculture in some such far-reaching, definite, systematic, and intelligent manner.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES ¹

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WITHIN the last fifteen years the statement that recent immigrants, and above all illiterate immigrants, cling to the great cities, especially those of the Atlantic seaboard, and swarm in the slum districts of those cities, has been made and repeated until it has become accepted. The emphasis laid upon this aspect of the immigration question has increased rapidly, and is still increasing. Some writers believe it is the most serious phase of our immigration problem, many that it is so serious as to demand the attention, and even the intervention, of the Federal government or of the State governments.

The object of this paper is to examine the evidence on which this opinion has been based. I begin with a summary of important statements of it which have fallen under my eye. The quotations have been arranged in chronological order.

The persons of foreign birth in the United States seem to seek the large cities.

The proportion of foreign-born in the principal cities is very nearly twice as great as the proportion of foreign-born in the country at large. If we go a step further, and contrast the proportions of foreign-born in the principal cities and in the remainder of the country outside of these 124 cities, it is seen that the proportions are very nearly as 3 to 1. . . . It appears then from these figures that, taken as a whole, the element of foreign birth seeks the cities with far greater avidity than does the element of native birth.

Illiterates largely stagnate near the Atlantic seacoast, while the more educated nations move on to build up the new States. . . . The illiterate races, such as the Hungarians, Galicians, and Italians, remain to lower the standard of the already crowded Atlantic territory.

¹ From *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August, 1906.

The need is to devise some system by which undesirable immigrants shall be kept out entirely, while desirable immigrants are properly distributed throughout the country.

The illiterate immigrants congregate chiefly in the slums of our great cities.

Under present conditions, immigrants are becoming concentrated in the East, for the most part in the large cities, and especially in and about the city of New York. This congestion of aliens is very nearly, if not altogether, the most menacing feature of the present immigration.

The problem of immigration with us is essentially one of distribution. The demand for laborers is great outside of the cities, but the gregarious Italian prefers to increase our menacing urban congestion instead of going to the country.

Since we cannot depend on the immigrants to scatter, means must be taken to diffuse them throughout the country and to localize them away from the great cities.

Instead of going to those sections where there is a sore need for farm labor, they [*sc.* the immigrants] congregate in the larger cities, mostly along the Atlantic seaboard, where they constitute a dangerous and unwholesome element of our population.

Landing in the large cities, they [*sc.* the average emigrants of to-day] seldom move on to the greater air spaces of the country.

As much as possible should be done to distribute the immigrants upon the land, and keep them away from the congested tenement-house districts of the great cities.

Some pressure must be brought to bear upon the immigrants to secure distribution, because under the present system they do not voluntarily distribute themselves.

This opinion bids fair before the present article is printed to give rise to legislation. The bill to regulate immigration, which passed the Senate May 24, 1906, contained a new section, of which the following is the material part :

SECT. 39. That the Commissioner-General of Immigration, under the direction of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to establish and maintain at each of the immigrant stations within the United States a bureau of information. Such bureau shall be properly officered, and shall, under such rules and regulations as the Commissioner-General of Immigration may from time to time establish, collect and furnish to all incoming aliens, who may ask for the same, data as to the

resources, products, and manufactures of each State, Territory, and District of the United States; the prices of land and the character of the soils therein; the routes of travel thereto; the cost of transportation thereto; the opportunities for employment in the various skilled and unskilled occupations in each of said States, Territories, and Districts; the rates of wages paid for such labor, respectively, in each of said States, Territories, and Districts; the cost of living therein, and all other information that in the judgment of said Commissioner-General of Immigration might tend to enlighten the alien immigrants coming to such immigrant stations as to the inducements to settlement in each of the various States, Territories, and Districts of the United States: Provided, That the Bureau provided for in this section may, at the discretion of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, furnish such other information to alien immigrants as may be useful and proper.

From the foregoing quotations the following statements of the prevalent opinion, and, so far as I have noticed, the only opinion to find frequent expression in the public prints, may be framed.

I. The foreign-born population of the United States has a stronger tendency towards cities than the native population.

II. This tendency is much stronger among recent immigrants than among those who entered the country a generation ago.

III. It is much stronger among illiterate immigrants than it is among those who are able to write some language.

IV. This tendency is disadvantageous to the immigrants and an economic and social danger to the United States.

V. The evil results of this tendency are so great as to necessitate the creation of agencies, Federal, State, or private, to counteract or correct it.

I. The evidence in support of the first proposition is stated clearly and effectively in the Report of the Industrial Commission, under the heading "Tendency of Foreign-born towards Cities." The figures for 1890 there presented show that in the 124 cities of the United States, each of which had at least 25,000 inhabitants, the foreign-born were 29.2 per cent, and in the rest of the country only 10.6 per cent of the population. The figures for 1900, since published, show that in the 160 cities of like size the foreign-born were 26.0 per cent, and in the rest of the country

only 9.4 per cent of the population. These figures seem to show beyond question that in cities the proportion of foreign-born is almost thrice that in the rest of the country, and consequently to demonstrate that the immigrant has a tendency towards cities stronger than that of the native.

To the figures in this form, however, it may be objected that they include the South as well as the North, and the South is mainly rural and also comparatively unattractive to the immigrant. A fairer measure of the difference between the tendencies towards cities on the part of the immigrant and the native may be had by excluding from the figures those for the Southern States and confining the comparison to the North and West.

The following table shows the results of a comparison in this form :¹

SIZE OF PLACE OF RESIDENCE	PER CENT OF POPULATION FOREIGN-BORN			
	North Atlantic Division	North Central Division	Western Division	North and West
Total	22.6	15.8	20.7	19.0
All cities	27.8	21.2	24.6	25.1
Cities of 100,000 ⁺ . . .	32.1	27.2	28.0	30.1
Cities of 25,000-100,000 .	25.8	19.1	26.1	23.7
Cities of 8,000-25,000 . .	23.6	16.5	22.3	20.4
Cities of 4,000-8,000 . .	19.6	13.2	19.8	16.6
Cities of 2,500-4,000 . .	18.3	14.0	18.8	16.4
Country districts	11.5	12.4	18.0	12.7

These figures show that the smallest proportion of foreign-born is found in the country districts and the largest proportion in the largest cities, and that, as a rule, with only one exception out of fifteen cases, the smaller the population of a place, the smaller the proportion of foreign-born in its population. They show, also, that the proportion of foreign-born in the population of the large cities of the United States is about two and one half times as great as that in the country districts. These figures seem to confirm and establish the conclusion that the foreign-born have a stronger tendency towards cities than the native population.

¹ For the figures from which these percentages are derived and for much fuller details see Supplementary Analysis and Derivative Tables, Twelfth Census (1906), Tables X and XII.

But to draw such a conclusion at once, as has usually been done, is to overlook an important difference between the points of arrival of our native and our foreign-born population. The native arriving by birth usually begins his life in the country, the foreign-born arriving by immigration usually begins his American life in a city, and much or all of the difference between the distribution of native and foreign-born might be due to this fact, and not to any difference in the tendencies of the two classes. The best clew to the distribution of the native population at the beginning of life between city and country is found in the distribution of the children under one year of age, only one in five hundred of whom was born abroad. In 1900 there were 433,580 such children enumerated in the 160 cities of continental United States, each having at least 25,000 inhabitants, and 1,483,321 enumerated in the rest of the country.¹ But in this case it may be fairer to exclude the figures for the Southern States. In the large cities of the North Atlantic, North Central, and Western divisions 384,473 children under one year of age were enumerated in 1900, in the country districts 811,451, so that more than two thirds of the children born in the North and West and more than three fourths of the children born in any part of the United States start in life outside of a city.

With immigrant arrivals the facts are very different. In the ten years ending June 30, 1900, there were 3,562,382 immigrants who entered the United States at some known port. This leaves out of consideration the immigrants who came in from Europe through Canada between 1893 and 1900, and whose point of arrival in the United States is unknown. Of these 3,562,382 immigrants, 3,497,009, or 98.2 per cent, came in at some port having at least 100,000 inhabitants, and 65,373, or 1.8 per cent, came in at some port of less population.

But it is needful, also, to take into account both the immigrants who came in through Canada and the unknown number of natives of Canada and Mexico who entered the United States. The number of immigrants from Europe landing in Canada and bound for the United States has been reported only since 1893-1894. During the seven years 1893-1900 they numbered 81,116, and the per cent they formed of the number landing at

¹ Twelfth Census, Vol. II, Tables II and IX.

known points in the United States in the same year rose steadily from 2.4 in 1894-1895 to 5.5 in 1899-1900. It is reasonable to assume from the series of per cents that during the three years 1890-1893 the immigrants landing in Canada for the United States were about 2.5 per cent of those landing at known American ports during the same period. On this assumption they were about 38,390, — a number which, added to the 81,116, gives 119,506 immigrants through Canada to the United States for the decade 1890-1900, and 3,681,888 as the total immigration from all countries except Canada and Mexico during the ten years 1890-1900.

A rough estimate of the number of immigrants from Canada and Mexico to the United States during the same decade may be reached by a resort to the census figures of the foreign-born. These show what ratio the natives of Canada and Mexico in the United States bear to the natives of all other foreign countries. The figures are as follows :

DATE	FOREIGN-BORN			PERCENTAGE OF CANADIANS AND MEXICANS
	Total	Canadians and Mexicans	All other foreign-born	
1900	10,341,276	1,283,200	9,058,076	14.17
1890	9,249,547	1,058,791	8,190,756	12.93
1880	6,679,943	785,556	5,894,387	13.33
1870	5,567,229	535,899	5,031,330	15.61
1860	4,138,697	277,436	3,866,261	7.18
1850	2,244,602	161,028	2,083,574	7.73

From the foregoing figures it seems reasonable to assume that the immigration from Canada and Mexico, 1890-1900, amounted to about 14.17 per cent of the immigration from all other countries. With the aid of this assumption the total immigration to the United States, classified with reference to point of arrival, may be given as shown by the table on page 511.

If we assume that all these 521,300 immigrants from Canada and Mexico and also all the 119,506 immigrants through Canada entered the United States at some place having less than 100,000 inhabitants (a most improbable hypothesis), then 706,179 of the 4,203,188 immigrants who arrived during the decade 1890-1900, or 16.8 per cent, entered outside a large city, and 83.2

per cent entered at an urban gateway. We have thus fixed a maximum limit of 98.2 per cent and a minimum limit of 83.2 per cent for the proportion of our immigrants entering at a large city, and the evidence also warrants the belief that the true proportion is much nearer the upper than the lower limit. There seems little doubt that more than nine tenths of the immigrants enter the United States at a city of at least 100,000 inhabitants.

POINT OF ARRIVAL	IMMIGRATION	
	1890	1900
New York City		2,812,345
Some other port of 100,000 ⁺ inhabitants:		
Baltimore		
Boston		
New Orleans		684,664
Philadelphia		
San Francisco		
Some known port having less than 100,000 inhabitants		65,373
Canada		119,506
1893-1900	81,116	
1890-1893 (estimated)	38,390	
Unknown:		
From Canada and Mexico (estimated)		521,300
Total		4,203,188

If we grant this, we are in a better position for judging the present distribution of the foreign-born between city and country, as reported by the census.¹ That distribution in 1900 is given below:

	NUMBER	PER CENT
Total foreign-born	10,341,276	100.0
Residing in all cities	6,859,078	66.3
Residing in cities of 100,000 ⁺	4,008,085	38.8
Residing in cities of 25,000-100,000	1,122,196	10.8
Residing in cities of 8,000-25,000	953,827	9.2
Residing in cities of 4,000-8,000	479,866	4.6
Residing in cities of 2,500-4,000	295,104	2.9
Residing in country districts	3,482,198	33.7

¹ Twelfth Census, Supplementary Analysis (1906), Tables X and XIV.

If nine tenths of these ten million immigrants reached the United States at some city having at least 100,000 inhabitants and less than four tenths were residing in such cities in 1900, then more than half of our immigrants must have dispersed from the cities where they landed. But this is not all. Of the 4,008,085 foreign-born enumerated in the cities of 100,000⁺ in 1900, only 1,978,350, or less than half, were in a seaport of that size. There must have been much migration of the foreign-born from the seaport of arrival to another seaport of 100,000⁺; but, disregarding all such currents, it seems clear that at least 8,362,926 foreign-born, or 80.9 per cent of all those in the country, had left the port of arrival before the date of the census. The number of 1,978,350 foreign-born, which is the maximum limit of the number who had not left the port of arrival, is about equal to the number of foreign-born who had been in the United States less than 8.4 years. It seems, therefore, that the number of immigrants who remain in the port of arrival more than 8.4 years is not greater than the number who leave the port of arrival for some other part of the country in a shorter time than that.

The total reported immigration arriving at any known port in the United States between July 1, 1890, and June 30, 1900, was 3,562,382. Of this 2,812,345, or 78.9 per cent, entered at the port of New York. Of the total immigration reported and unreported (4,203,188), 66.8 per cent landed at New York. Doubtless at least seven in ten of our immigrants arrive there, but only about one in fourteen of the children born in the North and West and one in twenty-two of the children born in the country are born in that city. Under such conditions the swarms of immigrants found at any time in New York are no more conclusive evidence of a tendency to remain there than the clouds hanging around a mountain are proof that there is no wind at the summit to blow it away.

With regard to the first point the conclusion is that the foreign-born constitute about two and one half times as great a proportion of the population in the largest cities as they do in the rural districts, and that, the smaller the size of a city, the smaller, as a rule, is the proportion of foreign-born in its population. But, when this fact is considered in relation to the places of arrival

of these immigrants, it affords no evidence of a tendency on their part to cling to or stagnate in the cities of the country.

II. The evidence submitted thus far may be deemed inconclusive because the figures for all the foreign-born living in continental United States in 1900 are combined. The foreign-born of a generation ago, it may be urged, had a tendency towards the country districts quite as marked as the tendency of their successors towards the cities. Millions of survivors of the earlier currents of migration from foreign countries to the farming districts are still living in the North, and especially in the great agricultural States of the West. Figures for the total foreign-born population, therefore, if not irrelevant, are at least inconclusive. The objection has weight, and is entitled to a patient examination.

If it be true that recent immigrants have a stronger tendency towards cities than those who entered the country a generation ago, we should expect that the change in the decade 1890-1900 would be in the direction of an increased massing of the foreign-born in the cities. The following table shows the per cent of foreign-born in each group of cities and in the country districts in 1890 and 1900:¹

	FOREIGN-BORN	POPULATION
	1900	1890
Total	100.0	100.0
All cities	66.3	61.4
Cities having 100,000+	38.8	33.4
Cities having 25,000-100,000	10.8	10.8
Cities having 8,000-25,000	9.2	9.7
Cities having 4,000-8,000	4.6	4.6
Cities having 2,500-4,000	2.9	2.9
Country districts	33.7	38.6

Before considering the meaning of these figures, it may be well to add those for the Northern and Western States, in which about seventeen out of eighteen (94.4 per cent) of the foreign-born live.

¹ For figures from which these per cents are obtained and for per cents in greater detail see Twelfth Census, Supplementary Analysis and Derivative Tables, Tables X, XI, XIV, and XV.

DISTRIBUTION

	FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION					
	North Atlantic		North Central		Western	
	1900	1890	1900	1890	1900	1890
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
All cities	83.8	79.9	57.8	47.1	48.3	46.8
Cities having 100,000+ . .	50.8	43.9	30.8	26.6	19.1	19.7
Cities having 25,000-100,000	13.9	15.5	6.4	5.6	14.0	11.9
Cities having 8,000-25,000 .	11.0	11.8	7.8	8.3	6.4	6.9
Cities having 4,000-8,000 . .	5.3	5.5	4.1	4.0	4.5	4.4
Cities having 2,500-4,000 . .	2.8	3.2	2.7	2.6	4.3	3.9
Country districts	16.2	20.1	48.2	52.9	51.7	53.2

These figures show both for the country as a whole and for the North and West that the proportion of the foreign-born living in the country has materially decreased, and the proportion living in cities, especially the large cities, has much increased, and seem at first a clear confirmation of the increased tendency of our recent immigrants towards city life.

But the rapid growth of urban population and the slow growth of rural population are familiar facts. The increased proportion of the foreign-born in large cities may be due partly or entirely to the increased proportion of the total population in those cities. A more significant comparison, therefore, is one showing the proportion of foreign-born to the total population in the years 1890 and 1900. Such a comparison is made in the table presented below:

	PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN IN TOTAL POPULATION					
	North Atlantic		North Central		Western	
	1900	1890	1900	1890	1900	1890
Total	22.6	22.3	15.8	18.1	20.7	24.8
All cities	27.8	29.0	21.2	25.8	24.6	31.2
Cities having 100,000+ . .	32.1	34.0	27.2	33.8	28.0	37.5
Cities having 25,000-100,000	25.8	28.6	19.1	21.6	26.1	31.0
Cities having 8,000-25,000 .	23.6	24.8	16.5	21.8	22.3	25.7
Cities having 4,000-8,000 . .	19.6	20.5	13.2	17.3	19.8	26.6
Cities having 2,500-4,000 . .	18.3	17.6	14.0	15.5	18.8	24.8
Country districts	11.5	11.7	12.4	14.3	18.0	21.1

As the proportion of foreign-born to the total population in the country at large decreased from 14.8 per cent in 1890 to 13.6 per cent in 1900, it would be expected that the proportion in the several classes of cities and in the several divisions would also be smaller. This expectation is confirmed by the above figures. But, if the foreign-born population has been massing disproportionately in the cities, as is generally believed, this tendency would manifest itself in a smaller decline in the proportion of foreign-born in the great cities. Just the opposite is the fact. The decline in the proportion of foreign-born to total population is greatest, as a rule, in the large cities, and least, as a rule, in the country districts. Perhaps this difference may be stated most clearly as follows: in the North Atlantic division the proportion of foreign-born in the population of cities of 100,000⁺ was 2.9 times as great in 1890 and 2.8 times as great in 1900 as the proportion in the country districts of the same division at the same date; in the North Central division the proportion in large cities in 1890 was 2.4 and in 1900 2.2 times that in the country districts; in the Western division the proportion in large cities in 1890 was 1.8 times and in 1900 was 1.6 times that in the country districts. In other words, the differences between the large cities and the country districts in the proportion of foreign-born to total population tended to decrease in the decade 1890 to 1900.

These figures seem to warrant, if not to compel, the belief, contrary to the prevailing conviction, that the foreign-born are showing an increased tendency towards the country districts, yet I do not so interpret them. They should be judged with reference to two probabilities: first, that for many foreign-born the large city is a way station on the journey to a smaller city or a rural district; and, secondly, that the average length of residence on the part of our foreign-born population was probably greater in 1900 than in 1890.

The preceding argument may be thought to have demonstrated the first point. Confirmatory evidence may be found, however, in the figures of the Twelfth Census, showing the number of years spent in the United States by the foreign-born.¹

¹ The figures from which the numbers and percentages have been derived may be found in Twelfth Census, Supplementary Analysis (1906), Table XXIX.

DISTRIBUTION

The distribution of the foreign-born population of city and country according to the duration of residence in the United States, 1900, is shown by the following table:

DURATION OF RESIDENCE	NUMBER RESIDING IN		PER CENT OF TOTAL	
	Cities having at least 25,000 inhabitants	Smaller cities and country districts	For cities having at least 25,000 inhabitants	For smaller cities and country districts
Total foreign-born	5,130,281	5,210,995		
Duration unknown	379,980	632,673		
Duration known	4,750,301	4,578,322	100.0	100.0
Less than 5 years	538,459	465,410	11.4	10.2
5 to 9 years	774,716	584,515	16.3	12.8
10 to 14 years	914,146	682,784	19.2	14.9
15 to 19 years	794,867	771,581	16.7	16.8
20 years and over	1,728,113	2,074,035	36.4	45.3
Median duration in years			15.9	18.6

The preceding figures show that the foreign-born population living outside of the 160 cities of continental United States had resided in this country in 1900 on the average about 2.7 years longer than the foreign-born population in those cities, an excess equal to about one sixth of the time the city foreign-born have been in the country. The argument that the currents have flowed and are flowing from city to country, although strengthened by these figures, is still incomplete, because they are consistent with the hypothesis that we have to do with the results of two currents of migration, — an earlier current to the country districts and a later one to the cities.

That our foreign-born population had been in the United States, on the average, a longer time in 1900 than in 1890 is an inference, almost a necessary inference, from the immigration figures of 1880 to 1900. The reported immigrants 1880 to 1890 numbered 5,246,613; those 1890 to 1900 numbered 3,687,564, the number in the earlier decade exceeding that in the later by more than one and one half million. This fact would be almost certain to result in a longer average duration of residence in the United States in 1900 than in 1890. Unfortunately, the answers to the question, "Number of years in the United States?" introduced into the Federal census for the first time

in 1890, were tabulated at that census only for the aliens, and consequently no comparison of results for 1890 and 1900 can be drawn.

In default of anything better the following computation may throw some light on the question whether the foreign-born population had been longer in the United States in 1900 than in 1890. Of the foreign-born enumerated in the United States in 1900 the duration of residence of 90.21 per cent was reported.¹ If the information had been asked and obtained with the same degree of completeness for the 9,249,547 foreign-born enumerated in 1890, then the duration of residence of about 8,344,000 would have been ascertained. In 1900 there were 2,363,097 foreign-born enumerated as having been in the United States less than ten years.² This is 64.1 per cent of the immigrants reported as having come in during the preceding ten years. If we assume that 64.1 per cent of the 5,246,613 immigrants who came in between 1880 and 1890 would have been found in the United States in 1890, and have reported their length of residence as less than ten years, there would have been about 3,363,200. On these assumptions the per cent of the foreign-born of known length of residence who had been in the country less than ten years would have been 40.3 in 1890: it was 25.4 in 1900. This computation goes far to confirm the theory that the average duration of residence of the foreign-born was decidedly greater in 1900 than in 1890.

If the large city is for many immigrants a way station on the journey to the smaller cities and rural districts, and if the average duration of residence of immigrants in 1900 was materially greater than in 1890, this would have afforded time for a larger proportion of the immigrants to have reached their destination by the later date.

Thus far we have failed to find any evidence that the tendency of the foreign-born towards urban life is any stronger or any weaker than the tendency of the natives of this country towards urban life. All the facts examined have been found consistent with the theory that the larger proportion of foreign-born in our cities is due to the fact that nine-tenths of them arrive in

¹ Twelfth Census, Abstract, Table X.

² Twelfth Census, Abstract, Table XLVIII.

cities, and that it takes them a long time to disperse from these centers.

The Twelfth Census, however, offers further interesting evidence on this point. The number of years in the United States is reported for the foreign-born population not only of continental United States and of the several States and Territories, but also of the 160 cities each having at least 25,000 inhabitants, and for years under six by each year of residence. These figures make it possible to study the distribution over the United States and between city and country of the immigrants who have been in the United States a short period of time. The last census reported 201,128 foreign-born on the first day of June, 1900, who had been in the country less than one year. The Bureau of Immigration reported 431,501 immigrants, other than immigrants from Canada and Mexico, to have arrived between June 1, 1899, and June 1, 1900. If we add 14.2 per cent to this number for an estimate of the immigrants from Canada and Mexico in that year, we have an estimated number of 492,600 immigrants during the census year 1899-1900, of whom only 40.8 per cent were found by the census at the end of that time. To attempt a reconciliation of these figures would involve too long a digression, but it may be well to mention that the census found 1,012,653 foreign-born whose length of residence was unreported, and that probably very many of these were recent arrivals with whom the enumerators may have found it difficult to communicate.

The places of arrival of the 448,572 immigrants who reached the United States during the year ending June 30, 1900, may fairly be taken as indicative of the places of arrival of the 201,128 foreign-born reported by the census as having been in the country less than one year on the first day of June, 1900. These immigrants reported by the Bureau of Immigration, increased by 14.2 per cent for the Canadian and Mexican immigrants, give a total of 512,092 for that fiscal year. Assuming that all those from Canada and Mexico arrived in the United States outside of a city of 25,000 inhabitants, — a most improbable hypothesis, the main reason for which is that it is more unfavorable to my argument than any other which can be suggested, — we have the following figures :

PLACE OF ARRIVAL	TOTAL IMMIGRANTS 1899-1900	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION
Total	512,092	100.0
New York City	341,712	66.8
Some other city of 25,000 ⁺	71,842	14.0
Total arriving outside a large city	98,548	19.2
Some place of 0-25,000	11,828	2.3
Through Canada	23,200	4.5
From Canada and Mexico	63,520	12.4

If the 201,128 foreign-born of less than one year's residence reported by the census be assumed to have arrived at city and country ports in the same proportions as the immigrants of 1899-1900, they would have been distributed on arrival as appears below. Over against the number among these 201,128 estimated to have arrived at each class of place during the year is set the number found there by the census at the end of the year :

PLACE OF ARRIVAL	ESTIMATED NUMBER ARRIVING	NUMBER ENUMERATED
Total	201,128	201,128
New York City	134,350	26,843
Some other seaport of 25,000 ⁺	28,160	10,929
Some city of 25,000 ⁺ not a seaport	0	54,204
Rest of country	38,618	109,152

The above figures show that within a period averaging six months after their arrival at New York City not less than 107,000 out of 134,000 immigrants, or four fifths of the total number, had left that city, and dispersed over other parts of the country. Many of them doubtless went to some one of the other seaports of at least 25,000 inhabitants, and many arrivals at these other seaports doubtless removed to New York City. Yet the number found in all these other seaports by the census was 17,000 less than the number who landed there; that is, at least three fifths of the arrivals at those ports had left them for other parts of the country. On the other hand, more than a quarter of those who arrived in the country were found within six months at some one of the 149 cities having at least 25,000 inhabitants which were not seaport cities, and which must have been reached, therefore, by a process of migration and dispersion within the

country. More than half of the total arrivals, also, were found outside of any city of that size; that is, in what might be called the country districts of the United States. These figures prove with a conclusiveness hitherto unattainable that the congestion of the foreign-born in our large cities, particularly the seaboard cities, is in no sense an evidence that the arrivals linger or stagnate there. On the contrary, the foreign-born population of the United States is in a process of incessant and most rapid migration over the face of the country, following the allurements of economic advantages and opportunities as they present themselves.

A more detailed study of the distribution of these recent arrivals may be found illuminating. They were distributed through the five main divisions and through the cities and country districts as shown in the following table:

DIVISION	NUMBER OF FOREIGN-BORN WHO HAVE BEEN IN THE UNITED STATES LESS THAN ONE YEAR			PER CENT LIVING IN CITIES OF 25,000	
	Total	In Cities of 25,000+	In Smaller Cities and Country Districts	Among Total Population	Among Foreign-born in United States Less Than One Year
Continental United States	201,128	91,976	109,152	26.0	45.7
North Atlantic	129,665	68,561	61,104	48.0	52.9
North Central	45,087	16,963	28,124	23.1	37.6
Western	18,093	4,663	13,430	25.2	25.8
South Atlantic	3,965	1,291	2,674	12.4	32.6
South Central	4,318	498	3,820	8.4	11.6

The preceding figures show that four ninths of the recent immigrants are living in the 160 cities which contain only about one fourth of the total population. But they suggest, also, that this difference is due mainly to the region to which they first come. In the North Atlantic, South Central, and Western divisions these recent immigrants are distributed between city and country in almost the same proportions that prevail among the general population. In the South Atlantic and North Central divisions recent immigrants are massed in the cities. There are 37 States in the Union each of which had in 1900 at least

one city of 25,000⁺ inhabitants. In 12 of these States the foreign-born reported as in the country less than one year were more numerous in the cities than in the rest of the State. In 25 the recent immigrants were most numerous in the country districts. In Pennsylvania, for example, the foreign-born who had been here less than one year and who were residing in 1900 in some one of its 18 cities of 25,000⁺ population, numbered 12,841. Those in the rest of the State numbered 20,205.

Additional evidence bearing upon the parts of the country to which recent immigrants are going may be found by computing the per cent that the foreign-born who have been in a place less than one year make of all foreign-born in that place.¹ The figures show that in West Virginia the newly arrived immigrants constitute a larger proportion of the total foreign-born population than elsewhere, and in Kentucky and Arkansas they constitute a smaller proportion than elsewhere. In the cities the largest proportion of recent immigrants is found in the State of Washington, the smallest in Kentucky. In the country districts the largest proportion is in West Virginia, the smallest in Kentucky, Missouri, and Arkansas. Can it be shown that this distribution of recent immigrants indicates a failure to appreciate the economic opportunities before them or that it could be materially improved if guided by any government agency?

We may pass now to a study of the distribution of certain nationalities between city and country. In the report of the Senate Committee on Immigration of 1896 the immigration from Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia is referred to as undesirable and as tending to swarm in the cities. In the table below the nationalities most concentrated in the cities of 25,000⁺ in 1900 are indicated.

The table below shows that the Russians, Poles, Italians, and Irish were most massed in the cities of the country, each of these four elements having between three fifths and three fourths of its numbers in the cities. The difficulties in adjusting the census figures of country of birth to those of the Bureau of Immigration for Russia and Poland have been found insuperable. For some years the Bureau of Immigration assigned the Polish-speaking immigrants to Poland, for others to the country

¹ See Twelfth Census, Supplementary Analysis, Table XXXIV.

now governing the part of Poland in which the immigrant was born. Because of this difficulty the distribution of the Italians has been chosen for special study.

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	FOREIGN-BORN		
	Total	In cities of 25,000 +	Per cent urban
Russia	423,726	317,798	74.9
Poland	383,407	239,946	62.6
Italy	484,027	302,324	62.4
Ireland	1,615,459	1,003,810	62.0
Bohemia	156,891	85,287	54.3
Austria	275,907	147,730	53.5
Hungary	145,714	77,879	53.4
Germany	2,663,418	1,339,351	50.2

To study the distribution of Italians from New York City between 1890 and 1900, it is important to ascertain the number living in 1890 within the present limits of Greater New York. I have determined that number as follows, the figures for Queens and Westchester being estimates :

New York County	39,951
Kings County	9,789
Richmond County	262
Queens County	948
Westchester County	184
Total	51,134

The number of Italians in 1890 within the present limits of Queens County has been estimated on the assumption that the part cut off from Queens in 1899 to form Nassau County contained in 1890 the same proportion that it did in 1900 of all the Italians in the former Queens County at the same date. The number of Italians in 1890 in the part of Westchester later incorporated in New York has been estimated as 10.1 per cent of the total number of Italians in Westchester in 1890 (namely, 1820) because 10.1 per cent of the population of that county in 1890 was included in the part transferred to New York.

During the decade between 1890 and 1900 651,893 Italian immigrants landed in the United States. In the same period

the number of Italians residing in the United States increased 301,447, a number equal to 46.2 per cent of the current of immigration. During the same decade about 627,736 immigrants from Italy, or 96.3 per cent of the total current, landed in New York City.¹ Assuming that 46.2 per cent of these immigrants, or 290,000, remained in the country until 1900, and contributed to swell its population of Italian birth at that date (the others either returning or dying or filling gaps caused by deaths among the Italians in the country in 1890), and assuming, further, that none of these 290,000 removed from New York City, the Italian-born population of that city in 1900 would have been 341,134. It was 145,433, indicating that about 196,000, or two thirds, of the Italian additions to the population of New York City during the decade had left before its close.

A different method of analysis is made easier by some figures recently published by the Census Office. The country has been divided into urban and rural by putting into the urban class for 1890 and 1900 all places which had 25,000 or more inhabitants in 1890 and into the rural all the rest of the population. The urban population of Italian birth was 107,337 in 1890 and 296,040 in 1900, showing an increase of 176 per cent in ten years. The rural population of Italian birth was 75,243 in 1890 and 187,987 in 1900, showing an increase of 150 per cent in ten years. When one considers that at least nine tenths of the additions to the foreign-born population are made in the first instance to the cities, and also that cities, especially in the North, have a much more rapid growth than country districts, it is hard to find in these figures any evidence of a tendency to city life distinguishing the Italians either from the native population or from other classes of the foreign-born.

With regard to the second point the evidence seems to warrant the conclusion that neither recent immigrants as a class nor Italian immigrants who were selected as the most available national type of recent immigrants show any characteristic tendency towards or fondness for city life.

¹ The figures for Italians landing in New York 1890-1896, inclusive, are in the published reports of the Bureau of Immigration, those for 1898-1900 have been kindly furnished me from manuscript records of the Bureau, the non-existent figures for 1896-1898 have been estimated on the assumption that the average proportion in the other eight years (96.3 per cent) held true for those.

III. The evidence on the third point, that this tendency towards urban life is characteristic of illiterate immigrants, is so slight as to require little analysis. On December 13, 14, and 15, 1895, members of the Executive Committee of the Immigration Restriction League examined "about 1000 immigrants over sixteen years" of age concerning their destination and their ability to read and write. The figures indicate that 865 were actually examined, of whom 331 were found on a test to be illiterate and 534 able to read. Seventeen per cent of the 534 literates and 11 per cent of the 331 illiterates gave as their destination some State of the Mississippi Valley.¹ The difference is too slight to be significant, the numerical basis too small to furnish more than a mere indication, the statements made at landing regarding the intended destination are untrustworthy as evidence of what residence will be chosen, and the illiterates as a class would know less of American geography, and be less likely to have definite plans. The same report recites evidence from the Commissioner of Labor's Report that the slum districts of Baltimore, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia are largely tenanted by illiterate foreigners and their children. But this evidence throws little light upon the real issue.

If we were to admit that illiteracy is more prevalent among the urban foreign-born, this would not prove a tendency of illiterates towards cities. It might be due either to the fact that the urban foreign-born had been in the country, as already proved, a shorter time than the rural foreign-born, and in many instances not long enough to have learned to read and write, or to the fact that the urban foreign-born are the survivors from a more recent current of immigration, and that recent immigrants are more illiterate than those who formerly came to this country.

But first we may ask the question, Is illiteracy more prevalent among urban immigrants? The following table gives the figures for the city and country districts of New York State. The per cent of illiterates among the foreign-born white population of the cities of 25,000 and the rest of the State, 1900, is shown by the table on the next page.

Each of the twelve cities of 25,000+ in New York State, except Schenectady, has a lower per cent of illiteracy among the

¹ Fifty-fourth Congress, First Session, Senate Report No. 290.

immigrants than is found outside these cities. In other States similar results would be found. As a rule, illiteracy in any class of the population is more prevalent outside of cities than in them. Not merely is there a lack of evidence to prove the third point, there is also direct evidence to disprove it.

CITY	PERCENTAGE OF ILLITERATES AMONG FOREIGN-BORN WHITES AT LEAST TEN YEARS OF AGE
Rochester	7.9
Syracuse	9.7
Albany	10.0
Auburn	10.6
Yonkers	10.9
Buffalo	12.0
Elmira	12.4
Binghamton	13.8
New York	13.9
Troy	14.0
Utica	16.0
Schenectady	16.1
Rest of State	16.1

The first three positions being found to lack evidence, the third and fourth, which assumed their truth, fall to the ground. If there is no evidence of a disadvantageous or dangerous tendency towards cities on the part of immigrants as a class, of recent immigrants, or of illiterate immigrants, the main argument in favor of intervention by the government to distribute them properly falls to the ground.

SCHEMES TO "DISTRIBUTE" IMMIGRANTS

SAMUEL GOMPERS, PRESIDENT AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

WHAT is the meaning of the persistent and widespread promotion in this country of the scheme for State and philanthropic employment bureaus? What motive animates the active promoters of the scheme? Have our philanthropists who give money to "help the jobless man to the manless job" any idea of the broader effects on the country of their immediate local charity? What class of wage earners are chiefly the beneficiaries of either State or philanthropic bureaus in obtaining work? Are the interests of any capitalists served by such agencies?

To these questions we shall indicate at the outset what in our opinion are the correct replies. But because we put forth that opinion without labored preliminary it must not be inferred that it is given hastily, without well weighing the necessary evidence. The subject has long received our attention. As we proceed we shall bring to bear on the matter sufficient testimony to establish good grounds for our judgment.

If the reader will but give due weight to the fact that the transatlantic steamship combine is one of the greatest "pools" in the world, and that it is without cease reaching out for dividends, to be obtained by every business method possible, he will have a key to the secret of many of the activities of individuals and organizations, and even foreign governments, in relation to the distribution of laborers in the United States. If the reader will also bear in mind that the industrial trusts, the employers' associations in the centers of population, and the mining and railroad interests aim at employing the cheapest effective manual labor, he will find himself taking account of the proportion of newly arrived non-English-speaking laborers among their workmen.

The number of immigrants landing in the United States for the last six years has averaged more than a million a year. That is: 1905, 1,026,499; 1906, 1,100,735; 1907, 1,285,349; 1908, 782,870; 1909, 751,786; 1910, 1,041,570. Passengers other than cabin (that is, third-class passengers) who departed from United States seaports in the last six years averaged about 350,000 a year. The figures are: 1905, 334,943; 1906, 282,068; 1907, 334,989; 1908, 637,905; 1909, 341,652; 1910, 177,982. The total revenue to the steamship companies from coming and going third-class (steerage) passengers, is to be seen therefore as running up toward \$50,000,000 a year.

At this point the question may be asked: Is it probable that, to forestall possible decrease in dividends, the steamship combine would engage in efforts to mitigate the obvious effects of immigration in overstocking the labor market in the congested districts of the United States? In reply, in order to estimate such probabilities, it may be asked: Have the steamship companies been engaged in any efforts to bring over immigrants, merely for the dividends arising from their passage money? Here is the answer from the "Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1910":

The reasons for this enormous increase in immigration from southern and southeastern Europe were stated clearly and in some detail in the report for 1909. *It is to a very large extent induced, stimulated, artificial immigration*; and hand in hand with it (as a part, indeed, of the machinations of the promoters, steerers, runners, subagents, and usurers, more or less directly connected with steamship lines, the great beneficiaries of large immigration) run plans for the exploitation of the ignorant classes which often result in placing upon our shores large numbers of aliens who, if the facts were only known at the time, are worse than destitute, are burdened with obligations to which they and all their relatives are parties, debts secured with mortgages on such small holdings as they and their relatives possess, and on which usurious interest must be paid. Pitiable indeed is their condition, and pitiable it must remain unless good fortune accompanies the alien while he is struggling to exist and is denying himself the necessities of decent living in order to clear himself of the incubus of accumulated debt. If he secures and retains employment at fair wages, escapes the wiles of that large class of aliens living here who prey upon their ignorant compatriots, and retains his health under often adverse

circumstances, all may terminate well for him and his; if he does not, disaster is the result to him and them.

Next in order is the question, To what extent do employers of labor on a large scale hire newly arrived immigrants? Suggestions for the answer are to be found in such facts as these:

John A. Fitch, in his volume, "The Steel Workers," describing working-class conditions at the Carnegie Steel Company's plants in the year 1907, says that of the 23,337 men in the works, 7479 were foreigners unable to speak English, 14,019 were unnaturalized, and only 5705 native-born white Americans.

The *Survey* of April 1, 1911, in a careful study of conditions among the bituminous coal miners and coke workers in western Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia (by W. Jett Lauck), says that perhaps the most significant fact of the situation is that, as in the other soft-coal fields, as well as in the southern anthracite region, these miners are not Americans, but as a rule recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. The writer also says:

Of the employees in the bituminous mines of Pennsylvania in 1909, only 15 per cent were native Americans or born of native father, and 9 per cent native-born of foreign father, while 76 per cent, or slightly more than three fourths, were of foreign birth. What is more significant is that less than 8 per cent of the foreign-born mine workers were English, Irish, Scotch, German, or Welsh. The majority were from southern or eastern Europe, with the Italians, Magyars, Poles, and Slovaks predominating. The term "American miner," so far as the western Pennsylvania field is concerned, is largely a misnomer.

When they work, these miners average, as in the case of the Roumanians, as low as \$1.85 a day, while in the greater number of cases the range is close to \$2; more than one tenth of the Ruthenians, Roumanians, Poles, and Croatians earn on an average under \$1.50 a day. But unemployment in the course of the year brings down the general average for heads of families to \$431. The south Italians earn only \$399 and the Poles \$324. The yearly figures reveal the compulsory "lay-off" system of the mine operators, the same as that which in the anthracite regions brings down the average earnings to a third less than

they might be were employment regular. These facts stand as a refutation of the claim, made by defenders of immigration as it is, that "we need more labor."

In "Women and Children Who Make Men's Clothes," Mary Van Kleeck brings out these points from a study of the recent government report on conditions of working women and children: The five cities, New York, Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Rochester, make 68.3 per cent of the total product of men's ready-made clothing of the United States. In Rochester 61.3 per cent of the workers are women, in Chicago 57.8, in Baltimore 48.7, in Philadelphia 45.9, and in New York 40.9. In no city were more than 35 per cent of the total force found on the pay roll fifty or more weeks in the year. Among the women, Americans constitute only 7.4 per cent of the force; 62.9 per cent are foreign-born, and 25.5 per cent native-born of foreign parents. The average weekly earnings of the house workers with helpers were \$3.72; without helpers, \$3.04. The manufacture of clothing is carried on in "seasons." During the short busy periods the employees are overworked; during the long dull periods they are underfed. Among the houseworkers at the occupations, in all the cities, 75.7 per cent cannot speak English.

Now, in citing this indisputable evidence that the poorest of the poor non-English-speaking immigrants have driven out of the market most of the English-speaking races in several of the basic occupations of the country, we are brought to ask several questions bearing on our subject:

1. Where to-day in America is there not a glut in the unskilled or less highly skilled "labor market" in any occupation which yields a living the year through? The demand for steadily engaged rough labor on the farm is to be measured accurately by the earnings of miners and unskilled laborers in the iron and steel industries. The day the farm offers a better wage by the year it will get the surplus labor engaged in these occupations. The same is to be said in case of the demand for day laborers on the railroads or on big contract work.

2. What effect on the mobility of labor may be expected from the established American methods of hiring and being hired in

the labor market? In those trades and other callings which are organized the prevailing means of finding employment are the union labor bureaus and the freemasonry existing between shop-mates or fellow-craftsmen. Upon his own union employees any employer of skilled labor can almost invariably depend for a supply of the best men in his industry who are unemployed. Next to this, a method more applicable to the lesser skilled, is newspaper advertising. Nowhere in the world are the "want" columns of the daily paper so much relied upon as a factor in hiring and being hired as in the United States. In each occupation the regular advertisers for "help wanted" get to be known to the workers, who in a sense supervise the agencies thus advertising, which if they are unfair lose patronage. Employers, also, in this country answer the "situations wanted" column where in other countries dependence would be placed almost solely upon employment agencies. On a certain Sunday the "want" section of a New York daily paper recently contained twenty-eight columns of "help wanted, female" and twenty-five columns of "help wanted, male" advertisements, while there were besides six and a half columns of "situations wanted, female" and seven and a half of "situations wanted, male." Here is testimony to the want columns of the newspapers as an American institution that certainly must have its marked advantages or it could not flourish as it does. As to the private employment agencies, being now subject to a stricter regulation than formerly, the wageworkers who seek places through them have the less cause for complaint of abuses.

These several American methods, combined, pretty well cover the field among the English-speaking wage earners, not only for particular localities, but for the entire country.

Where is the stage reached at which State labor exchanges, philanthropic employment agencies, or employers' labor bureaus are, by some public advisers, seen to be necessary? The answer to this question is clear. The necessity for these forms of help arises mainly where the stream of immigration is to be directed to one locality or another to the benefit of the employer. The employer's profit in this respect may come through replacing union by non-union employees, through substituting foreign cheap labor for unorganized labor which has learned to aspire to

American standards, or through maintaining a parasitic industry, by means of labor so poorly paid that the wageworkers are not self-sustaining.

Still keeping in mind the steamship combine, in partnership with the great industrial employing class in flooding the United States with foreign cheap labor, we may trace operations satisfactory to one and the other of these two great social powers which have been undertaken by public authorities "nudged" by them and by well-meaning but mistaken philanthropists.

The regulations which the government of Italy has imposed on the steamships engaged in the transatlantic immigrant traffic from Italian ports has resulted in enormously increasing the volume of emigration from that country. It has been a case of doing good to the steamship companies in spite of themselves. In the beginnings of the day of regulation their managers fought it. Not until the Italian government put their ships under a strict control was any considerable improvement made in steerage conditions. To-day the Italian government takes charge of the emigrant from the time he quits his home, usually an inland village or small town — the big cities of Italy send us but few laborers — and keeps him under its paternal care until he reaches his job in America in the mines or big works or on the railroads, in case he comes with a job in view, or, on the other hand, until he settles among his friends in one of his national "colonies" in a large city. Even after that, in case he is killed or injured, a vice-consul or official agent is soon at hand to represent Italian interests. In New York, near the Battery landing for steerage passengers, is a large five-story hotel for Italians, at which those just arriving may get lodging and three meals a day for 50 cents. It is under the supervision of the Italian government. A free employment office, in charge of the Italian Emigration Commission, is in operation in Lafayette street. The latter issues gratis a weekly "Bulletin of Information," telling where work is to be found, what wages are offered, what the railroad fares are, where strikes are on, and where farms are for sale. What is the consequence of all this fostering care? More than 2,000,000 Italians have come to the United States in the last ten years — 1901-1905, 974,236; 1906-1910, 1,129,975. Here from a single

nationality has been a revenue of \$70,000,000 to the steamships. If a million Italians have gone back, they have paid for transportation thirty to forty million dollars more. The banking for the earnings of these millions of men, the supplying of their needs — food, clothing, transportation, amusements, reading matter, etc. — have given business to thousands of the more intelligent or venturesome among their co-nationalists here and in Italy.

The advertisements in the New York daily Italian newspapers, of which there are no less than six, are a revelation of the financial interests which are maintained by the Italians in the metropolis who are not yet sufficiently Americanized to depend on American newspapers for their daily reading. The revenues of any one of these newspapers would be reduced by a good percentage, perhaps below the sustaining point, if the steamship advertisements were withdrawn. The bankers, the doctors, the transportation agents, the dealers in Italian food supplies are all enterprising advertisers. None of these interests, it may be imagined, are calling for a restricted immigration. On the contrary, one may look out for them to be well represented wherever measures for the promotion of immigration are being agitated.

The main factors bearing on immigration and its promotion, as thus revealed in the case of the Italians, are duplicated in regard to other nationalities of southern and eastern Europe. One difference is to be remarked, by the way. The Italian government has put an end to various publicity devices for the promotion of immigration common in Italy until the establishment of its Emigration Commission in 1902. The steamship companies may yet announce in inland Italy the date of their sailings, but are forbidden otherwise to drum up trade. Various methods, bordering on the fraudulent, formerly practiced by agents representing nearly all the professions, have been suppressed, at least in their public manifestation. But, on the other hand, with the better care for its emigrants, Italy is sending out a greater number than ever to the United States. The steamship companies are satisfied.

With unskilled labor in excess of demand in our mining and manufacturing districts, and an enormous reserve of it in our great cities ready to be called to any needed point, what is to

be done with the stream of immigrants arriving? Is this not a problem first of all for the steamship combine to solve in its own interest? Obviously, it cannot promote every form of distribution by direct means; it must depend upon — yes, upon the *patriotism* of the American people bent upon keeping up the policy of making the United States an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations, upon the noble impulses of *philanthropy* which does not in its efforts recognize differences of nationality, upon the *complaisance* of our lawmakers and other government officials who have recently arrived foreign-born constituents in balance-of-power number, and upon the *distress* of our great employers of labor over the deficiency in the supply of labor — at one dollar a day.

From two of these four elements the steamship combine has received invaluable and unflagging public assistance — the patriots and the philanthropists. A most patriotic organization, ever in the forefront in advancing the interests of the immigrant, is the National Liberal Immigration League. Its objects are "the proper regulation and better distribution of immigration." What its conception is of "proper" regulation may be seen by its activities in combating the pitiful efforts of the immigration officials at Ellis Island to separate and deport the defectives of all sorts who are swept in with the human tide of arrivals. Distribution, however, is the strong point of the Liberal League. It promotes mass meetings in New York to advance the welfare of immigrants going inland, with such men as the Secretary of Commerce and Labor as speakers; assists in getting up excursions to Washington of editors and proprietors of newspapers printed in foreign languages, with a call on the President, whose fair words to the excursionists are duly pamphletized; takes a part in conferences and congresses of people of the various nationalities in America, at which methods of caring for and distributing the immigrant are discussed; issues leaflets and letters in which the cause of the poor immigrant looking for work is eloquently pleaded. It is on hand whenever correction of the defects of our naturalization courts is necessary; it recently called attention to the fact that 150,000 "first papers" are held within the jurisdiction of the Federal District Court sitting in Manhattan, which issues 50,000 first papers a year.

Patriotic and philanthropic Americans are continually forming societies to help the immigrants. To-day the spokesmen for these societies agree that, the cities being choked up with poverty-stricken unemployed immigrants, and the mining and great industrial districts having gotten wages down through them to a level, all things considered, approximating to the European standard, the stage of the problem now reached calls for "distribution." This is the most obvious means of putting the immigrant next against the American workingman with whom he is to compete.

"The National American Federation for the Promotion of Sane and Liberal Immigration Laws" has got down to work in New York City. Among its well-known American originators are Marcus Braun, Jacob Schiff, H. M. Goldfogle, Carl Hauser, Gustav Hartman, and Henry W. Schloss. Mr. Schiff, at its formation, wrote :

With my associates I am at present actively engaged in getting the Galveston situation into such shape that the movement toward and through Galveston into the American hinterland can progress without being thwarted at every step by the representatives of the Department of Commerce and Labor. . . . It is unfortunate that, contrary to all expectations, the report of the United States Immigration Commission is so unsatisfactory.

Louis Costelak, believing "we have resources second to none in the world," wants "our Federal Departments of Agriculture and Interior" to go into "a campaign of judicious advertising" :

First, it would be necessary to secure the services of a broad-minded man, a student of human nature versed in a number of the European tongues. He would then gather about him a staff of efficient assistants conversant with the Latin, Teutonic, and Slavonic languages. Centrally located, he should be in touch with the Federal Departments in Washington, being actually a part or branch of them, if you will.

Lajos Steiner has his plan for reaching and distributing the immigrants. His principal ideas are these :

Print and distribute information by newspapers, circulars, booklets, correspondence, conferences, etc., in the languages which peasant

immigrants understand, of our agricultural opportunities, of our banking, of our educational facilities, of our methods and institutions, *of how and where to engage in industrial occupations*, and of the ways and means to become Americanized. Show the price of land per acre here and the value of its product here and in the respective European countries, point out the taxes here and our facilities, and in the respective Hungarian, Italian, and Slav countries; call attention to the fact that no compulsory military service of years is inflicted here in times of peace. Furnish information for publication to the press, especially to the Hungarian, Italian, and Slav newspapers. Inform the right sort of farm dealers how and where to reach peasant immigrants, so they can sell them farms. Encourage the establishment of immigrants' agricultural associations.

Anna Seaburg calls the attention of the New York public to the methods of help begun last year by the Young Women's Christian Association for "the 200,000 or more immigrant women and girls who come to this land yearly." Among the methods for immediate work are the establishment in lower New York of a headquarters for immigrant women, to include a "home," a secretary's office, an assembly room, an employment bureau, and a press bureau. The latter "shall keep our foreign-speaking peoples informed through their own publications of the advantages open to them in this country." Miss Seaburg believes that because of its international affiliations the Y. W. C. A. is peculiarly fitted for this work. J. S. Kana saw to the printing of advertisements in five languages for the association. Mrs. Kana spoke to the immigrant girls in seven languages. Miss Lizzie Strumsky interviewed Russian factory workers.

G. E. di Palma Castiglione, manager of the Labor Information Office for Italians, wrote to the daily press of New York that the "Bulletin" of the office is sent free of charge to all the Italian priests resident in the United States, to the Italian newspapers, and to the largest Italian societies. He also says:

The Board of Immigration of the State of Missouri and the Commissioners of Agriculture of the States of Illinois and Virginia have inserted special notices in the newspapers of their States calling the attention of farm owners to our publication, and urging them to use it should they be willing to dispose of their property. We are satisfied that disseminating information in the language of the immigrants

in regard to definite opportunities to buy farms may help their distribution. *On the other hand, we do not think that a large number of Italian immigrants will ever go to work on farms as wage earners as long as wages on farms are much lower than wages on construction work as it is at present.*

The Contessa Lisa Cipriani is fostering what one of the magazines calls "a comprehensive and exceedingly ambitious program to benefit 750,000 Italians in New York City." The Contessa is a representative of a society intrusted by the Italian government with the welfare of Italian women and children abroad. The program includes: A central bureau of research, investigation, and translation; a hygienic station; trade and industrial schools; encouragement of farming villages; assistance to the needy in making proper application to local charities. The magazine giving this information adds:

The City and Suburban Homes Company offers to raise \$1,000,000 for model housing accommodations, provided Italians and their friends will find an equal sum. The intention is to build homes in the less congested districts. To supplement the model tenements, gymnasiums, reading rooms and lecture halls are planned.

Among the leading philanthropic agencies of New York sending wageworkers out of the city are: Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Society, Immigrants' Free Labor Bureau, Industrial Removal Office, National Employment Exchange, and the Joint Application Bureau. It is worth noting that these agencies, together with the Bureau of Labor of the Agricultural Department and the Division of Information, Bureau of Immigration, in all sent out from New York last year less than 20,000 men, exclusive of farm laborers, while the private employment agencies sent out 35,000, not counting farm laborers.

The foregoing denote but a few of the philanthropic plans that are constantly cropping up in New York with the distribution of the immigrants as their object.

When we turn to look at the labor bureaus in operation under our national and State governments, and the proposals to establish others, we see again emerging from amid the facts a great deal of patriotism and philanthropy — and some politics. Of

course these motives have in view simply the good of the immigrant and are wholly indifferent to the incidental aid afforded the steamship combine and the great employing industries!

O. L. Green, Inspector in charge at the New York branch, Division of Information, Bureau of Immigration, situated three minutes from the landing place of immigrants in New York City, gave a few months ago to a New York daily newspaper some explanation as to the promotive work carried on by the division. He said :

As to advertising in local newspapers published in foreign languages, I beg to inform you that the coöperation of various papers has been asked, and some have responded to the extent of publishing free of charge lists of opportunities available to their readers. One German daily published in New York has been doing this more than two years, as has also a German monthly published here. A Polish weekly has also given space to opportunities available to the Slavs. The publicity thus given to the work has been productive of good results. . . .

A pamphlet (copy herewith) in twenty-four languages, calling attention to the division, is handed to immigrants landing in New York City; this distribution is made at the Barge Office where the immigrants land from Ellis Island. The various mission houses, societies, and organizations of the city have been advised as to the work of this Federal bureau, inviting coöperation. Ministers have, by request, announced from their pulpits the fact that the Federal Government collects information as to where employment may be found, and that this information may be had free of charge by applying for it. All applicants who present themselves are requested to inform their friends of the division.

Much thought has been given to printing and distributing information as to specific opportunities for aliens, but when one takes into consideration the number of languages involved, the enormity of the task will be appreciated. . . .

In New York the Legislature passed a law in 1909 authorizing a commission having, among other purposes, the duty of inquiring into "the lack of farm labor." The commission sent abroad an ex-Assemblyman from Brooklyn, who in September, 1910, reported on the familiar methods of the various government bureaus in the principal European countries. He recommended that the State should set up labor bureaus.

A proposal was brought last winter before the New York Congestion Commission to establish labor bureaus under the municipality.

On October 1 last the law establishing a Bureau of Industry and Immigration in the New York Department of Labor went into effect. The mission of this bureau is "to inquire into the condition of *all aliens* arriving in New York, *to search out the demand for labor in all parts of the United States*, to investigate all applications for laborers," and "to take a step toward preventing congestion and obviating unemployment." The bureau will also "act as an investigating agency of all philanthropic institutions now brought to bear on *the immigrant*," etc.

It will *protect the immigrant* at the place of landing, and will exercise control over the banker, the ticket agency, the padrone, and all those agencies of fraud, vice, and extortion which have hitherto so pitilessly exploited the alien.

The Wainwright Commission of New York recommended April 26 to the Legislature that State employment offices be established in New York, Buffalo, Syracuse, Albany, Binghamton, Watertown, and Corning, with an appropriation of \$100,000 to do the work, which should be supervised by a Deputy Commission of Labor at \$4000 a year.

In a number of other states, legislators and Immigration Commissioners have within the last year or two been awakened to the patriotic and philanthropic duty of *distributing immigrants*. In Massachusetts, a committee bill was filed March 2 this year "to provide for a better distribution of immigrants." In Minnesota, a bill introduced in March in the legislature authorized a state board of immigration, and the State Immigration Commission was actively urging merchants of the state to work for its development through immigration. In Montana, a delegate meeting of commercial men was held at Great Falls, March 3, to lay plans for a northwestern development league, which should have for its object "the diverting of the stream of western immigration" to Minnesota, the two Dakotas, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon. In South Dakota, a proposal for a state immigration bureau was defeated in the House February 23, but on February 27 the Senate voted a similar bill, which passed

the House March 2 by a bare majority. The farmers from the eastern part of the state were solid against the measure as useless and expensive. The state will "now start in advertising for immigrants." In Nebraska, a bill for a bureau of publicity and immigration was introduced early in March. In Oregon, a "state immigration bill," carrying an appropriation of \$25,000, was passed in February.

An article in the Lincoln, Nebraska, *Journal*, February 15, recorded the fact that on the day previous J. L. McGrew, assistant chief of the Federal Division of Information, Bureau of Immigration, had been in conference with Governor Aldrich and other state officials to arrange a plan of coöperation between the federal government and the state governments concerning *the distribution of aliens*. "The department," said the *Journal*, "in which Mr. McGrew is working *has for its particular mission the beneficial distribution of aliens*." "Up to the present time three states have agents coöperating with the Federal Government under the law establishing the bureau. They are Missouri, Kentucky, and New York. A number of the Middle Western States have bills in their Legislatures which have this for their aim." An article in the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, February 14, serves to indicate the ramifications of these sentiments of patriotism and philanthropy in regard to the immigrants. Its opening paragraph is:

For the purpose of promoting local interest in *the nation-wide movement* to secure better and more equitable immigration laws, a group of prominent Philadelphians met last night in the home of Rudolph Blankenburg, 214 West Logan Square, and organized the Philadelphia Branch of the National Liberal Immigration League.

In the South prevalent sentiment doubts the desirableness of the immigrants now arriving in America, though two or three of the states have taken up with "distribution." One of the states which recently created the office of Commissioner of Immigration is Alabama. Lee Cowart, the new commissioner, described in the Birmingham *Age-Herald* as "familiarizing himself with the details of his department," found out at once that the place to locate the State Immigration Bureau was not Montgomery, the capital, but Birmingham, where the "shortage" of labor occurs from time to time in the big industrial establishments!

The *Age-Herald* continues: "Mr. Cowart proposes to begin with listing all salable untilled lands, and to lay these lists before German, Italian, and Swedish agriculturists in their homes across the sea."

In Louisiana, the New Orleans press for the last few months has been giving much space to the new immigrant station, the plans for which have been approved by the authorities at Washington. A Louisiana Immigration and Development League has been proposed, but, it was announced by the New Orleans *State*, it would "probably not take shape until the Hamburg-American Steamship line definitely announced its purpose to come to New Orleans." To the New York observer the immigration at present to the Gulf States seems insignificant. In 1910, Tampa had 5386 alien arrivals; Miami, 1787; Key West, 2457; Galveston, 4996; and New Orleans, 3604, with only a few hundreds in all at other ports.

In the other southern states the "nation-wide patriotic and philanthropic movement for the distribution of immigration" is not being welcomed. Texas would have to repeal one of the provisions of its constitution before it could establish a state immigration bureau. The Missouri Legislature in February threw out the appropriation for the State Board of Immigration, and Kansas City, St. Louis, and other cities of the State will lose \$25,000 advanced by them during the last two years for the support of the board. Georgia, through a convention of its farmers' union, which has 80,000 members, decided a few months ago that it wants no immigrants. The attempts to employ Italian laborers on railroad building in the state and on excavation work in Atlanta developed the fact that the southern employers prefer the native negroes. In Mississippi the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union passed resolutions in July, 1908, declaring its members "irrevocably opposed to the present tide of undesirable immigration now pouring into this country." North Carolina, through its bureau of labor, made a canvass of its possible need of immigrants, and it found a strong opposition to the inducement or distribution of foreign cheap labor. South Carolina five years ago established a state bureau of immigration, appropriated considerable money to it, and, with a fund raised among cotton-mill owners, real estate dealers, and

others pecuniarily interested, its commission went abroad and brought two shiploads of immigrants from Belgium, and distributed them to the number of 762 to various places, but in two years few if any of these induced immigrants were to be found in the state. Consequently March 4, 1909, a law was passed forbidding a state official "to attempt directly or indirectly to bring immigrants into the state of South Carolina." Virginia and North Carolina, which for a time had been taken in with South Carolina on the distribution scheme, after a brief experience suppressed their share in it by refusing to appropriate any more funds for the purpose.

The sentiments and view of the farmers, the small business men, and the wageworkers of the South were thus expressed by T. J. Brooks, representing the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union, before the Congressional Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, March 8, 1910:

The only demand for foreign immigration throughout the agricultural districts of the South and West comes really from the transportation interests, that wish to develop traffic; real estate boomers, hoping to sell land thereby; the large employers, always demanding cheap labor; and certain other financial and gambling interests, anxious to prevent the farmers properly controlling the production and marketing of their crops sufficiently to secure a fair and reasonable price.

Speaking for Mississippi, the *Jackson Farmers' Union Advocate* has this:

If some good people from the northwestern part of the United States want to come down here, they will come, and we will welcome them if they take to us, our ideas about local matters such as the negro, but we do not favor a State movement to get them, nor the expenditure of State funds to attract them; because just as sure as that once gets started it will not only bring in some we don't want, but there will be a demand on the part of some to turn it to bringing in the foreign immigrants.

The Baltimore *Manufacturers' Record*, in a review of the distribution movement, concludes:

Willingness on the part of a few Southern men here and there has given ephemeral standing to a variety of undertakings, called "Southern" congresses, parliaments and conventions, under cover of

which has been sought promotion of the purpose to relieve New York of its "congestion" at the expense of other parts of the country, and thereby to allay immediate opposition to the carrying out of alien European plans to exploit the people of the United States. In view of the menacing situation the safety of the country lies in opposing vigorously at every turn any proposition originating in or from New York turning "philanthropic" desire to help the rest of the country by supplying it with labor from the metropolis. "Philanthropy" has come into such bad odor in recent years through the drive made from New York against the South upon economic, social, or educational lines that now it is quite the thing to announce that new undertakings are essentially businesslike and that the "philanthropy" involved is purely incidental. The rest of the country should do all within its power to encourage the divers organizations of the kind in New York to solve their various problems by agitating for greater restrictions upon immigration, and, to that end, for the abolition of the worse than useless Division of Information in the National Bureau of Immigration.

Several other phases of immigration and of the proposal to set up State and municipal labor exchanges which may, among their purposes, "direct the stream of immigrants where they are needed," and "lessen the congestion of population in our cities," ought at least to be glanced at in this article. Were these phases not mentioned the reader might infer that we had overlooked them in forming our views on the question.

1. The immigrants send to Europe from the United States \$275,000,000 a year. If American labor could get it, that money would stay in this country. The number of immigrants returning to Europe yearly is 350,000. If one third of these return with sufficient means to establish themselves in their home countries, it shows that a large proportion of the thrifty merely come here temporarily to "exploit" America. Why should the public authorities of this country spend money in assisting this class? Quite a different element, however, makes up a large proportion of those who remain in our cities. The enormous proportion of foreigners in the New York prisons, insane asylums, and charity institutions, upon which subject there are many official reports, is indicative of the general burden that the community is carrying, brought upon it by unrestricted immigration.

2. The indefinite assertion that "the farmers need help," here or there or somewhere, has been sifted a countless number

of times, with the result of finding one definite comprehensive fact. This is, that twice in the year, when the farmer sows his seed and when he reaps his crop, he can employ help; but as a rule he can not, or will not, employ labor the year round. On this point the testimony of John C. Earl, Financial Secretary of the Bowery Mission, is but a repetition of evidence that has been given by scores of other social workers who have investigated the subject. On a certain day, according to Mr. Earl, two Omaha newspapers published a story with flaring headlines to the effect that the Deputy Commissioner of Agriculture of Nebraska had said he knew of cases enough of farmers needing help to give employment to a thousand men from the East if they could be obtained. The Deputy Commissioner named twenty-five farmers who, he said, each needed from five to twenty laborers. A Nebraska newspaper reader sent clippings containing these stories to the Bowery Mission, intimating that the men of the bread line, if they wanted work, ought to go West at once. Mr. Earl wrote to the newspapers, to the farmers they named, and to the Deputy Commissioner of Agriculture, asking for the addresses of farmers needing men. The newspapers could give no addresses, the farmers named said they were supplied, and the official quoted replied that there was all the help needed just then in the State. After the reader has appreciated the inferences from this story, he will naturally inquire why the farmers who need laborers, to be steadily employed, do not apply direct to the many New York philanthropic labor agencies. The reply is that no doubt the few do who are seeking labor to be kept all the year.

3. As to the government employment agencies in operation in various countries of Europe, American readers continually obtain the results of the observations of newspaper, magazine, official, and philanthropic investigators. Usually such reports are no more than indiscriminating transcriptions of official reports, with superficial descriptions of the functioning of the establishments. These writings as a rule lack comprehensiveness of view and they fail to take in the relative influence of all the employment agencies in operation — trade-union, private, government, church, and charitable. They do not account for the existence of each of these forms or for the reasons of the

movements of labor in Europe from point to point and from country to country. They see no significance in the adaptability of certain methods to certain countries, nor do they go to the origins of the various forms of the labor exchanges in each country. The writers who describe the big central labor bureaus of Berlin or Munich, for example, omit due weight to the fact that in Germany there are to-day between 7000 and 8000 private registry offices; they do not know how much politics has to do with the *bourses du travail* in France; they have not followed the criticisms recently made by the trade-unionists of the British labor exchanges established two years ago under the official Board of Trade. In the work of the multiplicity of labor bureaus in Europe, any investigator bent on establishing *a priori* conclusions may select sufficient facts to back up any project by which any organization in society, any political party, any capitalistic combine, may further its selfish interests or its alleged philanthropic objects.

4. The question, "Where would you be but for immigration?" or, "Where would your parents have been but for immigration?" is snapped off at the immigrants of thirty years ago or the children of immigrants of that or an earlier period. The reply is in these facts: Up to 1880 the average arrivals for thirty years had been less than 250,000 a year. Nine tenths of the immigrants of that time came from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland or Germany. They spoke the English language or a tongue closely allied to it. A large proportion of them went directly on the land, it being then true that the public domain needed settlers. A considerable percentage came taught in the skilled trades. They could not be used as a means to cut down the American standard of living. They never brought this country to confront the social problems which now vex and torment it — problems associated with illiterate, poverty-stricken masses packed in "colonies," strangers to the American spirit and American history, working in slave-gangs for an industrial aristocracy, driven into competition with American labor as their sole means of gaining a livelihood, the highest hope of many of the more thrifty being a return to their home land, with America as nothing to them. The immigration question now is totally different from that of thirty years ago.

5. Significant basic facts are to be learned from the reports of State and philanthropic labor bureaus now in existence in America :

Massachusetts has three State free-employment offices — at Boston, Springfield, and Fall River. According to the fourth annual report of the director, the positions filled from these offices in 1910 numbered 20,574; in three years over 43,000 individuals were sent to 68,780 positions; cost to the State more than \$80,000. The offers of positions were 172,129. Query: Why were only one fourth of the positions offered filled by the applicants, who numbered 195,135? Were the other three fourths in the class of offers which will not stand investigation by unemployed wageworkers seeking steady work yielding a living? Were they jobs that were merely casual or seasonal, or that were underpaid? The classification of occupations for the 20,574 positions filled in 1910 may indicate the reply: Domestic and personal service, 11,779; agriculture, 2004; trade and transportation, 2770; manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, 3786. A glance at these figures reveals the whole situation. The State free-employment offices of Massachusetts have for the most part been merely employed in doing a certain small percentage of the work of transferring and re-transferring the household and hotel help that must be moved about with the seasons and the comings and goings of householders. On the industries, the influence of these free public agencies — in the third greatest manufacturing State in the Union it is to be noticed — has not been as much as a raindrop in a barrel of water. Among its more than half a million industrial wage earners, of whom it might be estimated that 20 per cent change places in a year, only about one half of 1 per cent obtained positions through the State free-employment offices.

The National Employment Exchange of the State of New York was set up in 1909 by nearly thirty millionaire subscribers to a fund of \$100,000. Its first annual report states that from May 12, 1909, to September 30, 1910, it placed 4120 men. The operating expenses were \$24,793; fees, \$11,813 (employees, \$10,088; employers, \$1725); net loss, \$10,622. This exchange has two bureaus, one in State Street near the immigrant landing,

and the other in Grand Street, in the heart of the lower East Side. Its effect on the movement of labor, as shown by this report of places filled, was nil. But certain straightforward statements made by the manager outline typical conditions under which laborers and office help (the latter presumably mostly English-speaking) must gain their living in the United States:

On many orders the low salaries offered (for office help) for the work to be performed makes it impossible to fill them. . . .

The causes of dissatisfaction, where unquestionably good laborers have been supplied, and who refused to stay on the job, emanate from the lack of proper housing and subsistence; failure to receive the amount of wages believed to be due on pay day also leads to disputes which cause men to seek other employment. The commissary is not always conducted in the interests of the men, especially when a padrone or some outsider agrees for the privilege to furnish laborers free of charge. Complaints have been numerous not only about extortionate prices being charged for supplies purchased through the commissary, but short weight also being practiced. . . . Some of the men who return to the city soon after they were shipped out will tell you that the foreman was too hard to get along with; others will complain about the exorbitant prices charged for commissary supplies; others will say that there was no provision near at hand for purchasing food; others say they quit because of the poor sleeping accommodations in camp, claiming the shanties leaked and were poorly heated, etc.; some object to being vaccinated; others will say that they were robbed of their clothing; others found the work wet when they thought it would be dry; others would not work with a pick and shovel when they supposed they would only chop timber, etc.

Do not these reports, both of State and private agencies, tend to confirm the evidence we have cited to show the mission of the "distribution" movement?

These reports, as we read them, show that the final question with the laborer seeking work anywhere in the United States — with perhaps the exception of a few remote regions, in which the circumstances of time-consuming distances, high transportation charges, sparse settlement, and uncertain duration of employment are discouraging factors — is not the matter of finding a job. It is the matter of finding even a casual job, to say nothing about steady employment which will maintain a human being at the American standard of living.

As we have shown, the usual established American methods for supplying American (or English-speaking) migratory labor to any point in the country where labor is needed at American wages are equal to the performance of their task. These methods are, as we have pointed out, trade-union bureaus and comradeship, advertising, and regulated private agencies. Of course, they have to be supplemented by individual hustle, horse sense, courage, and independence of character.

In the light of our survey of the situation, then, the principal aim and mission of the schemes for immigrant distribution come plainly into view. It is not to supply our country with any needed labor. It is not the building up of any American community. It is not even to assist American labor equally with foreign labor. It is to promote and assist the coming and going steerage passenger regardless of the effect on American labor.

English-speaking labor in the United States can find its way to any job anywhere that will yield a fair living, even if it has to travel in a "box car." The trouble to-day is that, no matter how it travels, it finds on the job a previous arrival — a man speaking a strange tongue, living with a gang of others in a shack, working at a serf's wages, submitting in a slavish spirit to outrages on him as a human being, and in debt to the agencies that have found the job for him and paid his way to it.

To add to the irony of the situation, the steamship combine, which is the chief profit-taking interest in this process of debasing American labor, is a foreign enterprise. Its companies have foreign charters; its officers and crews are foreigners; many of its ships are under contract to be used by European governments in case of war. On every transatlantic vessel coming to American ports the official atmosphere is anti-American. The officers in many cases are commissioned officers of foreign navies, they and the petty officers and even the serving stewards all sneer at America. All the world sees through the colossal game that the European powers and their high financiers are working on the United States — that is to say, all the world except those Americans who are still caught by the balderdash of a patriotism requiring us to admit the poor and oppressed of Europe and the far East until American labor shall be reduced to the European

level, or who are imposed upon by a mawkish philanthropy that would finish by substituting for the traditional independence of the self-maintaining and self-respecting American wageworker the broken spirit, the semipauper existence, and the slum habits of the class of European laborers that now mostly make up the cargoes of the steamships in the combine.

GOVERNMENTAL DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS

REPORT OF THE CHIEF OF THE DIVISION OF INFORMATION, UNITED STATES BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION

SIR : The Division of Information herewith submits the report for the year ended June 30, 1916.

The plan adopted last year of placing such tables as give statistical information concerning the activities of the division at the end instead of the beginning of the report will be followed this year, and when necessary they will be referred to by number. A study of these tables will show that fifty-three races or peoples, exclusive of Americans, were served during the year by the Division of Information. Men and women representing sixty-six occupations were directed to employment, the range of activities embracing every State and the Territory of Alaska.

Seventy-five thousand nine hundred and ninety-five were directed to employment during the year. In this connection it should be kept in mind that daily jobs, or the directing of a worker to where he found work for a day or two, were not considered in the make-up of these tables.

Of the 75,195 persons who found employment through this division, 58,263 were American citizens, and of this latter number 57,727 were native-born Americans. Your attention is directed to the fact that 46,546 of those who found employment through the division were ordinary laborers. Farm laborers made up the next highest number. There were 7663 of these, while 5877 fruit pickers and packers were engaged during the fruiting season. These latter could not be properly classed as skilled laborers. It appears, therefore, that 60,086 were directed to useful and profitable employment as unskilled laborers by the Division of Information during the year.

A glance at the tables which are not given here shows that quite a number of skilled mechanics applied to and found work through the aid of the service. This was made possible by the action of the Secretary of Labor in issuing the following circular :

OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT TO INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS,
FARMERS, AND OTHER EMPLOYERS OF LABOR

A SYSTEM OF DISTRIBUTION OF WAGE EARNERS, ESTABLISHED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR OF THE UNITED STATES, IS NOW IN OPERATION AND PREPARED TO RECEIVE APPLICATIONS FOR HELP, SKILLED AND UNSKILLED

To whom it may concern:

The Department of Labor, through the Division of Information of the Bureau of Immigration, has recently established distribution branches throughout the country for the purpose on the one hand of developing the welfare of the wage earners of the United States and improving their opportunities for profitable employment, and on the other hand of affording to employers a method whereby they may make application for such help as they need, either male or female, citizens or alien residents, and have their wants supplied through said distribution branches. No fee is charged employer or employee for this service.

The Post Office Department and the Department of Agriculture are coöperating with the Department of Labor in this work. The plan provides for placing in every post office in the United States the blanks of the Division of Information, so that persons seeking employment and employers in need of help may apply at their local post offices for the appropriate blanks on which to make application.

Realizing that the distribution of these blanks in this way will in all probability result in the filing of many applications for employment, it has been deemed advisable to communicate directly with industrial establishments, farmers, and other employers of labor, for the purpose of securing profitable employment for applicants.

There is accordingly sent you herewith a form of application which, in the event of your needing help, may be filled out and returned in the accompanying envelope without postage. Careful attention will be given to the selection of applicants with a view to directing to employers only such help as is specified in the applications received.

If you are not in need of help — skilled or unskilled — at the present time, the inclosed blank may be retained for future use.

While this circular was given circulation during the fiscal year 1915 it did not reach its full effect until long after the opening of the year with which this report deals. In a number of cases manufacturing establishments have written the division as late as June, 1916, to ascertain whether the division would direct

mechanics to them. In this connection it is well to note that were it not for the fact that the newspapers and magazines give generous publicity to the aims and purposes of the Division of Information much of what has been accomplished would have remained undone. What so far has been done through publicity but emphasizes the fact that a liberal appropriation for propaganda purposes should be at the disposal of the division.

In Table III, which deals with the "races or people" who are served by the Division of Information, it will be seen that the Polish people provided the largest number. Three thousand three hundred and ninety-seven of these were directed to employment. There were 2559 Germans, 1561 Russians, 1102 Irish, and 1037 Italians. The remainder was made up of smaller groups, the largest of which (507) was English.

Of the 58,263 citizens who made use of the division but 536 were naturalized. These, though of foreign birth, are not classed with the alien groups shown in Table III. This fact is mentioned to indicate that though a different course of procedure undoubtedly would be followed in Europe at the present time, the services of the Division of Information are given as cheerfully to aliens as to citizens, and that no distinctions were made between men and women whose kin are warring against each other in the homelands. A great lesson may be drawn from this fact, but it has no place here and is merely referred to in passing that readers of this report may be reminded of it and profit thereby.

The number of applications for the year by races or peoples and by occupations is tabulated. In this table it will be seen that the tide has shifted completely from one in which more aliens sought the aid of the division than citizens to where citizens far outnumber aliens in seeking information concerning employment. Out of a total of 184,481 applicants, 132,096 were citizens of the United States. Of this number 118,045 were native-born and but 14,051 were foreign-born. Of the native-born citizens 7352 were of the Negro race and 110,693 made up of the many races of which our native-born white citizenry is composed. The number who applied for information, as in former years, may be multiplied by 5, for in the large centers representatives of groups applied for information and imparted it to those whom they represented.

NUMBER OF EMPLOYMENT CENTERS

The country is now divided into twenty zones, each zone having a central office designated as zone headquarters. Not counting the central offices or zones headquarters, the division now has sixty-two subbranch offices. The location of each is given below :

ZONE HEADQUARTERS

Boston	Norfolk	Chicago	Helena
New York City	Jacksonville	Minneapolis	Seattle
Newark	New Orleans	St. Louis	Portland
Philadelphia	Galveston	Kansas City	San Francisco
Baltimore	Cleveland	Denver	Los Angeles

SUBBRANCHES

Portland, Maine	Bellingham, Washington
Providence, Rhode Island	Aberdeen, Washington
New Bedford, Massachusetts	Tacoma, Washington
Buffalo, New York	Spokane, Washington
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	Walla Walla, Washington
Wilmington, Delaware	North Yakima, Washington
Miami, Florida	Friday Harbor, Washington
Mobile, Alabama	Nooksack, Washington
Savannah, Georgia	Lynden, Washington
Charleston, South Carolina	Custer, Washington
Gulfport, Mississippi	Port Townsend, Washington
Memphis, Tennessee	Port Angeles, Washington
Houston, Texas	Astoria, Oregon
Del Rio, Texas	Sacramento, California
Eagle Pass, Texas	Fresno, California
Big Spring, Texas	Eureka, California
Amarillo, Texas	Monterey, California
San Antonio, Texas	San Diego, California
San Angelo, Texas	Calexico, California
Brownsville, Texas	Bakersfield, California
Laredo, Texas	Tucson, Arizona
El Paso, Texas	Santa Barbara, California
Albuquerque, New Mexico	San Luis Obispo, California
Deming, New Mexico	San Bernardino, California
Tucumcari, New Mexico	Santa Ana, California
Detroit, Michigan	Indio, California
Indianapolis, Indiana	Yuma, Arizona
Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan	Naco, Arizona
Salt Lake City, Utah	Nogales, Arizona
Moscow, Idaho	Douglas, Arizona
Everett, Washington	Phoenix, Arizona

GROWTH OF THE DIVISION

In view of the fact that numerous inquiries come to the division concerning its work from the beginning, it is deemed advisable to provide answers through the medium of this report. The following table will show the number who secured profitable employment through the division :

NUMBER OF JOBS SECURED YEARLY FROM 1907 TO DATE

Actually placed, fiscal year —	
1908 and 1909	5,008
1910	4,283
1911	5,176
1912	5,807
1913	5,025
1914	3,368
1915	11,871
1916	<u>75,195</u>
Total	115,733

NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS FOR JOBS YEARLY TO DATE

Fiscal years —	
1908 and 1909	26,477
1910	18,239
1911	30,657
1912	26,213
1913	19,891
1914	19,383
1915	90,119
1916	<u>184,481</u>
Total	415,470

No record of those who applied for workers was kept prior to May, 1915. For the last two months of that fiscal year there were 7427 persons applied for by employers, and for the year just closed, 107,331. The division has no way of ascertaining what percentage of applications has been filled.

FIRST YEAR OF THE ZONE SYSTEM

June 30, 1916, ended the first full year when anything approximating a national employment system has existed, and the results achieved proved the wisdom and benefits of such an

organization. A nation-wide system, with each zone reporting directly to the division and each coöperating with the other, is calculated to give up-to-date information concerning labor conditions throughout the United States. Such a plan never was adopted in the United States before, and naturally delays and mistakes occurred in getting the system into workable order. As a matter of fact, this has not been accomplished as yet for the reason that, although the number of subbranches may appear large, it is in fact much too small effectually to deal with the question of unemployment and speedily bring the employer and the employee together. Up to the present, however, it has worked satisfactorily, and every day brings its staff of workers up to a higher plane of efficiency.

The following table will give, in brief, some idea of the work done in the various zones :

GENERAL SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1916

ZONE NUM- BER	ZONE HEADQUARTERS	OPPORTUNITIES RECEIVED		APPLICATIONS FOR EMPLOYMENT		
		Applica- tions for help	Persons applied for	Applica- tions for employ- ment	Persons referred to employ- ment	Persons actually placed
1	Boston, Mass. . . .	44	2,156	824	155	148
2	New York, N. Y. (in- cludes Newark) . .	2,618	16,441	18,933	9,819	7,657
3	Philadelphia, Pa. . .	1,026	11,357	10,438	4,675	3,226
4	Baltimore, Md. . . .	218	631	3,542	1,904	1,904
5	Norfolk, Va.	155	874	846	428	360
6	Jacksonville, Fla. . .	178	2,461	5,747	1,592	1,421
7	New Orleans, La. . . .	76	504	2,891	239	40
8	Galveston, Tex. . . .	59	477	1,143	149	61
9	Cleveland, Ohio . . .	276	1,505	1,334	593	202
10	Chicago, Ill.	2,689	28,147	56,056	26,721	25,892
11	Minneapolis, Minn. .	701	795	643	380	378
12	St. Louis, Mo. (in- cludes Kansas City)	1,568	7,216	7,731	3,420	2,462
13	Denver, Colo.	111	163	500	260	62
14	Helena, Mont.	65	154	194	144	46
15	Seattle, Wash.	7,109	15,885	36,051	14,926	14,585
16	Portland, Oreg. . . .	4,458	12,177	10,175	10,533	9,545
17	San Francisco, Cal. .	2,170	3,670	14,659	3,312	2,466
18	Los Angeles, Cal. . .	2,119	5,158	12,692	5,705	4,740
	Total	25,640	109,771	184,481	84,955	75,195

A study of that table will disclose the fact that the New York branch, which was for many years the principal distributing center and is now zone No. 2, stands fourth in the list, Chicago being first, while Seattle, Wash., shows up as second, with Portland, Oreg., the third. For many years the chief of the division and the inspector in charge at New York have urged that Chicago and other points be designated as branch offices for distribution work. The wisdom of those recommendations becomes apparent when the foregoing table is carefully scrutinized.

GENERAL INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

It may not be inappropriate to comment briefly on general industrial conditions during the fiscal year. When the nationwide system of United States employment offices was created in January, 1915, there was little demand for unskilled laborers, the applications that came to the division being principally for farm laborers, domestics, and settlers, for up to that time the activities of the division were confined to these classes. This condition did not begin to change until the following March, and even then but few applications were received for unskilled laborers, and the maximum wage offered therefor, with very few exceptions, was \$1.75 per day, ranging downward from that to as low as 12½ cents per hour. The demand for skilled workers likewise was extremely limited owing to the fact that previously the division had not been permitted to direct skilled workmen to places of employment, only an occasional request being received for men in any of the skilled trades.

By June, 1915, a marked increase was observed in the number of applications received, not alone for farm laborers and domestics but for common laborers and skilled workers as well, and coincident with the greater demand there occurred a gradual increase in the compensation offered. Thus at the commencement of the current fiscal year — that is, July 1, 1915 — there existed an active demand for farm laborers, unskilled laborers, domestics, and skilled workers. This demand has continued unabated throughout the year, and at times it has been necessary to issue, in addition to the regular bulletins, special bulletins of opportunities existing in certain sections of the country, in order that

the unemployed in other portions of the United States might proceed thereto and obtain work. A bulletin of this character was issued on February 11, 1916, calling attention to opportunities for employment existing in zone 3, comprising the States of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and West Virginia, which the offices of the United States employment service at Philadelphia and Pittsburgh were unable to fill. This bulletin contained information relating to specific opportunities for approximately 2500 miners and mine laborers, 500 skilled workers, and 400 unskilled laborers. In addition, the statement was made that the Philadelphia office advised that first-class machinists were in constant demand in that vicinity and that female domestic help was very scarce. The wages offered unskilled laborers ranged from \$1.50 to \$3 per day, the average being about \$2 per day.

Another special bulletin was issued on May 6, 1916, relating to opportunities remaining unfilled in zone 10, comprising the States of Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Michigan, of which Chicago is the headquarters. This special bulletin was issued for the purpose of securing wide publicity for the fact that there existed in Chicago and vicinity opportunities for laborers, skilled and unskilled, with a view to the direction of unemployed men from other sections of the United States. The bulletin contained information relating to specific opportunities for 200 skilled workers, at from 30 to 50 cents per hour, and approximately 900 unskilled laborers on railroads and in factories, at from 17 to 25 cents per hour. The Chicago office reported that the supply of workers of the classes indicated had been exhausted in zone 10 and that the applications would have to remain unfilled unless help could be obtained from other sources. It was stated further that machinists of all kinds, molders, foundry workers, and railroad and factory laborers were in constant demand.

The general industrial conditions characterized by the special bulletins above mentioned are in marked contrast to the situation that existed when the zone system was established. As the operations of the plan become known the numbers availing themselves of its services will increase.

COÖPERATION WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
TO ENFORCE THE SEAMEN'S ACT

On March 16, 1916, the Secretary of the Department of Commerce called upon the Secretary of the Department of Labor for the use of the machinery of the Division of Information to aid him in enforcing the seamen's act. This was with a view not only to seeing that the provisions of the law were obeyed by masters of vessels, but also with a view to facilitating the clearance of vessels ready to sail. Shortly after the law whereby a certain proportion of the crews of vessels under United States registry were required to be certificated seamen went into effect there was considerable confusion, either because the masters found it difficult at the outset to adjust themselves to the new conditions or, as was asserted by some, because of an antagonism toward the law and an effort to violate its provisions by claiming an inability to comply therewith.

At a number of the ports of entry vessels were held up for several days' time because masters would not or claimed they could not secure a sufficient number of certificated seamen; that is, seamen who had passed the required examination in language tests, experience, physical ability, etc. The masters would make application to the customs officer at the port for a permit to sail without compliance with the law. The Department of Commerce called upon this department to make an investigation at all nearby ports to ascertain the exact conditions with respect to the availability of able seamen who had been registered under the new law. In some instances it was found that sailors in sufficient numbers had not availed themselves of the privilege of being examined, which resulted in a shortage. However, in most cases it was found that a thorough canvass by the distribution officers of the Division of Information enabled the masters to secure the required number of certificated seamen to supply the demand.

As soon as masters of vessels learned that the law was to be strictly enforced, and that they would not be granted clearance upon their mere claim that they were unable to comply with the law, they ceased to ask a waiver of the law, and toward the end of the present fiscal year the calls for aid from the Department of Commerce had almost ceased.

However, the coöperative plan which was started immediately for aiding the Department of Commerce is still in force. Shipping commissioners and collectors of customs have been asked to refer to the employment service of the Division of Information at their port any master who claims that he cannot secure a sufficient number of certificated seamen to comply with the law. The inspector in charge of such employment service will then secure from the master his application for seamen and make every possible effort to secure them for him. If men are unobtainable, that fact will be certified to the Department of Labor as a basis for a recommendation to the Department of Commerce for a waiver of the law if all the facts in the particular case at hand warrant such procedure.

WOMEN AND GIRLS' DIVISION

On May 1, 1916, there was organized a women and girls' division. The scope of that division is set forth in the following:

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE—WOMEN AND GIRLS' DIVISION

PLAN

The organization of a women and girls' division to supply employment.

Placement of girls limited to those over 16 years of age.

The establishment of an interchanging and interstate system between zones and offices of the United States employment service; also with coöperating and other State and municipal employment offices, as per instructions.

Coöperation with organizations other than official bodies, as per instructions.

The organization of committees on coöperation.

The development of efficient wage earners through elementary and vocational training and dissemination of information concerning vocational selection and training to girls approaching sixteen years of age and to others.

OBJECTS

In administering this system special attention should be given to the requests of women wage earners for work and every effort made

to meet the demand for female help in farming and rural communities as well as in the cities. Every possible assistance should be extended to girls and young women to enable them to make suitable vocational selections with a view to proper vocational training in order to guide them in desirable industry and avoidance of occupations and places where evil conditions exist. Information concerning trades and opportunities to labor in suitable vocations, including amount of wages paid, length of working day, and hygienic and other conditions prevailing in the various industries should be made available to all as a guide to useful employment and advancement as well as protection from exploitation and misdirection. The coöperation of employers should be invited in developing a plan for a clearing house of information with reference to employment; likewise the aid and assistance of women's and other organizations should be sought by correspondence and in such other ways as may be indicated in instructions.

All officers in the service are requested to give equal and considerate attention to applicants and to place at their disposal every facility in the power of the division.

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

General instructions for distribution officers relating to systems of employment and distribution of wage earners established by the Department of Labor and issued January 29, 1915, so far as they apply and are not in conflict herewith or with instructions concerning the women and girls' division hereafter issued are hereby adopted for the administration of said division.

PLACEMENT OF WOMEN AND GIRLS

Applicants should be classified as to age so that only those over the age of sixteen years shall be considered for or directed to employment; all those approaching, as well as those above the latter age, shall be given the information on hand in aid of vocational selection and training.

Opportunities should be classified in accordance with the practice followed in public employment offices in the vicinity, if any exist; if not, then according to the trades and vocations there established, and should be divided in three classes, as follows: Temporary, seasonal, and permanent.

Applicants should be given information about opportunities listed and should be advised for placement according to their abilities and training, with a view to their advancement to better opportunities and to their progress in efficiency as wage earners.

When placements are made confirmation thereof from employers should be secured by mail, telephone, or personal visit when practicable. In addition, it is desirable to ascertain also the probabilities of continuance of such placement and the progress made by applicant. When visits are made existing conditions should be observed and noted.

When there are no openings of the kind desired employers should be called by telephone, if in close proximity to the office, or correspondence initiated and inquiries made as to vacancies. Other offices of the United States employment service, as well as those of the State and municipalities, should also be consulted in the effort to secure employment for all seeking work and help to all patrons applying therefor.

The call, or request of employers, for women and girls should be recorded, and the report of division investigators and information from other sources, including statements of former or present employees, should be noted as an aid in determining their desirability in filling requests for help in the future.

No applicant should be advised to leave one locality to find work elsewhere unless there is definite knowledge of the conditions existing in places seeking women workers.

Careful records should be kept showing complete industrial history of each applicant to disclose her experience and capacity.

It is understood that in directing women or girls to employment extreme care is to be exercised to prevent the sending of wage earners to localities where labor troubles exist or are threatened, or to places where labor conditions would be disturbed thereby.

No woman or girl should be directed to an opportunity unless the character of the place to which addressed and of the employer has been established to the satisfaction of the superintendent or other officer in charge of the division.

GIRLS APPROACHING SIXTEEN YEARS OF AGE

Girls approaching sixteen years of age applying for information should be advised to pursue such a course of elementary and vocational education as may be calculated to develop their abilities in lines of industry for which they are best fitted. As their future may depend upon the choice of vocation made and course followed as a result of a conference with the officers of a division, the superintendent thereof must exercise the greatest care in directing this branch of its work. A friendly interest, more, perhaps, than advice, may influence applicants in reaching their own choice of a career after being supplied with the information at hand concerning the necessary educational

foundation therefor in addition to the facts furnished relating to employment and the various industries.

Knowledge of the educational opportunities, experience, home surroundings, and environment, together with observation as to tendencies, capacity, and ambitions of each applicant will aid in determining the best course to follow in giving beneficial information. The attitude of parents as well as their coöperation, if obtainable, will be found useful — in fact, such coöperation should precede, wherever practicable, any effort made in vocational direction, either in elementary or vocational training. If the applicant is still at school, she should be urged to continue; or if not, then to resume her studies, and an appeal should be made to parents or guardians in that behalf.

The division, through the superintendent, should provide for the assembling of information from all available sources for the use of applicants.

Information provided for women and girls subject to placement set forth hereinabove should, as aid for vocational selection, be at the disposal of applicants under this subdivision.

The selection of committees on coöperation composed of representatives of organizations, public and private, whose objects are in harmony with the plans of the Department of Labor as administered in the United States employment service should be encouraged.

Such committees may introduce applicants, submit recommendations concerning vocational direction and training, and confer on this and other related matters with the superintendent and other officers of the service.

INSTRUCTIONS TO DIRECTORS OF EMPLOYMENT AND SUPERINTENDENTS OF WOMEN AND GIRLS' DIVISION

Interchange of applications for opportunities as well as for help should be arranged between the various offices of this service and of the State and municipal bureaus.

Stimulating the use by employers and wage earners generally of the public employment service of the United States, States, and municipalities will demonstrate the economic value thereof in lessening the causes of unemployment.

Personal visits to organizations and business establishments and correspondence should not be overlooked.

The committees on coöperation above mentioned also may materially aid the Department of Labor in its employment service by establishing systems in the respective organizations represented, for the purpose of securing information as to opportunities to fill requests of employers for help and of wage earners, male and female (above

sixteen years of age), for employment. Provision also should be made, through correspondence or otherwise, for the introduction to the officers of the United States employment service and coöperating State and municipal bureaus, by organizations represented on said committee, of applicants for work and of employers seeking help.

The officers in enforcing these rules should bear in mind that it is just as essential to keep young untrained girls — not alone those under sixteen years of age but also such as have passed that limit — in school as it is to find work for those who have finished their school training.

Each superintendent shall submit monthly, through official channels, a detailed report of the operations of the division.

The Chief of the Division of Information is hereby authorized and directed to enforce the foregoing general instructions and supervise, under the direction of said bureau and department, the new system providing for the organization and operation of a women and girls division in the United States employment service.

But two months having passed between the establishment of that division and the end of the fiscal year, no general report can be made of its operations; for it requires time and careful preparation to launch an undertaking of such magnitude. A start has been made, and those best qualified to carry on the work are being selected and instructed in their duties.

YOUNG MEN AND BOYS' DIVISION

A young men and boys' division has been established along like lines and for like purposes as the young women and girls' division.

DIVISION FOR AGED PEOPLE

While the necessity for a women and girls' division is apparent it is believed that the inauguration of a plan whereby the industrial needs of aged people may be examined into and their wants relieved so far as possible, is necessary.

It is a fact that modern industrialism condemns to the human scrap pile many able-bodied, active-brained men and many intelligent, educated, and competent women whose chief fault lies in being over a certain age. Some concerns will not engage men above forty years of age or women whose appearance would

indicate that they have passed out of the twenties. Ability and efficiency count for nothing in such cases. A puzzling feature of this phase of industrial life is found when one is informed that many modern industrial concerns retain what are known as efficiency experts, whose duties are to test the qualifications of applicants for employment; and no matter how efficient the applicant may be, if he has passed the dead line of age set by the employing concern, he or she is not given favorable consideration.

Several cases of this kind may be given, but it is necessary to cite only one of the many instances that came under the personal observation of the chief of the division. An American of Italian birth, aged seventy, applied to the division for help to secure employment. He became naturalized in 1872. He served in the navy of the United States and, on receiving an honorable discharge, took a course in chemistry. He also applied himself to a study of languages. He speaks English, Italian, French, German, and Spanish fluently, can interpret, translate, and write in all these languages. His writing is very good. He is gentlemanly, courteous, and in appearance neat and dignified. His eyesight is good, for he does not need the aid of glasses. A concern was in need of such a man. The chief of the division called on the employing power and was told that the man would be very acceptable; when the fact that the applicant had reached the age of seventy was announced the door was closed to further negotiation and the man was rejected. The chief of the division directed a man not guilty of being over thirty-five years of age to the same firm, went with him, and, although the second man could speak but two languages, English and Spanish, he was engaged. This man was under observation for some time, and, although efficient in most respects, he was obliged frequently to call on the office force of the firm to assist him in translating French and German, two languages that are more frequently used in that office than Spanish.

Jails and poorhouses find as occupants many men and women capable of filling honorable positions in the ranks of industry but denied the right to a "pursuit of happiness" through labor because they were unfortunate enough to be born too long ago to be now recognized as able or efficient, notwithstanding the fact that they may be both.

The division, in directing attention to this matter, strongly recommends that an effort be made by its field officers to bring this matter to the attention of employers generally, with the end in view of abolishing the arbitrary distinctions which have in a few years grown to sinister proportions and now mark a dead line beyond which capable, willing men and women may not go because of having passed a certain age.

The Division of Information believes that an effort should be made to bring the human element into prominence again in the world of labor.

PUBLICITY AGENT

Fully a fourth of the time of the official staff of the Division of Information is devoted to personally answering questions, or preparing written answers to inquiries that come by mail concerning the operations of the employment service. Students, economists, college officials, magazine and newspaper writers come under the head of seekers for information for educational purposes. Another class, having noticed reference to the work in print, actuated by curiosity, drop in to "see how it is done." It takes as much time to attend to the latter class as to the former, and all inquiries should be answered. It is therefore recommended that an additional clerk be added to the staff of the division whose first duty should be to prepare tables, statistics, and such other matter as may be required to answer such inquiries as come to the division concerning its work.

HARVEST-HAND SITUATION

As the time drew near to harvest the grain crop of 1916 the department was notified by the labor commissioners of Oklahoma, Kansas, North Dakota, and South Dakota that 6000, 35,000 to 40,000, 10,000, and 8000 harvesters would be required in those States, respectively.

The experiences of 1914 and 1915 enabled the division to guard against the rushing of a great number of men to the grain fields. Accordingly the inspector in charge of zone No. 2 was directed to proceed to Kansas City, Missouri, where he opened headquarters and established an office with a view of intelligently directing applicants for work to the grain fields.

Since the activities of the official in charge of this work extended beyond the end of the fiscal year, the full report of what was done to afford help to the farmers of the West and Southwest may not be incorporated with this, but will be submitted in a supplementary report later on.

Inasmuch as the inspector in charge submitted a report up to the 30th of June, 1916, and since it contains a fund of valuable information as well as a report of the work done up to that date, a synopsis of it is incorporated with this. It will be found at the end of this report.

ZONE REPORTS ON INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY

As an aid to placing the unemployed in localities where public improvements were contemplated or where private enterprise would be likely to require help, it was decided by the division to conduct an inquiry concerning the starting up or probable starting up of new work, such as the building of railroads, canals, wagon roads, the erection of new factories, or the opening of mines. Accordingly the several zones were notified to obtain such information as they could gather.

This step was decided on so close to the end of the year that no progress of importance was made along the lines indicated.

The following is a copy of the instructions issued to the field officers :

In addition to the duties heretofore assigned to you, you are instructed to inquire into, investigate, and report to the division the labor conditions in your zone as indicated in Form Inf. 32, entitled "Monthly Report of Labor Conditions," a supply of which will be sent you under separate cover. All work, whether in progress or under contemplation, of public or private nature should be reported, accompanied by such other information of a general character as may be deemed necessary, the information to be secured through directors of employment in their respective zones or otherwise in your discretion.

The purpose of these reports is to enable the division to be in a position to give accurate information as to labor conditions throughout the country and if necessary to issue bulletins from time to time for the benefit of employers as well as employees.

It will be impracticable, except in a general way, to effect an interchange of the information referred to between widely separated districts, in view of which it is hereby directed that one copy of the

monthly report above referred to be forwarded to the division and extra copies furnished to other zones, as hereinafter set forth. On the Atlantic coast, zones 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 will exchange reports. In the Middle West, zones 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 will effect an interchange of reports. Zone 13 should also be included in this list for opportunities in the State of Nebraska only. On the Pacific coast, zones 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18 will comprise the third division for the purpose hereinbefore explained. (Under present conditions it is not believed necessary to exchange reports between the central division and the Atlantic coast division, but it may be that the conditions will change to such an extent later on as to render it advisable to revise the above arrangement.) Officers engaged upon this work should take great pains in obtaining thoroughly reliable data so as to make the reports of interest as well as of value to employers of labor or their associations.

If the blank spaces provided under the heading "General conditions of employment, etc." or under the "Remarks" column are not sufficient, the reverse side of the blank may be used or a supplemental statement submitted on another page. The work of collecting this information will begin on July 1, thus enabling the officers in charge to submit reports promptly at the close of the month.

CONCLUSION

A review of the work done by the Division of Information for the year just ended will show that more was accomplished than in any previous year. Not only were those who secured employment materially benefited, but those depending on them and in large measure many others were aided through the activities of those who were removed from the ranks of the idle to the field where workers secured profitable employment.

The results achieved will prove of lasting benefit to the country at large, for in the main all who were directed by the division found permanent employment and in turn became distributors of the prosperity in which they shared.

The Division of Information deems it a pleasure to extend its thanks to the Secretary of Labor, the Assistant Secretary, and the Commissioner General for the generous aid and sympathetic coöperation accorded to it during the year. Without this aid and coöperation little of lasting good could have been accomplished; with these incentives to increased effort it has been a pleasant duty to all who perform service in the Division of Information.



IX. EDUCATION

EDUCATION OF IMMIGRANTS

BY H. H. WHEATON, SPECIALIST IN IMMIGRANT EDUCATION, BUREAU
OF EDUCATION

I. GENERAL

IN 1914, when the Bureau of Education began a national investigation of facilities for the education of aliens, chaos existed in this important phase of education. Few established and well-approved standards existed, and practically all methods were in the experimental stage. Policies, except that of Federal non-interference, were known only to cities and States where evening schools for immigrants had been long maintained. Public agencies of various kinds were endeavoring to treat the problem each in its own way, without definite endeavor to coöperate with other agencies, and with no fixed policies. Immigrant education was considered at this time primarily a matter for local attention and jurisdiction. The spectacle of cities working out methods independently and adopting fads in immigrant education without the coördinating influence of even a clearing house of information was so common as hardly to excite comment. State supervision, and especially state aid, had not at this time been seriously considered. Only one State, New Jersey, had specified financial aid for the encouragement of immigrant classes. Only one other State, Massachusetts, had legislative provisions requiring the school attendance of illiterates up to 21 years of age. Federal interest was considered in some quarters both inopportune and improper. Establishment and maintenance of educational facilities had, by established precedent, and constitutional and legislative provisions, been left primarily to State governments and municipal and district school jurisdictions. The same policy was applied to the education of

immigrants. Such Federal interest as existed derived its impetus largely from the national attempt to remove illiteracy, since the foreign-born whites contributed in large numbers to the body of illiterates. The establishment of fundamental principles and policies in the education of immigrants was, so far as the Federal Government was concerned, agitated chiefly by reformers and social workers who came into more direct contact with the problem than governmental officials.

In contrast to State and Federal agencies, numerous private agencies and organizations — city, State, and National; civic, patriotic, and educational — were exploiting the field of immigrant education extensively. Frequently this was due to ulterior motives, among which may be cited the desire to secure financial support. Owing to the general, and, in some cases unintelligent, public interest in the immigrant, appealing instances of his condition were described for the purpose of securing contributions. Again, the creation and maintenance of English and civics classes were utilized as a means of building up the schools of private agencies, many of which, if investigated, would not have received full public sanction. The efforts of some private agencies, furthermore, were well meaning, but directed through the wrong channels. Types of educational facilities and instruction were provided wholly unsuited to the immigrant type, need, and condition, with the result that immigrant men and women were induced to attend classes of no practical value either to them in their life in America or to the country as an Americanizing influence. While the activities of the various private agencies so far mentioned were excusable, their general intentions being good, the exploitation of immigrants by political organizations and fellow countrymen, who maintained classes of instruction either for the purpose of securing excessive fees or for the purpose of making partisans politically of the immigrants who were being trained, was peculiarly harmful and a common occurrence. In several States, particularly California, through the investigation of the Commission of Immigration and Housing, instances were found where immigrants paid from \$25 to \$50 for a two weeks' course in English and civil government that they might be equipped to pass their naturalization examinations. So-called political clubs were formed in many localities by foreign-born

citizens, who were hirelings of petty political leaders, and who, under the guise of giving civic training, promoted the interests of such politicians or of some political party.

LACK OF COÖPERATION

Further accentuating the chaos existing in immigrant education, public agencies failed to coöperate among themselves or to call for the coöperation of private organizations, while, on the other hand, private organizations not only failed to coöperate among themselves, but actually competed with public agencies in providing facilities and instruction for immigrant residents. This lack of mutual assistance had three results: First, decentralization of all educational work among immigrants; second, a positive diminution of public activity; and, third, rivalry among private agencies both to secure the bulk of financial support and to build up powerful organizations. Such were the conditions in immigrant education which confronted school officials and social workers at the beginning of the national investigation by the bureau in 1914.

PROGRESS SINCE 1914

Progress in every way has been rapid, definite, and extensive. Governmental authorities everywhere, city, State, and Federal, have expressed serious interest in the problem, and have taken definite steps to provide adequate facilities. Municipalities have seen that the education of the immigrant, especially through the provision of evening classes, is to be treated as a fundamental part of the educational system, rather than as an incident or adjunct to the day school system to be maintained or not at will, or according to the amount of money in the school treasury. Many of the States, such as California, Michigan, and New York, and particularly the State departments of education, have come to appreciate the fact that the immigrant is not merely a local problem. The transitory nature of his employment, and hence residence, have been increasingly appreciated in their bearing upon his education. While the primary obligation of the city has been acknowledged, both officials and citizens have grown to see that the secondary obligation of the State to assist the city and the local school district in this particular type of education

is one of such imperative nature as to demand financial assistance and state supervision and coördination of activities. The Federal Government, especially the Bureau of Education, as a result of an investigation of facilities, has come to take the stand that inasmuch as admission of an immigrant to the United States, together with his admission to citizenship, are both Federal matters, then, equally, is interest in his training for life and citizenship in this country a Federal matter. With immigrants moving from city to city and from State to State, with different nationalities in each State, and with the necessity of a clearing house of information becoming more and more apparent, this Federal interest has been increasingly directed toward the establishment of fundamental principles, policies, and standards, together with approved practices in this form of education.

On the other hand, private agencies have seen the futility of competition among themselves and with public agencies and institutions. Hence they have increasingly adopted the practice of establishing facilities only where they do not exist, or where public facilities cannot, for financial reasons, be made to meet the local problem. The practice has become more and more established of placing private facilities under the supervision of appropriate public school officials, and of turning over to the latter such facilities as rapidly as financial and other reasons will permit. The result is to-day that, while conditions are far from satisfactory, the evolution of education has forced a larger measure of coöperation on the part of all agencies and individuals interested in the training of immigrants for citizenship in America. Although this is the transition period, yet principles, policies, standards, and methods are now more clearly delineated than ever before, while the most effective procedure of all — coöperation — is daily teaching those interested its potency in the Americanization movement.

II. CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL STANDARDS

Some of the standards virtually established by State constitutions are unfortunate. In effect, the provisions in many State constitutions operate against the establishment and extension of evening school facilities, through which, primarily, the

non-English-speaking foreigner must be reached. Such is the case in the States of Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, and Wyoming. In these States the constitutions, in most instances, authorize the legislature to provide for establishment and organization of free schools only for children within the ages of 6 and 21 years. Some of these States restrict the division of State school funds so that only children 21 years of age or under are the beneficiaries. In only one constitution, that of California, are evening schools specifically mentioned by name, and their establishment authorized. While it is true that, under existing rules of legal construction, constitutional provisions in the other States enumerated do not prohibit legislatures appropriating money from general State funds for the support of evening schools and do not make impossible the maintenance of evening schools by local communities, yet the fact that State school moneys cannot be used except for children below the ages of 18 or 21 years discourages legislatures from separate appropriation for evening-school purposes, and operates to discourage local communities from maintaining such facilities on their own financial responsibility without State aid.

EVENING SCHOOL LEGISLATION

Most legislative provisions applicable to evening schools are permissive in nature so far as establishment of evening schools by local communities is concerned. Massachusetts and Connecticut are exceptions to the rule. They require, under certain conditions, that evening schools must be maintained. In Massachusetts, every city or town in which labor certificates are granted within the year to 20 or more persons to whom the literacy law applies must maintain an evening school during the following year. In Connecticut, every town having a population of 10,000 or more is required to establish and maintain such schools for the instruction of persons over 14 years of age. In other States, evening schools must be established by local communities, provided a stipulated number of residents present a formal petition.

This is the case in Indiana, where night schools must be established in cities of over 3000 inhabitants upon the petition of 20 or more inhabitants having children between the ages of 14 and 21 years, necessarily employed during the day, who will attend such evening schools. Practically the same requirement affects Baltimore County, Maryland, except that the petition must be signed by 20 persons over 12 years of age who desire to attend evening school. In Pennsylvania, the provision is mandatory in second, third, and fourth class school districts upon the application of 25 parents of pupils above the age of 14 years who are residents of the school district.

On the other hand, legislative provisions making the establishment of evening schools entirely optional on the part of local boards of education have been passed in several of the principal immigration States, such as California, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Wisconsin. In fact, this seems to be the standard adopted by most legislatures. The result is that evening school facilities are not maintained in a large number of communities where a genuine demand and need exists. Even in those cities where facilities are established they are usually considered merely adjuncts to the day school system, rather than an integral part of the educational system. Thus in the principal immigration States above specifically mentioned the number of communities maintaining evening schools is surprisingly low. In New York, with a foreign-born white population of 2,729,272, the largest in the entire country, a State having 148 urban centers with over 2500 inhabitants, and 71 urban centers with over 1000 foreign-born whites, the number of cities maintaining evening schools is only 41. In Pennsylvania, the number is slightly higher, 42, but is really lower when taken in connection with the fact that this State has 263 urban centers with 2500 inhabitants and 127 such centers with 1000 foreign-born whites. New Jersey has only 30 communities with evening schools, as against 61 urban centers with over 1000 foreign-born whites; Ohio, 20 as against 40; California, 9 as against 30; Wisconsin, 19 as against 38. On the other hand, Massachusetts, owing to the operation of its mandatory evening school law, has 65 communities with evening schools, as against 117 communities with over 1000 foreign-born whites. In Connecticut, every city over 10,000, with the exception of

one, a wealthy suburban community which has no reason to comply with the State law, maintains evening schools pursuant to the mandatory provision above referred to. No State during the past two years has passed any legislation making the establishment of evening schools mandatory.

In commenting upon legislative standards, mention should be made of the fact that during the last year a method of securing the establishment of evening schools has come into common use although not required by law in any considerable number of States; namely, petition by immigrants desiring evening school instruction in English and civics. The Bureau of Education is in receipt of a number of such petitions requesting it to use its influence with local boards of education in securing evening school facilities. It was also advised of several instances where similar petitions have been made directly to local school authorities as a means of securing action by them. This suggests a very definite scheme of securing evening schools in States where these facilities are authorized by law, but are not required to be maintained. As interest in acquiring the common language of the country develops among the foreign-born whites, the tendency seems more and more to be in the direction of making formal petitions for instruction through evening schools. This is quite likely to be adopted by legislatures as a standard condition precedent to requiring evening schools, for the purpose of ascertaining the desire on the part of immigrant residents for training in English and civics.

A most significant law was passed by the California Legislature last year, setting a high standard for other States. This legislation provides for the appointment of "domestic educators" by local boards of education, upon the basis of one appointee to each 500 units of attendance in the day schools. These educators are to go from house to house, especially in the foreign sections, for the purpose of training the mothers and children in the rules of health, sanitation, and hygiene, the principles of buying food and clothing, the English language and civics, and other appropriate subjects. The Commission of Immigration and Housing of California, the Federation of Women's Clubs, and the Daughters of the American Revolution have united in developing facilities authorized by this new law.

STATE AID

Eleven States grant State aid benefiting evening schools: California, Connecticut, Indiana, Maine, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington, and Wisconsin. The amount of State aid, together with the conditions under which it is granted, however, is not standardized in these States. Under certain limitations, Pennsylvania, to promote vocational instruction, grants to a school district two thirds of the sum which has been expended during the previous school year for such instruction. Evening schools for foreigners are thus indirectly benefited if vocational instruction is given therein. In Maine two thirds of the amount expended for the salaries of teachers is allowed for evening schools in which certain vocational subjects are taught. One half the cost of maintenance or of actual expenditure for evening school instruction is the standard most frequently adopted. This practice obtains in New Jersey under a special law to promote immigrant classes, and in Rhode Island and Wisconsin under certain restrictions as to the total amount receivable by a community. Divers other methods of apportionment obtain in the remaining States, as in California, where it is based upon average daily attendance in evening schools; in Connecticut, where a fixed rate of \$2.25 per pupil in average attendance is paid; in Minnesota, where also obtains a per capita basis for evening school pupils between the ages of 5 and 21 years; in New Jersey, where a fixed amount per teacher is paid, together with a per capita allowance based upon attendance; in New York, where the basis is the number of teachers and the days taught by each; and in Washington, where aid is given according to the actual number of units of attendance of all pupils. In the two States where aid is granted upon the basis of attendance an evening attended is credited as half a day provided the session is two hours in length.

It would seem, therefore, that some very high standards have been set in the apportionment of State aid, yet none of them has received such general adoption as to warrant the statement that it is an approved standard. While the principle of State aid for evening school maintenance is firmly established, the conditions under which it is granted still need standardization.

STANDARDS IN ADMINISTRATION

Supervision of evening schools ought to be as definite and as extensive as supervision of day schools. It is not upon a satisfactory basis in most communities. The general practice seems to be to leave supervision to the superintendent. Only about one third of the 150 cities reporting during the last year employ a director of evening school work. Many large communities report no such school official. Only one city, Rochester, New York, reports a director of immigrant education, whose duties are exclusively limited to this particular phase of education. It is needless to remark that this city has made rapid strides in its Americanization work, due largely to this specialized supervision. A very few other cities report the detailing of a principal to supervise the immigrant work in addition to his other duties, but in these cities Americanization work has not progressed so extensively or along such definite lines. Detroit has announced for the coming year the appointment of a supervisor of immigrant education for the purpose of training teachers in methods, selecting appropriate courses and texts, coördinating the work of the various schools and classes, and working out appropriate entertainment on "social" evenings.

In the appointment of evening school teachers it seems to be the general practice to select teachers most capable from the day school staff. Superintendents who follow this method from choice do so feeling that a day school teacher is most competent and has training in educational methods. Those who follow the practice from necessity, not being able to secure suitable teachers from other sources, do not approve of the practice, feeling that the double work, physically and mentally, placed upon teachers reduces the efficiency of both day and evening school instruction. Until adequate means of training teachers for the instruction of immigrants in English and civics are devised, coupled with increased salaries, it is quite likely that this custom will obtain generally.

Methods of appointing teachers are quite diverse. While the ideal method would be recommendation by the supervisor of immigrant education, after proper professional determination of fitness, nomination by the superintendent, and appointment by

the board of education, yet local whim seems to have determined the particular method. Some communities report appointment by superintendents, others by boards of education, others by committees of the board of education, others by principals, others by directors of evening schools, others by supervisors of extension work, or by the board of industrial education.

The qualifications considered in the determination of fitness have gravitated toward the following tests, the order set forth indicating the commonness of the method: first, general teaching ability, training, and experience; second, known ability to teach immigrants; third, experience in teaching immigrants. Training in the teaching of immigrants has been given slight consideration, due to the fact that few cities have given definite training in this particular line of work. Knowledge and appreciation of the immigrant and sympathy with him and with his national and racial characteristics have not come to be regarded as important. Ability to speak the foreign language is a requirement in some places, and personality receives consideration in a number of cities, but no standard test or definition of personality prevails.

In training teachers of foreigners, some progress has been made during the past year. In Rochester, New York, a high standard has been established, the teachers being brought together in meetings frequently, and training given them in their own classrooms by the supervisor of immigrant education. Small groups of teachers are taken about from school to school by the supervisor for the purpose of watching the work of the most competent instructors. Similar methods have been utilized in other cities, but the training is not so highly specialized. Several teachers' institutes have been held during the past year in order to develop an interest in this type of education and to point out some of the most effective methods utilized. Boston has conducted a teachers' training course over a considerable period of time. At the close of the school year a course was given in the city of Detroit, two specialists from outside of the city giving two lectures each day to about 300 persons. A similar course was given in Buffalo at the close of the evening school term, while several courses have been given in teachers' colleges and even in universities where teachers were in attendance. The most notable of such courses were the ones given in the State Teachers'

College at Albany, New York, and in the summer school of Columbia University. This particular method of training probably marks the beginning of great advance in the equipment and qualification of teachers for the type of instruction under consideration. Several other cities have also announced such courses for the coming school year. Special conferences and meetings of teachers have been held in Harris Teachers' College at St. Louis, Missouri; Wilmerding, Pennsylvania; Rockford and East Chicago, Illinois; Franklin, Massachusetts; Hibbing, Minnesota; Garwood, New Jersey; Hudson Falls and Yonkers, New York; Milwaukee and Superior, Wisconsin. About 35 cities report lectures on immigrant-education problems.

Lack of standards in training, of course, is due in part to lack of standard in methods of teaching English and civics. As progress is made in the latter direction, so equally will advance be made in competent training of teachers.

Salaries of both teachers and principals in the evening schools are generally paid upon the evening basis. Of 354 communities reporting upon the basis of payment, 271 pay at a fixed rate per evening; 41 at a fixed rate per hour or period; 31 on the monthly basis; 6 upon the yearly basis; and 5 upon the weekly basis. While payment upon the evening basis is the standard usually adopted, yet distinct advance has been made during the last year or two toward payment upon the monthly basis. The whole question of payment is involved in the schedule of hours and sessions. As long as teachers are taken from the day school staff and evening schools are conducted on only three or four evenings per week, payment must by necessity in most cities be made upon the evening basis. Where evening schools are conducted four or five evenings per week, and where adult classes are also held during the day, the tendency is toward payment upon a monthly basis. The extension of evening school facilities and the combination of adult day classes with evening school instruction will enable an increasingly large number of communities to make payment upon that basis. The professional side of instructing adult immigrants will never be developed until a teacher is placed in a position to specialize in this form of work to the exclusion of day school instruction of children and other vocations. Principals are usually paid upon the same basis as

teachers, although in 14 instances a different arrangement prevails.

Salaries of teachers and principals show the greatest diversity. The most frequent salary in cities of over 100,000 population is \$2 per evening. This obtains in 10 out of 36 cities reporting, although the range of salaries in these cities is \$1 to \$3, while the average is \$2.20 per evening. The most frequent salary in cities ranging from 25,000 to 100,000 population is also \$2 per evening, as well as in cities from 10,000 to 25,000. Twenty-five out of the 81 cities in the second-mentioned group and 26 cities out of 82 in the third group pay this amount. The range of salaries, however, in both of these last-mentioned groups is greater even than in the first, mentioned, being from \$1 to \$3.50. The average in both, however, is below the first-mentioned group. The general tendency seems to be to raise the rate per evening as interest and appreciation of the Americanization movement develops in each community.

TERMS, SESSIONS, AND HOURS

The greatest diversity exists in the number of evenings taught during the term. In Traverse City, Michigan, the term runs through 20 sessions, one evening per week, while in Los Angeles and Oakland, California, the term extends throughout 187 sessions of five evenings per week. It must be remarked, however, that the length of the terms in the two California cities mentioned is due to the requirement of State law, it having been made a standard by legislative enactment that evening school facilities shall be coextensive with those provided in the day schools. In the 43 cities of over 100,000 inhabitants reporting, in which the range of sessions is from 46 to 187, the average number of sessions is 83. This, however, does not mean that the average is by any means a standard. Only 9 of these cities report over 90 sessions; 24 report from 70 to 90 sessions; and 10, less than 70. Again, of the 102 cities of 25,000 to 100,000 population reporting, with a range of sessions from 40 to 185, the average number of sessions is 79. In 22 the term runs over 90 sessions; in 59 from 60 to 90 sessions; and in 21, less than 60. Out of the 113 cities of 10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants reporting, with a

range of sessions from 20 to 177, the average number of sessions is 59. Thirteen cities report over 80 sessions in a term; 78 report from 40 to 80; and 22 report less than 40.

State aid is the most powerful factor in standardizing the number of sessions in a term. In New Jersey, under the provision of the general aid law, a community may not receive State aid unless it maintains night schools on at least 64 evenings. In Connecticut, the minimum is fixed at 75. In Minnesota, State aid is not available unless the pupils attend on 40 nights or more.

The number of sessions per week ranges from one to six. The standard seems to be three nights per week on alternate evenings. Of 376 cities reporting, 175 had three evenings per week, and 102 had four evenings per week. Monday is selected by 335 cities, and Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings constitute the most frequent combination in 86 cities, although classes are conducted on the first four evenings of the week in 80 cities. The tendency during the past year or two has been toward the first standard mentioned — three alternate evenings per week — Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. At the close of the last evening school year, the school officials of Detroit announced that the four-evening combination would be abolished and a three-evening combination would be substituted during the coming school year.

The length of a session is unusually well standardized; 323 out of 428 cities reporting use a two-hour session. Nevertheless, 74 cities have sessions of one hour and a half. Although 122 cities use the 7 to 9 o'clock period, the most common hours of conducting classes are from 7.30 to 9.30. One hundred and forty-six communities have adopted this as a standard period.

REGULARIZING ATTENDANCE

Although cities have used several methods of regularizing attendance of immigrant pupils, the most common practice is to require a deposit returnable upon regularity of attendance. At least 159 communities require deposits conditioned upon two thirds to four fifths of the evenings taught. The amount of the deposits varies widely. The most common amount required is \$1. Out of 429 cities 77 report an actual fee charged. This operates to discourage attendance rather than to regularize it.

PUBLICITY AND COÖPERATION

In bringing evening school facilities to the attention of prospective pupils, the most common methods used by school authorities are announcements in the foreign-language newspapers, posters, placards, and handbills. In seven cities slides are shown in moving-picture theaters. In a few cities circular letters are sent to employers, labor organizations, foreigners' societies, and civic clubs.

The greatest contribution to publicity methods has been made by the city of Detroit, where the board of education and the board of commerce united in a city-wide publicity campaign to induce foreigners to attend night school. Several hundred industrial establishments coöperated in having their non-English-speaking employees enroll. Posters and handbills were disseminated broadcast and notices were placed in pay envelopes. Priests, foreigners' societies, foreign language newspapers, patriotic societies, civic clubs, and fraternal organizations coöperated in bringing the value of night schools to the attention of foreign-born residents. As a result enrollment was increased in excess of 150 per cent beyond the year preceding.

For the sake of stimulating an appreciation of the value of publicity as a means of getting foreigners into the night schools, the Bureau of Education caused the distribution of over 150,000 "America First" posters. These set forth in English and seven foreign languages the advantages of attending night school and learning the English language. The response was definite and conclusive. Not only was a perceptible increase in attendance noted, but a positive demand for night schools came from many sections where such facilities had never been maintained. A considerable number of communities established night schools as a result, and a keen interest in the Americanization movement was developed among American citizens.

Another method of publicity was devised by the United States Bureau of Naturalization in the Department of Labor. The names of declarants and petitioners for naturalization were entered upon cards and sent to the respective school authorities in those communities where these aliens resided. Through the contact developed in this way between naturalization courts and

school officials a considerable number of classes in citizenship for those preparing for naturalization have been established.

In December, 1914, the Bureau of Education suggested to the United States Bureau of Immigration in the Department of Labor that the names of alien children of school age be sent to the proper school authorities in those communities to which such children were destined upon arriving at the ports of entry. The names of a limited number prior to that time had been sent to certain cities upon request. The plan was extended to all communities at the beginning of the school term of 1915-1916. A great number of enthusiastic letters were received from superintendents setting forth the value of the plan in enabling them to locate newly arrived immigrant children before they become unlawfully employed.

Americanization through education has been denoted, in 1915-1916, by greater tendency toward coöperation. Private agencies especially have shown more desire to unite with governmental authorities in dealing with the problem of immigrant education. Chambers of commerce, industrial establishments, patriotic societies, philanthropic organizations, newspapers, women's clubs, labor unions, and public-spirited citizens, alike, have put sincere endeavor into the Americanization movement. In many instances privately maintained schools have been transferred to the supervision of the constituted school authorities. This indicates a healthy tendency toward centralizing work for immigrants.

THE SCHOOL AS THE INSTRUMENT FOR NATIONALIZATION HERE, AND ELSEWHERE

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AMERICA is looking forward with anxious hope to the school as the chief instrument for Americanization. It may be proper for one whose thesis is favorable to the importance of the school as an agent for Americanization to point to the danger of regarding the school as the sole factor or as an isolated instrument apart from other forces. As the result of the application of scientific tests for determining and testing the abilities of school children, we are recognizing and even measuring the influence of outside school experiences in the attainment of school standards. Children often make better scores in arithmetic at the end of the summer vacation than at the end of the preceding school term. The child grows in the power to perform arithmetical operations by making purchases at the store, by handling change, by buying war savings stamps. Ability to read, that is, ability to interpret ideas from printed words, is often obtained from the disapproved paper covered tale of adventure as well as from the carefully expurgated models of literature proffered by the school. We no longer doubt the forces, good and bad, of the moving-picture show. The graduate of the elementary school at fourteen who has followed the customary school procedure has an accumulation of ideas, habits, and impulses which are the result of quite complex forces. One would hesitate to say definitely how much of the good should be credited to the school or how much of the good and bad to outside school influences. We are assuming too much, consequently, when we conclude that the formal schooling of the immigrant will automatically solve the problem of Americanization. Not only the school, but the home, the church, the street, the playground, the moving picture, the job, are factors which determine the character and tendencies of the citizen.

An analysis of the figures of the ability to speak our tongue among foreign-born will indicate that the school has not been the controlling factor. Of the 13,345,000 immigrants in our country in 1910, 3,000,000 were found to be non-English-speaking. Of the whole number of immigrants 9,981,000 were not acquainted with English at the time of arrival. Only a small proportion (729,000) of the 9,981,000 were young enough to come under the compulsory school attendance laws of the various States. About 7,000,000 non-English-speaking immigrants had learned our language sufficiently well to be recorded as English speaking in the census of 1910 and must have acquired this knowledge largely outside the schools, for we may not conclude that the knowledge of English was acquired in the evening schools, as the figures of attendance at this agency are quite negligible. Let us recognize the fact that the majority of our immigrants of non-English-speaking origin have learned to speak English, but have acquired this accomplishment outside the schools. It is also true that there were three million immigrants, a minority, who had failed to learn English either in or outside the schools, and this latter fact is one of the significant reasons for the subsequent discussion.

In spite of the seeming deprecation of the influence of the school upon the immigrant, it remains true that the school can be the most important force in reducing materially the large amount of failure among the foreign-born to speak our tongue. Progressive nations and states are able to reduce illiteracy among the native born and children of foreign parentage to a fraction of one per cent. Extension of compulsory attendance to include higher ages for non-English-speaking immigrants necessarily would reduce the comparatively high figures of illiteracy of this group. The school is always an effective agent when its resources are used, and is an institution under public control and, consequently, the most effective means for exercising definite influence. The objection may be raised that the conscious control of the school extends only to public schools and that the numerous pupils attending private institutions may miss the intended ends. The spirit of democratic institutions always has given freedom of action respecting the education of the young, and very likely will continue to maintain this freedom with probably

some greater assurances that certain matters respecting the integrity of a common citizenship will be the uniform result of all private school instruction. To illustrate: Private schools with instruction given solely or in too large a measure in a foreign tongue will probably be required by law to teach sufficient English to guarantee a competent knowledge of English.

To many the guarantees respecting freedom of religious worship have been involved in the educational process. Many native-born Americans fail to understand the close connection between language and religion in the alien's mind. There is a close connection between these forces even for English-speaking peoples; founders, leaders and authorities of English religious sects were uniformly English in blood and taught and wrote their convictions in that tongue. The English Bible is in effect a particular covenant for the majority of the English-speaking peoples. With the foreigner, however, the connection is even more intimate; religious devotion and feeling are inextricably bound up with the native language, so that in spite of any lack of intention on our part, when we begin to propose compulsion about language we probably seem to the foreigner to infringe upon religious rights. This fact is what has caused religious leaders of foreign peoples to oppose language compulsions. We may have assumed that these religious leaders were opponents of loyalty when in effect they were striving primarily to conserve religious rights and heritages.

It should be remembered that education in this country has uniformly been held, in theory at least, to be, in part, a State function. This theory maintains that when education is intrusted to a private institution the institution is commissioned by the State to perform in some degree a State function, and that certain requirements, educational and civic, deemed essential to the welfare of the State as the equipment of the common citizenship are to be met efficiently. There are communities and perhaps States where this procedure is "more honored in the breach than in the observance," but we may expect that our former indifference to this condition will disappear. Many States now require in private elementary schools the teaching of all fundamental subjects found in the curriculums of public schools. Some States, such as Massachusetts and Connecticut, require

that approved subjects of study be taught in the English language. The prediction may be made that many States will adopt similar requirements and enforce these regulations. The nation itself, through Federal channels, may well require of the several States guarantees respecting the acquisition of the English language. Thus, in theory at least, all elementary schools, public and private, are definitely controlled agencies with an important aim, that of preparation for citizenship. The criticism may not be directed so justly as to the fundamental theory as to the failure of its operation. The school, both public and private, may and we hope will become a powerful influence for a progressive unification in our continually renewed diversity of citizenship.

We may pass on to the consideration of the other countries in dealing with the problem of nationalization through the medium of education. We are not the only or even the most heterogeneous nation; Austro-Hungary was likewise many-peopled, but yet very different in the conditions of her heterogeneity. In this country we find the different races living in more or less segregated provinces where they have lived for long periods. Austro-Hungary was a union or, more properly, a loose confederation of states and provinces which had been brought perforce into an unwilling union, and now have become again autonomous. No serious attempt was made to nationalize the distinct peoples through the schools by means of learning a common language,¹ or by other means such as acquiring a common mode of living, thought, or custom. On the contrary each racial element cherished its own schools with its distinct language, habits, and culture. Austro-Hungary was at best a turbulent and jarring confederacy, not a nation. Few will assume, however, that the reason for disunity was so simple a matter as the lack of a common language.

Switzerland, made up of three racial elements, German, French, and Italian, shows a great national solidarity. The cementing force of democratic institutions has brought a toleration and sympathy among the varied racial groups not found in Austro-Hungary. But in Switzerland we find in the schools no common

¹ An exception to this statement existed in the case of Austrian subjects, Italian in nationality, living in regions formerly known as unredeemed Italy. These Italians were forbidden the use of their tongue in schools.

language nor a definite program for attaining homogeneity with a common language as the instrument. In one part of Switzerland, German is the language of the schools; in another section, French is the official language of the schools; and in yet another area Italian is the medium of instruction. In the Swiss Parliament all three languages are officially recognized. Germany, too, has had her language problem, particularly in the Polish and French provinces. Germany, contrary to the example of Austro-Hungary and Switzerland, has attempted to Germanize her subject peoples by means of enforcing a common language, instanced in her dealings with Alsace-Lorraine and German-Poland. While Germany may have successfully imposed her language, she has not achieved the intended result of nationalization. The German procedure shows conclusively that the mere imposition of language cannot bring about automatically nationalization, a fact which uncompromising advocates of compulsion in this country should note.

We are counseled that history contains nothing but warnings. There is apparently no successful precedent of nationalization either by means of a common language taught in the schools or by other devices for us to follow in our contemplated program for Americanization. There are two reasons, however, why we hope for success where others may have failed. First, is the fact that we have already achieved some measure of success with our inadequate program. As has been stated, the census of 1910 reports about thirteen million foreign-born in our land, and of this number, about three million who were unable to speak English. From figures given above it is evident that the majority of non-English-speaking immigrants in some degree learn our common tongue. These figures relating to non-English-speaking immigrants who become citizens show that a considerable portion obtain sufficient knowledge of English to meet the qualifications for naturalization.¹ We have seen that our non-English-speaking immigrants have not acquired English as the result of formal school procedure, for statistics show that in one scholastic year

¹ Census of 1910 — 5,000,000 non-English-speaking immigrants had become naturalized — about three fifths of the whole number who had learned to speak English. Naturalization tests differ in quality in various sections of the United States, and may not be relied upon as evidences of knowledge of English.

(1910) only a small percentage of adult immigrants are found in our evening schools (approximately 1.3). There are agencies other than evening schools for learning English, but it is certain that the sum total of immigrants reached by private agencies is less than the number attending public evening schools. Nevertheless, without compulsion, usually without encouragement, our non-English speaking immigrants have acquired in some degree our language from associations with the native-born, from newspapers, from labor unions, and from like agencies. If so much has been achieved in the way of learning English with so little organized attention to the process we may conclude that with more effort and more competent organized attention to the process much more can be accomplished. We may consequently be hopeful for the success of a program of Americanization, properly conceived and wisely administered.

The fact that the problem of nationalization which confronts us is essentially different from that of all other nations is a second reason for our confidence. No lengthy array of arguments is necessary to demonstrate the truth of this assertion. As has been pointed out, older countries in attempting to nationalize their foreign members usually found conquered, or subject peoples, who resided in provinces and districts once autonomous. To these subject peoples nationalization or conformity to the wishes or to the might of the controlling group meant denationalization of their own cherished order, which was naturally a cause for resentment and opposition. Language, perhaps more potently than religion, is the symbol of racial personality exalted as the right which even *might* may not take away, or, in other words, in the minds of these subject races language has been held a fundamental right which no constitution of men may remove.

Another situation is presented when the immigrant seeks our shores. He comes to our land as a place of opportunity and is not driven by the sword of conquest. He does not come under our jurisdiction as the result of compulsion or the ruthless exercise of power. There is a moral and easily recognized obligation on the part of those who seek our land as a haven or as a place of opportunity. This obligation implies that the one seeking admittance should make reasonable effort to conform to the

customs and become acquainted with the language of the nation receiving him. In this country we may expect, consequently, a different mental attitude towards nationalization on the part of the immigrant than that found in older countries where the problem has proved unsolvable.

In a contemplated program of Americanization, the important decision that confronts us is whether or not we shall proceed by means of a policy of compulsion or by one of persuasion. Shall we insist that the stranger who has joined our membership shall by law and compulsion acquire our language, conform to our major customs, become naturalized, renounce all prior allegiance, or shall we attempt to persuade him to adopt American customs and to use our language, by pointing out the moral obligation, by furnishing convenient means in the way of free instruction, and perhaps by granting privileges which may be withheld from the non-citizen? A no less important question may be raised as to whether or not compulsion, if adopted, shall be employed in the case of those who are already here or only in the case of those who may come in the future.

Compelling reasons are not wanting for the champions of either side of the two alternative courses. The compulsionist will point out the futility of intrusting so important a matter as Americanization to the uncertainties of a volunteer system. Figures can be given to show the shortcomings of our present procedure which may hardly be dignified as a volunteer system. We may be frank in admitting that there are large discrepancies between the actual numbers of non-English-speaking immigrants who volunteer and those who do not, where the best and most complete facilities are offered. On the other hand, the advocate of persuasion will point out the danger that compulsion may defeat the ends sought, that the spirit of democracy is antagonistic to compulsion, that those who need Americanization are largely those who have fled a state of compulsion centering sometimes on language in the lands from which they come, that the untutored minds of those to be compelled cannot discriminate between compulsion for a bad cause and compulsion for a good cause. The contender for persuasion may further adduce that compulsion applied to nationalization has ever been the handmaiden of autocracy and never of democracy.

Those who would limit compulsion to immigrants who are to come and who may be duly notified of the new condition make a stronger case than the compulsionist who would resort to an *ex post facto* procedure and require those who are here already to conform to a regulation not obtaining at the time of coming. The recent literacy amendment (May, 1917) to our immigration laws imposes nothing retroactive in nature. The imposition of an additional amendment requiring literacy in the English language for those who wish to enter our country, a literacy to be acquired within a limited number of years subsequent to entrance, would have the virtue of a contract known in advance.

It is desirable at this point merely to raise these issues and not to attempt a committal. Americanization is one of the issues raised by the war. Compulsion is fashionable in a time of war, and policies coming up for settlement may be colored by the temporary viewpoint. Emergencies are usually met by compulsory measure, and the recent war emergency has increased the tendency to meet all situations by compulsory measures. A realization of past shortcomings is keen in time of war and we hasten to make amends. The situation has its dangers as well as its advantages, and there may be a danger in formulating our program of Americanization, at this moment, as we may incline to extreme measures. Having gone too slowly, we may now be tempted to go too fast; having undertaken too little, we may undertake too much; from no regulation we may jump to over-regulation; from a policy of *laissez-faire* and individualism, to ordinance and autocracy. We are beginning to realize that the spirit of autocracy is not peculiar to any one race or country, and is potential at least in the freest of governments and present somewhere in the instincts of all of us. It is only when this spirit controls and dominates that the resulting government is denominated an autocracy and the individual designated an autocrat. Democracy is always making decisions on the theory that there are two sides to every question and some good on each side. Autocracy and anarchy agree in method, at least, in that they both make decisions from but one point of view, not admitting that there can be an opposite side.

We may suspect the so-called one hundred per cent Americans of holding autocratic views with regard to a proper program of

Americanization. With undoubted zeal and single-minded purpose they would compel within a brief period of time all non-English-speaking foreigners, those here as well as those to come, to acquire the English language; they would compel the taking out of citizenship papers, the conformity in dress, manners, mode of living, to the standard of native Americans. They would by edict abolish the little Italies, the little Hungaries, and the Ghettoes. They would have the recent comers abandon former dreams, hopes, and aspirations, and feel, act, and live in the ways that are natural, not acquired, to themselves who have been fortunate in environment and circumstances. They demand, in fact, a revolution in the life of the foreign individual; the native who makes this demand is unconscious of the evolution which several generations have produced in himself. If Americanism is primarily a mode of thinking and feeling, the compulsionist is forced to maintain the theory that habits of thinking and feeling can be manufactured by force and decree.

Opposed to the compulsionist is the advocate of volunteer procedure. At the present time he is little less embarrassed than is the compulsionist. His system has never gotten anywhere. Most of our communities have not set up provisions for the education of the immigrant, and where communities have done so there is always the disappointing discrepancy between the number of those who are attracted and those whom we wish might be. A curious paradox seems involved in estimating the advantages of either method of procedure; to democratize our newer brethren we must resort to autocratic procedure; the democratic method does not democratize. But the democratic method at least has permitted the foreigner to Americanize himself. There has been going on an automatic process of Americanization which our democratic method has permitted and encouraged. While it is regrettable that there is so large a number of non-English-speaking immigrants among us, it is also surprising and pleasing that the greater proportion of our foreign-born have sought and acquired that which we have not forced upon them.

All the above discussion concerns the procedure adopted or proposed for adult immigrants, those who might resort to evening schools, factory classes, home instruction, or to other forms

of part-time schooling. Immigrant children and the children of immigrants come under the compulsory education law, a compulsion of another nature than that discussed for the adult. If some degree of amalgamation has taken place in this country, if the kind of Americanism we now find may be likened to a stream with varying and unequal currents and not to a series of parallel water-courses, then the school must be given credit for a considerable part in the achievement. An astonishing fact in the procedure of the common schools is that Americanization has scarcely been a conscious motive. Americanization has taken place through the schools, but it has been an unconscious by-product. Americanization as an objective has been in the background of the teachers' efforts, but specifically the teacher has been more concerned in furnishing instruction in the fundamental processes of education and in the fine and industrial arts. There is nowhere designated in the weekly program of fifteen hundred minutes in elementary schools a subject under the caption of citizenship. The study of civics is often assigned a place in the program in the upper grades, but the study of civics we know may not be interpreted as an equivalent to a training in citizenship. The teacher is entirely familiar with such terms as promotion, standards, retardation, physical training, treatment of atypical pupils. The training of teachers and the promotion of teachers involve familiarity with a multitude of requirements, but nowhere in them is there a test of acquaintanceship with the problem of Americanization. And yet Americanization and citizenship are usual resultants of all school training. The child receives impressions, inspirations, and impulses from the pictures he sees in the classroom, from the stories he reads in his history, from the exercises he attends in the assembly hall, from the celebration of patriotic anniversaries, and the salute to the flag. We furnish special classes sometimes for non-English-speaking children, but we do so merely for the purpose of enabling these children to enter without delay the regular grades. We have no special course of study (except in rare instances) or exceptional provision for immigrant children designed for the purposes of Americanization. We do not have them even when immigrant children constitute the major portion, or, as sometimes happens, comprise entirely the school group. Perhaps this condition is

not defensible, but as yet no one has called attention to a condition of neglect.

Unlike the day school, our evening schools as now established, and likewise the proposed extensions of evening schools on some more comprehensive basis, strive to secure results in Americanization as the result of specific effort. The subject of citizenship is much more emphasized than in the day schools and in fact is largely required in all classes in evening school courses of study. Material for reading is quite generally patriotic in character and the instruction in the rights and duties of citizenship is made very specific. With the adult citizenship is an immediate goal. There are *quasi* standards of citizenship set up by the naturalization process. Citizenship is an immediate and pressing problem with the adult immigrant and may properly be made a motivating principle for attending classes in the evening school. A similar objective is too mature and too remote to make as strong an appeal to the children in the day school.

Turning our attention again to the practice of other nations in using the school, more particularly the day school, as an instrument for nationalization we may refer to some of the conditions found in England, France, Germany, and Japan. England, like ourselves, has made no effort to set up nationalization as a conscious objective. In common with us, England has had the ideal of educating the individual child primarily for his own welfare, and secondarily for the welfare of the state. English education has emphasized conventional knowledge which enables the individual child to deal with other individuals, has endeavored to give the child some power of æsthetic appreciation of his own personal pleasure, and more recently has begun to give vocational training, again primarily for the well-being of the child in his after career as a producer. England, as well as America, has placed its hope in an educational procedure which is the reverse of the German system, namely, that collectively strong individuals *may* constitute a strong state, rather than the German idea, that the strong state *shall* be composed of efficient individuals.

German programs of study show that the principle of nationalization is in no way incidental. Whereas English and American courses of study are based on the hope that the well-trained

individual may fit somewhere in economic and political society, the German courses of study take care that the end will be attained. The individual in Germany has been regarded as valuable only as an economic or military unit. It has been previously pointed out that the background of American school influence is nationalistic and the courses of study not. In Germany both the background and the formal courses of study are nationalistic. In all German courses of study, whether designed for higher or lower classes of society, is found a substantial amount of time devoted to religion. While the study of religion would seem to have little to do with nationalization all experience has shown that religion and nationality are closely interwoven. The experience in this country with private religious schools maintained by racial groups other than English-speaking has aroused the suspicion that the emphasis upon religious teaching combined with the foreign tongue has tended, not towards nationalization, but towards intro-nationalization. Besides religion as a formal nationalizing principle, we find in German elementary courses of study the mother tongue, geography primarily of Germany and of her colonies and dependencies, and history chiefly of Germany. On the surface it may not appear that the common school education is more nationalistic than that of most other countries. The difference is largely that of spirit, not of form. The viciousness of the spirit of the German school system has tended to the inculcation of the superior race obsession, together with the notion that Germany was beset by enemies seeking her destruction. No one has doubted either the intensely nationalistic spirit of Germany nor the part that the German school system has had in effecting this achievement.

French programs of study, quite strangely enough, are quite similar in form to those found in Germany. In place of religion, however, we find the term "morale," which means an ethical code not associated with the teaching of any one form of religion. In French schools, the emphasis upon nationalization is marked, especially since religious control of education has been displaced by state preëminence. We may all admit that France in building up a strong state has not had in view the domination of other states, but has had the aim of a state strong enough to resist the domination of strong enemy states.

Japanese programs of study have frequently been thought to be imitative of German practice. They may be more accurately associated with the French prototype in that "morale" is featured instead of religious teaching. The Japanese school is designedly nationalistic in character, and educational forces and instruments are used formally and specifically to produce this result.

The English and American viewpoint and procedure in education has been international in tendency. The fancied national security of the two nations has made the idea easy. It is probable, however, that we have never clearly analyzed our motives with respect to nationalization, and that our practice has been instinctive, our tendencies native, unconscious virtues, if virtues be the fact. It is likewise probable that America would have continued to go on indefinitely, heedless of nationalizing principle in education, had not the war revealed some of the dangers of the situation. The issues of the war threatened the continuance of the freedom of thought and action which had made us heedless of the need of nationalization. We suddenly found ourselves in the situation which France has long faced, that we must nationalize, not to dominate, but to escape domination. It seems clear that the principle of nationalization can be good or bad in accordance with the motives behind the program. No nation can be secure in peace or competent in war without guarantees as to the loyalty and unity of its citizens, and these matters cannot be taken for granted as we have done in the past. Even with its greater homogeneity of population, England in the future may be expected to do much more through her schools for the principle of nationalization. America with its diversified population will surely be alert to the need of nationalization through the schools as perhaps the strongest lesson which the war has taught us.

After this war we may hope that no nation will teach in her schools a narrow nationalism, illustrated best perhaps by the example of the nation encouraging her children to sing, "Deutschland über Alles." While we may reject a narrow nationalism, we must not neglect a broad one. The principle which teaches us to love our neighbor as ourselves also permits self-love, self-esteem, self-respect. We propose a league of nations as the bulwark erected against the recurrence of unjust wars, but

this device assumes that the constituent states be distinct, individualistic, and, in some degree, homogeneous units. From all human experience we may believe that a pure internationalism is as visionary as anarchy and Bolshevism have proven to be. The new world federation is made up of independent states which like families must be integral, unified, and individual. America, while somewhat international in toleration and sympathy, has yet an individual destiny. Until all the world shall safely stand for the principles and purposes which gave us birth and for which we have sacrificed so much, then we stand endangered or compromised if we lapse into internationalism and become indifferent to the character of our nationalism. For the preservation, therefore, of those principles which we hold sacred because of their connection with fundamental conditions of human rights and happiness we must cherish our nationalism. This is what is involved, primarily, in the process of Americanization, which may be defined here as the problem of making all our people, whether native or foreign born, appreciative of the principles upon which our government was founded, these principles which must be defended in war and promoted in peace. The school, as an instrument most nearly under public control, has a large responsibility in creating and maintaining standards of citizenship worthy of our nation with its splendid traditions, standards effective in the strain of war and secure in the perplexities of peace.

The schooling of the immigrant can no longer be left to casual influences or to automatic processes. Never again ought it be said that it has taken a world war to awaken us to a fitting sense of responsibility. Never again should we await the occurrence of acts of destructive disloyalty before taking action. Nor shall we intrust this important matter to the care solely of the humanitarianism of social organizations. We cannot allow industry to formulate a program largely for the purposes of increasing human efficiency. We cannot relegate the task to sectarian organizations with the possible motive of proselytizing, nor to political machines and parties with the risk of debasing our citizenship. The instrumentality of the school is needed if the immigrant is to be effectively Americanized. No other agency can be intrusted in a matter of such transcending importance. There is no reason why we should longer draw a line

between the education of the minor and the mature. While we may compel the child, we must at least invite and encourage the adult. There is at present no general and effective volunteer system of education for the adult. Citizenship is the objective in each case. It is as important that the adult immigrant be transformed, where possible, into a good citizen as that the child should grow into one. While we have noted the automatic processes which have done much towards Americanizing the foreigner, we must not on account of the existence of automatic forces refuse to set up competent deliberate agencies for hastening and doing more perfectly that which in part has taken place without designed help. The human race existed before the ministration of modern surgery and medical help, but human life has been prolonged and suffering alleviated as the result of conscious and careful attempts to strengthen and supplement natural forces.

In a peculiar way the problem of immigrant education is essentially Federal in nature. While the States and communities may actually carry out the program of education, it is the business of the Federal government to see that the work is done, furnishing the means if necessary that the work be done. The Federal government sets up the conditions under which the immigrant may enter the country and assumes a guardianship, in theory, over the immigrant after he is here. The Federal government sets up the standards for naturalization, tests applicants, and admits to citizenship those deemed worthy. We may assume that the Federal government admits the immigrant primarily for the purposes of citizenship, and not purely for the purposes of securing cheap labor for our industries. If we are sincere in our purposes of citizenship, then the educational obligation is manifest. Our accumulating experience with the problems of self-government shows that democracy is conditioned by the extent of the education, enlightenment, and virtue of the people. We will not admit that we deliberately court a large non-participating group of members, non-citizens, aliens in tongue, habit, and aspiration. There is enough in the history of our indifference to the education of the immigrant to justify the accusation that we have sought workers, not citizens. Let us trust that it will not take another war in recurrence of national

menace to arouse us to a proper sense of obligation toward the education of the immigrant.

It may prove of interest to review the influences which have awakened us to the present sense of duty. The first steps may not be said to have been taken purely from a feeling of altruism. Industry began to be appreciative of the need of doing something about the condition of the foreign-tongued alien by reason of the difficulties encountered in the safety-first campaigns, and likewise in the problems connected with labor overturn. The non-English-speaking immigrant was an industrial risk. New State compulsory compensation laws were making the employer liable for the results of accidents. The long-standing immunity from costs and damages based upon the common law procedure involving the principle of contributory negligence had given away to unavoidable payments as the consequence of the growing sense of justice influencing legislation. Under the new order the inability of the foreign workman to read signs or to understand instructions made his employment costly. The knowledge of English on the part of the foreign laborers became an economic asset to the employer. At the same period industrial engineers began to give attention to the cost of labor overturn and it was apparent that the customary method of "hiring" and "firing" workmen was uneconomic. Investigation showed that non-English-speaking employees were unstable, shifting, and irresponsible, with the inevitable conclusion that the proper corrective was to teach English to secure better workmen. The procedure has not always been so gross or so unblushingly economic. Industrial engineers began to talk about giving attention to the human factor in the productive process, asserting that too little attention was given to the operator and too much to the operation. Much of the history of welfare work in business and industry may be said to begin at this point. Even at the present welfare work has not risen much above the plane of the phrase, "it pays!"

Nor did public attention to the education of the immigrant grow out of the promptings of spontaneous altruism; rather was it fear. The world war from its inception and before our participation caused us apprehension. Evidences of unsuspected attitudes on the part of certain groups of our alien population

made us doubt whether these non-citizens would prove an asset or a liability in case we were drawn into the struggle. The plots, the sabotage, the bitterness of feeling, the disloyalty, covert and overt, presented situations never before encountered in the history of our institutions. More recent and correct information as to the extent of disloyal activity shows that earlier reports had much exaggerated what actually happened. The Department of Justice now reports that the whole number of suspected individuals during the war did not exceed six thousand. The public responded, however, to what was thought to be good evidence, and the program of Americanization was promoted as a specific corrective for the supposed as well as actual condition of disloyalty. The campaign for Americanization began (1915), and it was at this time that our official bureaus began to formulate programs and to seek funds and authority. The Bureau of Naturalization, as well as the Bureau of Education, gave vigorous attention to the problem. The Bureau of Naturalization before 1915 was not conspicuous for aggressive action looking towards the creation of new citizens from our immigrant population.

It must be confessed that in spite of our official pride in our democratic institutions, our conditions of freedom and opportunity for the oppressed, we have needed gross and utilitarian incentives like those of fear, safety first, "it pays," to start us toward the paths of justice and humanity with respect to the immigrant. Now that our fears have been allayed, and we have escaped those dangers which we believed imminent, shall we lapse into our former attitude of indifference? It is unthinkable that we shall do so. The war itself has generated and universalized higher and nobler motives. That which we have begun to do from fear we shall continue and enlarge from motives of justice and humanity. We shall not be so much concerned that through a knowledge of our tongue the immigrant will be able to avoid accidents and be content to remain at his work or even to be able to read food regulations. Rather we will be concerned that he may be able to share our citizenship, learn our ideals, contribute his share to the thinking and action of the nation. At least the opportunity for all immigrants to learn our language will be provided by competent public agencies, whether

primarily from Federal, State, or community funds may be reserved for subsequent discussion. The opportunity will not, as heretofore, be provided, if at all, largely by employer, settlement house, religious and political organizations, or by inadequate evening school facilities.

As in the case of the native-born, we place our greatest hope for the improvement of the race in the education of the children, so we must believe and base our plans with respect to the immigrant. Educational compulsion for the mature cannot overcome the laws of nature. The change or reformation of the mature has its limitations both for native- and foreign-born. There are those who seem to expect that the foreigner can be made over, although it is recognized that the attempt is futile with the native, — a high compliment to the foreigner, but an undeserved one. We may expect consequently that results in Americanization will be possible in proportion to the maturity or immaturity of the immigrant at the time of his arrival. For the mature we should not neglect the development of any potentiality for readjustment to American thought and customs. The freest opportunity should be furnished all immigrants, however mature, but our surest hope of uniform and competent results must be in the children of the immigrant, who must be provided with better facilities than those now obtaining. We should commend and strive to have adopted universally the State legislation that requires part time school attendance for illiterates under twenty-one years of age, and there are good arguments for some extension of this limit. We need comprehensive legislation and more adequate funds. The present period of interest, agitation, and propaganda should be superseded by positive action. At present we are proceeding to do by communities unassisted what should be done by communities assisted by States and aided by Federal agencies. What we are now doing is comparatively inconsiderable. The immigrant has climbed without our helping hand. Wherever the immigrant is found should be the extended hand. Americanization should not be the result of fortunate accident. Democracy cannot be achieved or made safe by accident.

X. NATURALIZATION AND CITIZENSHIP

THE NATURALIZATION OF FOREIGNERS ¹

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INSTRUCTION FOR NATURALIZATION

FOR the past few years a number of successful endeavors have been made in conducting citizenship classes in the City of Cleveland. The settlement houses and especially the Young Men's Christian Association undertook this important field of service. Although much was accomplished, the efforts were not united and no definite program of instruction was outlined.

In the fall of 1913 a committee of the Cleveland Immigration League approached the school authorities in regard to a more systematic effort for instruction in citizenship. The result of the conference was that the superintendent of schools authorized the supervisor of elementary public night schools to establish night citizenship classes in all centers where there was an evident need. The city immigration bureau was then requested to co-operate in organizing and supervising these classes.

The first proceeding, therefore, was to select and train a group of enthusiastic teachers. This was accomplished by arranging for a preliminary meeting at which the purpose and method of instruction were explained. Further, every two weeks these citizenship teachers met for luncheon at noon in a private dining room to talk over their problems and receive practical suggestions. Arrangements were always made to have a special speaker.

These classes are now located in public schools, public libraries, and settlement houses. An unique and practical method of

¹ Reprinted from Bulletin, "The School and the Immigrant," Division of Reference and Research, Board of Education, New York City.

instruction is used. A "Teacher's Manual on Citizenship," with blackboard outlines and suggestions, was prepared by the city immigration bureau to meet the particular needs of such classes in Cleveland. A special student's text entitled, "Citizenship Manual for Cleveland, Ohio," was printed. It is a citizenship manual, adapted to local use, with many illustrations, and contains, for instance, an outline of the city government under the new city charter. City, county, state, and national government are considered in logical order.

Many trips by the evening classes are regularly made to public buildings such as the city hall, county courthouse, and post office for the purpose of increasing the interest and demonstrating government activities in actual operation. The buildings are kept open for such visits. Several sets of stereopticon slides on various phases of governmental work have been prepared and secured by the city immigration bureau for use in these classes. "Seeing America," "Our State Capitol," "Columbus," and "Naturalization" are a few of the suggestive subjects of these sets of slides. They have also been shown in the various night English classes and several of the city institutions. Mock trials and courts are continually used to teach our form of government. Many public officials and prominent men have addressed these classes. For every lesson, there are also simple pamphlets which are placed in the hands of the students of each class at appropriate times.

For the purpose of instilling patriotism and arousing great interest, all the citizenship classes have joined an organization called the "American Club." Its motto is "Citizenship and Character." Once every month a patriotic program with special speakers and music is arranged in a conveniently located auditorium. These monthly mass meetings have given opportunity to create in the hearts of these "Coming Americans" a real pride in citizenship.

CITIZENSHIP PAPERS AND RECEPTIONS

Not only the men enrolled in these citizenship classes, but those in the elementary English classes of the public night schools as well, have been aroused to the need and value of securing

citizenship papers. The city immigration bureau, in coöperation with the county and federal clerks of naturalization, furnishes the teachers with application blanks and instructions. The teachers in turn tell their classes how they could become citizens and assist in filling out the required forms. Then the men are brought in groups to especially arranged night sessions of the clerk's offices of naturalization. Thus 1260 men in the school year ending June 30, 1914, were induced to plan definitely for citizenship and personally to make the legal application without the loss of a day's wages either to the applicant or his two witnesses.

One of the most important and most impressive services rendered by the city immigration bureau has been the inauguration of "citizenship receptions." In the past, after the granting of citizenship to the applicant by the judge, each newly made citizen was personally required to call at the clerk's office during the day for his certificate. Now a new method has been devised. The issuing of certificates has been made the occasion of a citizenship reception similar to a graduation exercise. An appropriate patriotic program is given one evening each month, which the successful applicants with their wives, relatives, and friends attend. As the citizenship certificate is conferred upon each applicant, he is impressed with the importance of the ceremony, for he has heard his name publicly announced as the proud recipient of a great public privilege.

When we shall succeed in bringing the fact home to the citizens of America that coöperation and coördinating in Americanizing the immigrant is a community obligation for all local agencies, additional methods of solving the problem of assimilation will be devised, and more efficient service will be rendered in assisting the immigrant to solve his own problems.

THE STEPS IN NATURALIZATION

Every alien must have two papers before he can become a naturalized citizen. The *first* is a declaration of intention; and the *second* is the securing of the rights of the franchise.

The Courts. The courts issuing these papers may be the county courts, the superior court, or the Federal court.

The First Paper. This is simply a declaration of intention. The applicant is not examined. No witnesses are needed. He must be able to sign his name. The clerk of the court will give each applicant a blank form which he can fill out at his convenience. The form has some twenty questions, which must be answered. Care should be taken to answer them correctly, for an error in the first paper may defeat the purpose of the alien when he applies for his second.

For a group of ten or more foreign-born men who want their first papers, arrangements can be made with the clerk of the court to appoint an evening on which the men may declare their intention and secure the blank forms. This will save them the loss of a day's work. The men may be helped to fill in their forms, which should be later returned to the clerk for the purpose of filing.

The Second Papers. There are two stages in this process. First: The alien must file his petition for second papers, and bring two witnesses who are citizens of the United States with him, who will testify to his character and to the length of his continuous stay in the country. This petition is entered on the docket, and ninety days later the applicant is examined in open court as to his knowledge of our government, and his qualifications to exercise the franchise. If the secretary has a group of ten or more men, having their first papers and fairly well qualified to take out their second, the clerk of the court will issue the blank forms, which ought to be carefully filled. When ready, an evening session may be arranged for and the petitions of the applicants properly entered. In the following ninety days special training can be given these men to prepare them for the examination they must pass before the second papers are issued.

In addition to the group of men who, under guidance, have petitioned for second papers, others will prepare for the examination. Their names are entered on the naturalization docket, and are hung up for public inspection on the bulletin of the office of the clerk of the court. To such men a letter may be written inviting them to join the class so that they too may be prepared for the examination in naturalization. In teaching the men, the question and answer form will be found useful. They

should be helped to understand and answer the questions. Special instruction may be needed for the backward. The main facts of American government should be perfectly clear in their minds.

A SUGGESTIVE COURSE IN CIVIC TRAINING FOR NATURALIZATION AND AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

INTRODUCTION

Citizenship is not a political privilege alone. It affects the immigrant in his standing before the law, in the opportunities it gives him for work. It affects not less the interest of the nation.

The Federal government sets forth in its naturalization laws two main educational requirements for citizenship: first, a knowledge of the English language; and, second, a familiarity with the fundamental principles of American government. The Evening Schools for Immigrants must bear the responsibility for this.

The need for greater educational effort is obvious. More than 25 per cent (6,646,817) of the males of voting age in the United States are foreign-born and only 45 per cent are naturalized; the remaining fifty-five per cent (3,612,700) give us concretely the "naturalization problem" of our country. These facts measure the problem.

The purpose of this course of study and syllabus in "civics and naturalization" is to train our foreign-born population for good efficient and devoted American citizenship; not merely to prepare them to answer in a perfunctory manner questions asked at a Naturalization Hearing. Good citizenship means adjustment in the best sense; absorption into community life without surrender of individual initiative. In contributing to the welfare of his community, the good citizen realizes his own. He will work honestly and vote intelligently. He will care for his family, but will not forget the larger family of his city.

Therefore instruction in citizenship logically means instruction in hygiene, in sanitation, in health, and in character. No syllabus can secure all these things, for much depends on the character of the teacher. The following is the outline of a suggested course:

PURPOSE: The purpose of this course is:

1. To suggest means and methods of instruction in Naturalization through concrete civic training.

2. To prepare our foreign-born population for efficient citizenship.

DEFINITION: "Civic Training for Naturalization and American Citizenship" is vitalized instruction in the following:

1. Organization and machinery of our government with emphasis upon its operations and functions.

2. Method of becoming a citizen.

3. Duties and responsibilities of citizenship compared with rights and privileges, setting forth the reciprocal and coöperative relationship of the principles of democracy.

ORGANIZATION: Organization for this work includes three correlated factors: (1) Selection and training of teachers, (2) Classification of Pupils, and (3) Types of Classes:

1. The most important element for the success of this course is the proper selection and training of teachers.

The following qualifications are suggested: (a) Experience in teaching, preferably English to immigrants, (b) Sympathy for the immigrant and intimate knowledge of his life, and (c) Legal training or specific instruction in the political and social sciences.

The special training for this sort of teaching should consist of: (a) "Training Course for Civic and Naturalization Instruction," and (b) Conferences of teachers for discussion of work once a month, if feasible.

2. A classification of students is essential to securing the best results, based upon the general principles of: (a) Congeniality of nationality, (b) Previous education, and (c) An understanding and speaking knowledge of simple English.

3. Two types of classes are suggested: (a) "Community Classes," and (b) "Naturalization Applicants' Classes" for those who have made application for their citizenship papers and are waiting three months as required by law for their naturalization hearing.

SUBJECT MATERIAL: The subject material may be classified into these divisions:

1. Organization of our government; (a) Federal, (b) State, (c) County, and (d) City.

2. Functions of our government; (a) Legislative, (b) Executive, and (c) Judicial.

3. Naturalization law and proceedings.

4. Facts about our law; (a) Why we have laws, (b) What they are, (c) How they are enforced, (d) Who makes them, and (e) Obedience to law.

5. Reciprocal relationship of the social and civic forces of a community to its citizens; (a) Family and home, (b) Educational facilities and the neighborhood, and (c) Health and recreation.

6. "Syllabus for Teachers," — outlining subject and methods of instruction with bibliography.

7. Text for students, — "Manual of Civic Training for Citizenship."

PRESENTATION: The method of instruction should be varied by these practical and concrete means:

1. Informal talks and discussions, laying stress upon questions and answers in civic subjects.

2. Diagrams and illustrative drawings on the blackboard.

3. Outline of American history by brief study of famous biographies.

4. Map study with location of important places.

5. Distribution of pamphlets and circulars.

6. Patriotic songs, stories, poetry, and flag salutes.

7. Utilization of holidays and anniversaries for celebrations.

8. Prize or medal for best essay on patriotic subjects.

9. Stereopticon lecture on civic topics.

10. Classroom or school organization.

11. Classroom or school organization as practical demonstration of the principles of democracy — "American Club."

12. Dramatization: (a) Mock Naturalization Hearing, (b) Mock Trial, City Council, etc.

13. Speakers: (a) prominent men, and (b) public officials.

14. Trips to public buildings: (a) Visit to City Council, (b) Public Library, (c) Museums, etc.

15. Night sessions of the Courts of Naturalization for "Citizenship Applicants."

16. Graduation Exercise, "Citizenship Reception," Diploma, "Citizenship Certificate."

THE AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL COLLEGES FOR IMMIGRANTS

HENRY M. BOWDEN, PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH, AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE FOR IMMIGRANTS, SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

THE American International College grew out of the recognition by the Rev. Calvin E. Amaron, then of Lowell, and others, of the educational needs of the French Canadian population which came into New England with the return of business prosperity in 1878. The rapidly changing character of the foreign population and the ambitions of Italians and Armenians to take advantage of the opportunities of the school rapidly broadened the scope of the work, and after several changes of name to correspond with the broadened scope, the school has become what it is to-day: an institution given specifically to meeting the needs of the foreigner in America, offering definitely the instruction and training required to fit the stranger for life here, at a price within the reach of those who must live by work. In its present location for more than thirty years, and under its present name for more than ten, it has gone about its business of aiding in making Americans.

It often has representatives of twenty or more distinct races or nations within its walls at one time, though the proportion of the various elements changes from year to year. Certain well-defined groups, however, always have prominent representatives. The larger groups are usually among the Greeks, Italians, Poles, and Armenians; there are always Russians, and Hebrews, and usually a considerable number from Latin America, with some from Spain as well; the various Balkan states send students, and no country in Europe ever remains long unrepresented. Usually there are Chinese students, sometimes Japanese, frequently Turkish. Religious statistics are kept, and attendance at chapel exercises is required; but no religious discrimination is practiced, and Confucianist, Christian, Jew, and Mohammedan live in peace.

The school owns property which gives it about eighty rooms for boys and twenty for girls, and some students live away from the campus; the schoolroom accommodation allows the attendance of approximately one hundred and thirty students. There are always applicants waiting for admission, and were the accommodations doubled there would still be a waiting list.

The classroom work divides itself into departments growing naturally out of actual conditions. There are many students who wish to gain familiarity with the English language and with the fundamental conditions and ideas of American life, in order to gain a higher position in the business world. Such students may stay a few months, perhaps a year or two years. The introductory work is planned to give an early command of the language and a knowledge of American government and trade. Then there are students who wish to enter upon a more extended course, who are planning for college or university work. Some of these have perhaps had a good deal of training in European gymnasia; some have only their ambitions, as yet undeveloped. A complete academic course is offered, of such value as to be recognized by the College Entrance Examination Board; and students are admitted to most of the New England colleges on the certificate of this school. Within the last few years the school has sent students to Bates, Dartmouth, Middlebury, Tufts, Boston University, Yale, and others in New England, and to many prominent colleges and universities elsewhere.

The school has the right under its charter to grant all the customary degrees given by colleges in Massachusetts. For the most part, it confines itself to the B.A. degree in course, though it confers also B.S. It grants no degrees without residence, but it recognizes work done in other schools when properly evidenced, and substantiated by the actual classroom work of the resident student. Frequently there are students who need but a year or two of preparation to fit them for entrance upon the work of some professional school, and the ideal college student here is one who wishes to fit for such a school.

From the beginning the ideal of the school, in common with the original ideals of all schools, has been training for public service. It would seem, at least on a cursory examination of the work of those formerly connected with its classes, that an unusual

proportion were now engaged in occupations distinctly connected with community service. Professors and teachers in various universities and schools, officials in government service, secretaries and agents of public and private social agencies, physicians and nurses, ministers and lawyers, they are found from Massachusetts to California, from Nova Scotia and Quebec to Texas. They are also guarding trenches "somewhere in France" and, clad in Greek uniforms, are watching the Allies from the side lines in Macedonia.

But the alien in this land, from the very fact that he is an alien, is capable of a peculiar service to the state. The large foreign population of the United States, amounting in some large districts to more than half the total number of inhabitants and in many to more than one fourth of this total, can be brought into a common social and political consciousness with the older elements only through the mediation of such as are both alien and American. The college has from the start recognized the demand for intelligent work toward the Americanization of alien groups. It is now working more directly to meet this need through a course of training for social service among foreign populations. This course includes a study of the facts of immigration, the conditions of immigrant communities, the relation of the alien to the law, the agencies for social betterment now in operation, methods of teaching English and civics, and methods of investigating social conditions and classifying social material. It is accompanied by actual work in investigating and teaching, and the certificate for the course will imply adequate qualification in civics, history, sociology, economics, and educational philosophy. The work of the course covers two years, and may be counted on the requirements for the B.A. degree. All of the students who are now taking the course are engaged in practical teaching in day or evening classes.

Not only in this formal work does the school engage in meeting the social needs of the immigrant population, but great service has been rendered through the activities of students who have been active in various societies and organizations of their fellow countrymen in the vicinity. There are many societies with an educational tendency among aliens in America, most of them being specially interested in the teaching of history and civics, or in the discussion of historic or political questions; some of them

with an eye toward European conditions, some of them particularly American in their interests. The events of the last two years have probably made it clear to every one that there is no divorcing American from European problems, however much any one may desire such a divorce. The problem is to present and interpret these problems in such a way as to strengthen American idealism and unify American life. In this work, aside from any school exercises, the students have frequently met, in classes, lectures, addresses, and more or less formal discussion, as many as fifteen hundred of their people in a single week; the total amount of such work is not capable of any exact definition, but it is very large. No day passes that does not see some contribution to its total. This brings the school through its students into the most vital contact with the most essential problems connected with immigration and with alien life, especially in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

It is quite the fashion to say that the immigration problems are economic, and to think that in saying this a real contribution has been made to the solution of some of these problems. In truth, in common with all questions of social life, the immigration problems have their economic basis, and are to be understood and met only as this basis is recognized; but, here also, in common with all of the real questions of life, immigration is to be truly estimated only by a consideration of social values, and its problems are to be solved only by adjustments of society which recognize all the ways of reaction of human life, and not simply the economic reactions. It is with this conception of immigration as a social phenomenon, a conception which makes economics a department of sociology rather than sociology a department of economics, that these courses of study in immigration and in practical work among immigrants are guided. The definite work of the school in this connection is extending and defining itself; the recognized needs of the communities surrounding the school give scope for the application of laboratory methods in developing the theoretical study of the problems; and the large number of organizations among the foreign populations offers opportunities for many enterprises in the way of courses of lectures, addresses, classes and discussions which are hardly limited by anything except the individual desire and initiative of the one who is interested to work.

XI. AMERICANISM

ADDRESS AT CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA,
MAY 10, 1915

WOODROW WILSON

MR. MAYOR, FELLOW CITIZENS: It warms my heart that you should give me such a reception; but it is not of myself that I wish to think to-night, but of those who have just become citizens of the United States.

This is the only country in the world which experiences this constant and repeated rebirth. Other countries depend upon the multiplication of their own native people. This country is constantly drinking strength out of new sources by the voluntary association with it of great bodies of strong men and forward-looking women out of other lands. And so by the gift of the free will of independent people it is being constantly renewed from generation to generation by the same process by which it was originally created. It is as if humanity had determined to see to it that this great Nation, founded for the benefit of humanity, should not lack for the allegiance of the people of the world.

You have just taken an oath of allegiance to the United States. Of allegiance to whom? Of allegiance to no one, unless it be God — certainly not of allegiance to those who temporarily represent this great Government. You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race. You have said, "We are going to America, not only to earn a living, not only to seek the things which it was more difficult to obtain where we were born, but to help forward the great enterprises of the human spirit—to let men know that everywhere in the world there are men who will cross strange oceans and go where a speech is spoken which is alien to them if they can but satisfy their quest for what their spirits crave; knowing that whatever the speech there is but

one longing and utterance of the human heart, and that is for liberty and justice." And while you bring all countries with you, you come with a purpose of leaving all other countries behind you — bringing what is best of their spirit, but not looking over your shoulders and seeking to perpetuate what you intended to leave behind in them. I certainly would not be one even to suggest that a man cease to love the home of his birth and the nation of his origin — these things are very sacred and ought not to be put out of our hearts — but it is one thing to love the place where you were born and it is another thing to dedicate yourself to the place to which you go. You cannot dedicate yourself to America unless you become in every respect and with every purpose of your will thorough Americans. You cannot become thorough Americans if you think of yourselves in groups. America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American, and the man who goes among you to trade upon your nationality is no worthy son to live under the Stars and Stripes.

My urgent advice to you would be, not only always to think first of America, but always, also, to think first of humanity. You do not love humanity if you seek to divide humanity into jealous camps. Humanity can be welded together only by love, by sympathy, by justice, not by jealousy and hatred. I am sorry for the man who seeks to make personal capital out of the passions of his fellow-men. He has lost the touch and ideal of America, for America was created to unite mankind by those passions which lift, and not by the passions which separate and debase. We came to America, either ourselves or in the persons of our ancestors, to better the ideals of men, to make them see finer things than they had seen before to get rid of the things that divide and to make sure of the things that unite. It was but an historical accident no doubt that that great country was called the "United States"; yet I am very thankful that it has that word "United" in its title, and the man who seeks to divide man from man, group from group, interest from interest, in this great Union is striking at its very heart.

It is a very interesting circumstance to me, in thinking of those of you who have just sworn allegiance to this great Government,

that you were drawn across the ocean by some beckoning finger of hope, by some belief, by some vision of a new kind of justice, by some expectation of a better kind of life. No doubt you have been disappointed in some of us. Some of us are very disappointing. No doubt you have found that justice in the United States goes only with a pure heart and a right purpose as it does everywhere else in the world. No doubt what you found here did not seem touched for you, after all, with the complete beauty of the ideal which you had conceived beforehand. But remember this: If we had grown at all poor in the ideal, you brought some of it with you. A man does not go out to seek the thing that is not in him. A man does not hope for the thing that he does not believe in, and if some of us have forgotten what America believed in, you, at any rate, imported in your own hearts a renewal of the belief. That is the reason that I, for one, make you welcome. If I have in any degree forgotten what America was intended for, I will thank God if you will remind me. I was born in America. You dreamed dreams of what America was to be, and I hope you brought the dreams with you. No man that does not see visions will ever realize any high hope or undertake any high enterprise. Just because you brought dreams with you, America is more likely to realize dreams such as you brought. You are enriching us if you came expecting us to be better than we are.]

See, my friends, what that means. It means that Americans must have a consciousness different from the consciousness of every other nation in the world. I am not saying this with even the slightest thought of criticism of other nations. You know how it is with a family. A family gets centered on itself if it is not careful and is less interested in the neighbors than it is in its own members. So a nation that is not constantly renewed out of new sources is apt to have the narrowness and prejudice of a family; whereas, America must have this consciousness, that on all sides it touches elbows and touches hearts with all the nations of mankind. The example of America must be a special example. The example of America must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not. There is such a thing as a man being too proud to

fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right.

You have come into this great Nation voluntarily seeking something that we have to give, and all that we have to give is this: We cannot exempt you from work. No man is exempt from work anywhere in the world. We cannot exempt you from the strife and the heartbreaking burden of the struggle of the day — that is common to mankind everywhere; we cannot exempt you from the loads that you must carry. We can only make them light by the spirit in which they are carried. That is the spirit of hope, it is the spirit of liberty, it is the spirit of justice.

When I was asked, therefore, by the Mayor and the committee that accompanied him to come up from Washington to meet this great company of newly admitted citizens, I could not decline the invitation. I ought not to be away from Washington, and yet I feel that it has renewed my spirit as an American to be here. In Washington men tell you so many things every day that are not so, and I like to come and stand in the presence of a great body of my fellow-citizens, whether they have been my fellow-citizens a long time or a short time, and drink, as it were, out of the common fountains with them and go back feeling what you have so generously given me — the sense of your support and of the living vitality in your hearts of the great ideals which have made America the hope of the world.

WHAT AMERICA MEANS

ADDRESS OF THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, THE HONORABLE
FRANKLIN K. LANE, NEW YORK, JANUARY 11, 1919

I SHOULD take it that this gathering, representing so many sections of the country and so many of its elements, is itself a community council. If we could have such meetings in all our cities and in all quarters of our cities the matter of Americanization would soon cease to concern us.

To meet men from Armenia and Italy, from Greece and from Persia, from Russia and from all the nations of Europe, to the very edge of the Atlantic — to look into their eyes, to learn their conception of America, to hear what they believe America offers them, to help them to their understanding, to spread our goods before them — our ideals, our traditions, our opportunities; this is the very first step in weaving them into our flag — the very first step in the process of Americanization.

This is an especially appropriate time to meet, because to-night I can announce to the country that whatever previous differences have existed between the Federal departments in their relations to the foreign-born are now composed and the larger problems of the melting pot, in so far as they lead up to the moment when an alien has determined to become a citizen and has declared himself of that mind, unquestionably and very properly rest with the Department of the Interior, upon which Congress long since conferred the responsibility of supervising public instruction through the Federal Bureau of Education.

But there is another reason that makes this an auspicious moment to prepare for a more intensive campaign against insulating and disorganizing influences in the Republic. The people of the United States have been engaged for two years and more in a task that has given them a new sense of glory — a sense of glory sprung from the consciousness that they were useful to America — and it has not been limited to the boys in khaki

across seas. Those who are here represent that spirit — the artisans, the merchants, the business men, the women — all have sacrificed as one, have wrought with heart and hand and purse that they might make the name of America eternal — by making America a synonym for liberty and generosity and knightliness to the ends of the earth.

It has never seemed to me that it was difficult to define Americanization or Americanism: "I appreciate something, I admire something, I love something; I want you, my friends, my neighbors, to appreciate and admire and love that thing, too. That something is America."

The process is not one of science; the process is one of humanity. But just as there is no way by which the breath of life can be put into a man's body, once it has gone out, so there is no manner by which, with all our wills, we can make an American out of a man who is not inspired by our ideals, and there is no way by which we can make any one feel that it is a blessed and splendid thing to be an American, unless we are ourselves aglow with the sacred fire, unless we interpret Americanism by our tolerance, our fairness, our thoroughbred qualities, our liberality, our valor, and our kindness.

We have made stintless sacrifices during this war; sacrifices of money and blood sacrifices; sacrifices in our industries; sacrifices of time and effort and preferment and prejudice. Much of that sacrifice shall be found vain if we do not prepare to draw to ourselves those later comers who are at once our opportunity and our responsibility, and such responsibilities invoke and fortify the noblest qualities of national character.

There is in every one of us, however educated and polished, a secret, selfish, arrogant ego, and there is in every one of us an infinite capacity for nobility. In this war I could see that there came out immediately the finer man, and, pray God, the better self in us all — the man who came to the front at the call to arms remains captain forever after.

We expect that man to search out his immigrant neighbor and say, "I am your friend. Be mine as well. Let me share in the wisdom and instruct me in the arts and crafts you have brought from strange and ancient countries, and I shall help you succeed here."

There is no difficulty in this, if our attitude is right. Americanism is entirely an attitude of mind; it is the way we look at things that makes us Americans.

If I could have my way I would say to the man in New York, "Come with me and I will show you America," and I would say to the man in San Francisco, "Come with me and I will show you America."

I would give to the man whom I wished to Americanize (after he had learned the language of this land) a knowledge of the physical America, so as to get an admiration, not only of its strength, of its resources, of what it could do against the world, but that he might have pride in this as a land of hope and a land in which men had won out. I would take him across the continent.

I would show him the good and the bad. I would show him the struggle that we are making to improve the bad conditions. I would tell him not that America is perfect, that America is a finished country, but I would say to him: "America is an unfinished land. Its possibilities shall never end, and your chance here and the chances of your children shall always be in ratio to your zeal and ambition."

America, we dare believe, will ever remain unfinished. This must be if there is anything to Americanism.

Let us push our horizons before us; let us so dare and do that no imagination can find a discouraging to-morrow.

It is beyond estimate when we shall reclaim all our lands or find all our minerals or make all our people as happy as they might be. But out of our beneficent, political institutions, out of the warmth of our hearts, out of our yearnings for higher intellectual accomplishment there shall be ample space and means for the fulfillment of dreams, for further growth, for constant improvement.

That conviction is at once our inspiration and our aspiration.

I would try to show to him the tremendous things that have been accomplished by the United States — 250,000 miles of railroad, 240,000 schools, colleges, water powers, mines, furnaces, factories, the industrial life of America, the club life of America, the sports of America, the baseball game in all its glory.

And I would give to that man a knowledge of America that would make him ask the question, "How did this come to be?"

And then he would discover that there was something more to our country than its material strength.

It has a history. It has a tradition. I would take that man to Plymouth Rock and I would ask, "What does that rock say to you?" I would take him down on the James River, to its ruined church, and I would ask, "What does that little church say to you?" And I would take him to Valley Forge and point out the huts in which Washington's men lived, 3,000 of them, struggling for the independence of our country. And I would ask, "What does this example spell to you? What caused them, what induced those colonists to suffer as they did — willingly?"

And then I would take him to the field of Gettysburg and lead him to the spot where Lincoln delivered his immortal address and I would ask him, "What does that speech mean to you; not how beautiful it is, but what word does it speak to your heart? How much of it do you believe?"

And then I would take him to Santiago and I would ask, "What does that bay mean to you?"

And I would take him over to the Philippines where 10,000 native teachers every day teach 800,000 native children the English language.

And then I would bring him back to this country and say, "Grasp the meaning of what I have shown you and you will know then what Americanism is." It is not 110,000,000 people alone, it is 110,000,000 people who have lived through struggle, and who have arrived through struggle, who have won through work. Let us never forget that we are what we are because we have accomplished. There is a sentimentality which would make it appear that in some millennial day man will not work. If some such calamity ever blights us, then man will fail and fall back. God is great. His first and His greatest gift to man was the obligation cast upon him to labor.

The march of civilization is the epic of man as a workingman, and that is the reason why labor must be held high always.

We have nothing precious that does not represent struggle. We have nothing of worth which does not represent effort. We have nothing of lasting value that does not represent determination. We have nothing admirable which does not represent self-sacrifice. We have no philosophy except the philosophy

of confidence, of optimism and faith and the righteousness of the contest we make against nature.

We are to conquer this land in that spirit, and in our spirit we are to conquer other lands because our spirit is one that, like a living flame, goes abroad.

And again it is like some blessed wind — some soft, sweet wind that carries a benison across the Pacific and the Atlantic, and we must keep alive in ourselves that this spirit is Americanism — that it is robust and dauntless and kindly and hearty and fertile and irresistible, and through it men win out against all adversity. That is what made us great.

It is sympathetic. It is compelling. It is revealing. It is just. The one peculiar quality in our institutions is that, not alone in our hearts, but out of our hearts, has grown a means by which man can acquire justice for himself.

That is the reason, my Russian friend, my American friend, why this is a haven to you. Bring your music, bring your art, bring all your soulfulness, your ancient experience, to the melting pot and let it enrich our mettle. We welcome every spiritual influence, every cultural urge, and in turn we want you to love America as we love it because it is holy ground — because it serves the world.

Our boys went across the water. Never cease to venerate the years of their glory. Our boys went across the water because they were filled with the spirit that made America; a spirit that meets challenge; a spirit that wants to help. Combine these two qualities and you have the essence of Americanism — a spirit symbolized by the Washington Monument; that clean, straight arm lifting to God in eternal pledge that our land shall always be independent and free.

To-night in Paris the President of this country, called by duty — your President and my President — out of his knowledge of what war can do, out of a sense of its futility, out of a sense of its barbarity, is working that a better day may be brought about. He has invoked the genius of Europe to devise with him the machinery by which this curse may at least be minimized.

If you will visualize Woodrow Wilson at the council chamber striving for the happiness of mankind, together with the boy in khaki, whose love of righteousness alone carried him into the

Argonne Forest there to perish for the might of law and the salvation of mankind, you have a picture of the spirit of the Americanism that you must exemplar too — a spirit which the traditions and the history of our country demand of you.

How best may be spread that spirit through the land — how best can we explain our purposes and interpret our systems?

Through the community council, through the school. I am making an appeal to Congress on behalf of an appropriation which will permit us to deliver from bondage thousands, tens of thousands, millions of children and men and women in these United States — to liberate them from the blinders of ignorance, that all the wealth and beauties of literature and the knowledge that comes through the printed word can be revealed to them.

Congress will be asked to help all States willing to coöperate in banishing illiteracy.

And I want you to help. We want to interpret America in terms of fair play, in terms of the square deal. We want to interpret America in healthier babies that have enough milk to drink. We want to interpret America in boys and girls and men and women that can read and write. We want to interpret America in better housing conditions and decent wages, in hours that will allow a father to know his own family and to support his household like a man.

That is Americanization in the concrete — reduced to a practical, uplifting force.

I bring you the promise of unceasing betterments when I so give you the word. It is spoken for us, for Europe, for Asia. I bring you the spirit of the Declaration of Independence put into terms that are social and economic and ask you to help us.

AMERICANIZATION

P. P. CLAXTON, COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION

EXCEPT for a quarter million North American Indians, descendants of the natives whom the white settlers found here, the people of the United States are all foreign-born or the descendants of foreign-born ancestors. All are immigrants or the offspring of immigrants. The oldest American families are so new in this country that they have hardly forgotten the traditions and the home ties of the countries from which they came. Though we are now more than a hundred millions of people between our double oceans, we have yet to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the founding of the second of the colonies out of which the nation has grown; one hundred and fifty years ago there were less than three millions of us.

From all the world we have come, mostly sons of the poor, all striving to better our condition in some way, all looking for a larger measure of freedom than was possible for us in the countries from which we came. Here, free from the domination of autocratic government and from the poisoning influences of decadent aristocracies, forgetting our fears and servile habits, we have elevated the best from all countries into a common possession, transfused and transformed it by our highest and best ideals and called it Americanism. A new thing this is in the world, and the most precious possession the world has. Though incomplete and still in the formative stage, growing richer and grander as the years go by, constantly clearing and purifying itself, its form and spirit are quite well determined.

To enter into this common heritage of the best of all, to be inspired with these ideals, to learn to understand the institutions which guarantee our freedom and rights and enable us to work together for the common good, to resolve to forget all purely selfish means for the work of the highest welfare of our country and of the world, is to become Americanized. To give

to the foreign-born population in the United States and all others the fullest and freest opportunity for this is what we in the Bureau of Education mean by Americanization. Every part of our program is directed to this end.

Americanization is a process of education, of winning the mind and heart through instruction and enlightenment. From the very nature of the thing it can make little or no use of force. It must depend rather on the attractive power and the sweet reasonableness of the thing itself. Were it to resort to force, by that very act it would destroy its spirit and cease to be American. It would also cease to be American if it should become narrow and fixed and exclusive, losing its faith in humanity and rejecting vital and enriching elements from any source whatever.

Our program of education does not compel but invites and allures. It may, therefore, probably must, in the beginning be slow; but in the end it will be swift and sure.

— Americanization is not something which the Government or a group of individuals may do for the foreign-born or others. It is what these persons do for themselves when the opportunity is offered and they are shown the way; what they do for the country and the thing called democracy. The function of the Government and all other agencies interested in Americanization is to offer the opportunity, make the appeal, and inspire the desire. They can and should attempt nothing more than to reveal in all their fullness the profit and the joy of working together for the common good and the attainment of our high ideals to create the desire to have a part in the inspiring task, to show the way by which each may do his part best, and to help him set his feet squarely on the way.

WHAT IS AMERICANIZATION¹

FRANCES A. KELLOR

THERE are accepted definitions of Americanism. There is none of Americanization. The reason is not hard to find. There is in America a national impulse called Americanization, which was understood as a war necessity before it had developed in time of peace. It acquired a generalization before it had become specific. It was subjected to organization and committed to the achievement of results before it was a branch of knowledge fairly evolved and reduced to practice.

There is no science of race assimilation. No nation has had a sufficiently free opportunity with many diverse races to establish its enduring principles and certain procedure. America has this opportunity in her thirty-five different races speaking fifty-four languages, of whom 13,000,000 are foreign-born. One third of her total population has its roots in other soils and in diverse cultures. She has the laboratory for the experiment in her wide expanse of territory, much of it still unsettled; in the elasticity of her institutions; and in the still formative state of her cultural life.

The old world is engaged in a struggle to find a way by which each race living on its own soil, separated by definite national boundaries, can be assured freedom and peace in the full development of its national life and in the realization of international opportunities. The task of America is different. It is for her to find the way by which these races, living on one soil, under one form of government, with no territorial lines, can be assimilated and become a part of her integral national life.

Admittedly America has not fully succeeded. The absence of definition, of principles, and of methods of Americanization shows her success thus far to have been rather a happy accident, an outcome which cannot be expected in a more exacting

¹ Reprinted from the *Yale Review*, January, 1919.

future. Has it been regarded as a war necessity to be dealt with expeditiously and then dropped, or will it become a science, thereby progressing from emotion to reason, from impulse to logic, and from chaos to order? With the war ended, there is danger that we will turn aside to new interests, unless a foundation of science can be laid and a philosophy evolved.

When the country first tried in 1915 to Americanize its foreign-born people, Americanization was thought of quite simply as the task of bringing native and foreign-born Americans together, and it was believed that the rest would take care of itself. It was thought that if all of us could talk together in a common language unity would be assured, and that if all were citizens under one flag no force could separate them. Then the war came, intensifying the native nationalistic sense of every race in the world. We found alien enemies in spirit among the native-born children of the foreign-born in America; we found old stirrings in the hearts of men, even when they were naturalized citizens, and a desire to take part in the world struggle, not as Americans, but as Jugo-Slavs or Czecho-Slovaks. We found belts and stockings stuffed with gold to be taken home, when peace should be declared, by men who will go back to work out their destinies in a land they thought never to see again. We found strong racial groups in America split into factions and bitterly arraigned against one another. We found races opposing one another because of prejudices and hatreds born hundreds of years ago thousands of miles away. We awoke to the fact that old-world physical and psychological characteristics persisted under American clothes and manners, and that native economic conditions and political institutions and the influences of early cultural life were enduring forces to be reckoned with in assimilation. We discovered that while a common language and citizenship may be portals to a new nation, men do not necessarily enter thereby, nor do they assume more than an outer likeness when they pass through.

We disagree about who should be Americanized. The immigrant, working in some of the industries, and set apart from American life, thinks the native-born needs it most; the American, visiting the crowded quarters of his city, thinks the immigrant needs it more; and there is as yet no common meeting

ground of men's minds upon whom to Americanize and especially upon how to go about it. Despite the great contributive value of the Liberty Loan, the Red Cross, the war camp communities, the Councils of Defense, and other activities that are helping to unite the many peoples, the fusion of a youthful race with those wise races of the old world, which have withstood many an enthusiasm and many a peril, cannot be achieved by a popular movement or by sporadic specialized campaigns. Without specific knowledge of points of differentiation and without sympathetic points of contact, anything like real fusion becomes impossible.

Much of the present unpopularity of the theory of Americanization is due to confusion in men's minds. It has grown with such rapidity that this has been inevitable. One thinks it is summed up in learning the English language; another thinks it is achieved by becoming an American citizen; a third, that it is adopting American clothes and manners and associating with native Americans; and a fourth, that it means that everybody should be able to sing "The Star Spangled Banner." The means of Americanization are still confused with its essence. While the necessary things were being done each day to help win the war, people were asking: Can we work intelligently and effectively together in a national effort, without agreement as to the definition, the substance, and the form of Americanization? What are the probabilities of success if these matters are left to the individual determination of the thousands of persons and of agencies now at work Americanizing the 2400 or more communities having foreign-born residents? They are beginning to ask what will be the final indestructible definitions and principles of Americanization and what are to be its finally approved methods. So early in the experiment the answers can only be postulated.

Americanization is the science of racial relations in America, dealing with the assimilation and amalgamation of diverse races in equity into an integral part of its national life. By "assimilation" is meant the indistinguishable incorporation of the races into the substance of American life. By "amalgamation" is meant so perfect a blend that the absence or imperfection of any of the vital racial elements available will impair

the compound. By "an integral part" is meant that, once fused, separation of units is thereafter impossible. By "in equity" is meant impartiality among the races accepted for the blend, with no imputations of inferiority and no bestowal of favors. With anything less than this in mind, America will fall short of a science and of giving the world anything of lasting value for its racial problems. Nation building is to be in the future a deliberate formative process, not an accidental, dynastic, geographical, and economic arrangement. It is to consider the rights and desires and hopes of races. It is to be a deliberative process, and as such must be selective. If the Allies succeed in freeing the small nations, as now seems certain, the world will witness the most interesting and dramatic re-assemblage of races that has ever taken place in history.

In America, where many peoples are held together largely by their sense of opportunities and their hope of reward, the subject is of the gravest concern. The attitude and reactions of the native-born American who believes in Americanization, and the one who does not, with all shades of opinion and of feeling lying between the two extremes, are to be considered. There is the man who comes here to stay and the one who intends to return. There is the racial solidarist bent upon re-establishing his own race here with as few changes as possible. There is the race which hates another, and for its own independent reasons tries to block its progress in the new land. We have to reckon with a situation created by men who are representatives of powerful foreign corporations, who will spend their lives here, make their homes here, and who never intend to become part of America. There are leaders who manipulate their people in the interest of the country of their origin, as well as those genuinely interested in serving America. In addition, there are factions in each race having no desire to unite with one another; there are races opposed to healing their own differences of centuries ago; and there are groups passionately devoted to their own culture and ideals, to which in their opinion nothing can compare.

This is a bird's-eye view of the substance with which Americanization deals. The burden of Americanization to-day lies as much among the various races as between the native-born

and any given race. It is often easier for native- and foreign-born to fuse than it is for diverse races, and the native-born is often an indispensable element of fusion among the newcomers. Americanization is also essentially a problem of men, since the women of old races in America still follow the leadership of their men.

It is obvious that, with the best intentions in the world, Americanization cannot be established by propaganda. It is evident that, valuable as are the campaigns and parades and crusades of one kind or another, so long as they are without coherent form and interrelation they reach only the mass and may often add to rather than decrease the confusion. To reach the thousand subtle strains running through these old races, so highly organized and yet so intensely personal, Americanization must be simplified. It must find a way of reaching and holding the individual. We face the indisputable fact that almost without exception every foreign-born male adult is a member of some racial organization which takes precedence in his mind over every other form of association, of which he is a significant part, and in which he is recognized as an individual of worth and standing.

Americanization to-day is little more than an impulse, and its context, as popularly conceived, is both narrow and superficial. As French has been the language of diplomacy in the past, so English is to be the language of the reconstruction of the world. English is the language of 90,000,000 people living in America. The English language is a highway of loyalty; it is a medium of exchange; it is the open door to opportunity; it is a means of common defense. It is an implement of Americanization, but it is not necessarily Americanization. The American who thinks that America is united and safe when all men speak one language has only to look at Austria and to study the Jugo-Slav and Czecho-Slovak nationalistic movements. The imposition of a language is not the creation of nationalism. A common language is essential to a common understanding, and by all means let America open such a line of communication. The traffic that goes over this line is, however, the vital thing, and what that shall be and how it is to be prepared are matters to which but little thought has been

given. Even those who urge the abolition of all other languages are indefinite about the restriction. Shall a man after he has learned English be allowed to get news in a foreign language paper and to worship in his native tongue; and if not, what becomes of the liberty which he is urged to learn English in order to appreciate? Are foreign languages to be encouraged as an expression of culture and to be denied as a means of economic and political expression? The English language campaigns in America have failed because they have not secured the support of the foreign-born. Men must have reasons for learning new languages, and America has never presented the case conclusively or satisfactorily. Furthermore, wherever the case has been presented, it has not been done with the proper facilities and under favorable conditions. The working day must not be so long that men cannot study.

Americanization is a common citizenship. Does it make any difference what kind of citizenship, and over what road a man travels mentally, spiritually, and economically to citizenship? If every man in America were to be made into a citizen to-morrow by any of the prevailing superficial methods, America basically would be unchanged, and most of the new citizens would not be greatly affected. Would the examination of any ten newly naturalized citizens give a common denominator of Americanization? How can it when several thousand judges who apply the tests vary in their own concept so widely that of two men equally qualified one gets the coveted paper and the other fails? And what of women, who become citizens automatically with their husbands, and who in three of the greatest immigration States in the union have equal citizenship powers? Are we really any nearer Americanization with each new citizen admitted by inadequate naturalization law requirements and through superficial judicial examinations?

Beyond the slogans of "a common language and a common citizenship" a program of Americanization has not been accepted. America, the greatest immigration country in the world, has no national domestic policy whatsoever and no organization as a government for dealing with race assimilation, its most delicate and fundamental problem. Americans like to think in a crude way of this country as a melting pot,

with peasants from Ellis Island going in at the top and citizens in American clothes going out at the bottom. We now know there has been little real change accomplished, and we are beginning to wonder whether the new arrival needs as much change as we thought he did to become one of us.

There is but one way to Americanize — for each and every American to understand the ideals of America and to be able to interpret them in every act of his daily life. But this alone is not enough. Groups of men, from the humblest unit to the greatest political entity in the country, must be able to do this in combination; and there must be agreement. There are certain things that men go all over the world to find. Where those things exist men stay; when they fail men leave. These things are basic. They are opportunities to better conditions, to be equal to other men, to have the right to be heard, freedom of thought, worship, and speech, and to enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is for this that men desert their home countries, and it is for this that they may desert America if their native lands in Europe offer the same great adventure and reward.

Americanization is the process, then, of guaranteeing these fundamental requisites to each man, native and foreign-born alike, and just in proportion as the English language and citizenship interpret these requisites, they are Americanization agencies. The failure of Americanization in the past years is identical with the failure of these guarantees. It is in the home, the shop, the neighborhood, the church, and the court that Americanization is wrought, and the mutual relations of races in America as expressed in them will give the eternal principles of race assimilation that we seek. To-day these basic points are disregarded and it is thought that committees and community councils piled high upon one another will do the work. The chief value of most of such organizations is in educating the native-born American; there is abundant evidence that the foreign-born adult is not greatly drawn to this country as a result of them.

How can America be in a position to assimilate its many races and to select intelligently its future immigrants unless it has a clear understanding of each race, a clear comprehension

of its ideals and achievements and of its contributive relation to its own development? We have tried the haphazard method. We concentrated races indiscriminately in cities, and the result was colonies and ghettos. We dumped them into industries, and got immigrant slums and "dagos" and "hunkies" and "kikes." We tried to shut them out, and could think of nothing better to accomplish this than a literacy test. We set the beauty-loving Italian digging ditches and put the Greek in factories, and in our negligence we wasted both.

On the reverse side, we have failed to give the immigrant accessibility to American traditions, beliefs, art, and literature. He has had little coöperative participation in the creation, maintenance, and management of our economic forces. He has not been permitted to incorporate into the processes of American invention and research the processes of his own genius.

America is to-day without the necessary information upon which to proceed intelligently. Much of the propaganda essential to winning the war has made the ground look like a battlefield after a tank has passed over it — ploughed deep but unfit for culture for some time to come. Nowhere is there a clear authoritative statement of the contribution of the various races as such to America. Nowhere is there an analysis of what they have brought or can bring, and of all that material which we have not used. Nowhere is there information as to what they take or of what they want most from America. Tons of literature are printed and sent out daily by all kinds of agencies, with seldom a consultation with the foreigner as to how it fits the needs of his race. We ignore in most racial meetings the knowledge which is there outlined, and violate very nearly every sound principle of race psychology. We get as a result the minds of the newcomers but not their hearts; their respectful attention but not their conversion. We get their cash contributions for American war activities and charities, but we do not succeed in creating in them the desire to stay here permanently.

America must be voluntarily chosen by its new citizens, or it will not represent their aspirations or satisfy their needs. The greater the freedom given for creative impulse and variation in expression, the richer will be the resultant American life. And in the future American ideals will have to be both

more exalted and more practical than in the past, and its life will have to square more generally with them, because the lands from which these peoples come will be free from the yoke of oppression. Democracy being free for the world, they may then realize in many lands the dreams which to them once made America the only land where such dreams could come true.

The first principle in race fusion is the opportunity to establish a home base in a country and a genuine love for that home. The home sense in the many peoples that have come to America is inseparable from the sense of the soil itself. Many immigrants have lived close to it, dug their hands into it, planted in it, watched their crops grow, and had a home stake around which cluster a thousand associations. Whatever there is of poetry in their lives is associated with the soil, and their worship is inseparable from it. Whatever there is heroic in their memories comes to them through it. In America it is not so. The majority of immigrants, with this land allegiance strong within them, find their way into crowded cities and unsightly industrial towns. They have little chance to plant and to harvest and to acquire a home stake; and when they do acquire it they cling to America. What do these men know, until perhaps it is too late, of the beauty of the expanse of America, and of the citizenship which gives them a partnership in national parks? What do they know of the traditions and achievements of Americans, inseparably linked with American soil? That allegiance of America which is part of real Americanization must somehow find a way of establishing affection for the soil.

When we think of the crowded tenements, with hard asphalt pavements and never a blade of grass or a tree; of the ghettos and colonies in cities; of the unsightly industrial towns; of the labor shacks along our great construction works; of the derailed box cars; of the immigrant section across the railroad track; of the small towns without parks or playgrounds or music or books; and then turn to the villages from which most of the immigrants come — friendly in their associations and restful in their relationship to the wider life outside — the longing of the immigrant to return is understood. Even the crowded cities of their native countries have places where one may rest

the spirit and satisfy the hunger for beauty, by the expenditure of a carfare or the effort of a short walk. The grim beauty of our cities, their vitality, their ambition and determination, and that crude joy of living through which many currents of our life flow, will not always keep the immigrants from returning even to the poverty of some of their native towns.

The man with a job to offer or land to sell has been America's land interpreter. On him has fallen the burden of presenting its romance, adventure, and beauty. He has failed so often because the land was not enriched by that cultural development and by those associations which satisfy the immigrant's need. The method has been to build a good industrial plant and to let the village grow up about it, with little thought of satisfying the longings of men for religion, knowledge, recreation, or even so simple a thing as gardens. Some time ago a factory having some idle land wondered what it could do for Mr. Hoover and started factory gardens, giving each man a small plot. The management made a discovery. The gardens cut down labor turnover. The crops were worth very little money, but the men did not want to leave until they had their potatoes in.

A first proposition, therefore, in Americanization is to find a way to satisfy the creative instinct in men and their sense of home, by giving them and their native-born sons the widest possible knowledge of America, including a pictorial geography, a simple history of the United States, the stories of successful Americans including those of foreign-born origin; a knowledge of American literature, of our political ideals and institutions, and of our free educational opportunities. A systematic effort should be made to give them a land interest and a home stake and to get them close to the soil, not alone in the day's work but also in their cultural life. The men most likely to desert America at the close of the war will be workers with job stakes and wage rates, and not those with a home stake and investments. I would carry this campaign of information into every foreign language publication, every newspaper, every shop, and every racial center in America. The land interpreter of the future will be the government, and Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, has foreseen this in his appeal for the use of the

land for the rehabilitation of men returning from the front. It is the land that will make the life of the maimed livable and will connect the past with the future. This will not be achieved by forced "back-to-the-land movements" and colonization. Each individual American who interprets the beauty of America and its meaning, and who, wherever he can, personally puts the foreign-born in touch with the soil and helps him to a plot of ground which he can call his own, is doing effective Americanization. Loyalty and efficiency are inherent in this land sense, and they are the strength of a nation.

A second principle of Americanization is identity of economic interest. At this time, after all America has united to win the war, one hesitates to turn a page so shameful in American history. And yet, if America reverts to its former industrial brutality and indifference, Americanization will fail. Identity of economic interest, generally speaking, has meant to the American getting the immigrant to work for him at as low a wage as possible, for as long hours as possible, and scrapping him at the end of the game, with as little compunction as he did an old machine. And the immigrant's successful fellow-countryman, elevated to be a private banker, a padrone, or a notary public, has shared the practices of the native American. Always the immigrant has been in positions of the greatest danger, and with less safeguards for his care. He has been called by number and nicknamed and ridiculed. Frequently trades-unions have excluded him from their benefits, compensation laws have discriminated against him, trades have been closed to him, until he has wondered in the bitterness of his spirit what American opportunity was and how he could pursue life, liberty, and happiness at his work. Whenever he has been discontented, the popular remedy has been higher wages or shorter hours, and rarely the expansion of personal relationships. Very little self-determination has been given to him; on the contrary he has been made a cog in a highly organized industrial machine. His spirit has been imprisoned in the hum of machinery. His special gifts have been lost, even as his lack of skill in mechanical work has injured delicate processes and priceless materials. His pride has been humiliated and his initiative stifled because he has been given little of the artisan's pleasure in seeing his finished product.

Let us face the inevitable truth. There can be no Americanization from the top down or in the mass. It will not come from the court that grants a citizenship certificate; nor from the school that teaches English; nor from the speakers that talk patriotism; nor from the patriotic society that prints platitudes. It will come from basic conditions being right, and none is more vital than industrial relations. It will live as we shorten the distance between the Constitution and the shop. It will be believed in as we square every act in the shops of America with every utterance in public print.

Industrial Americanization is not, as we sometimes think, welfare work, or the introduction of a few makeshifts to keep men at work. It is the practical operation of the American spirit in management. The man who comes here expecting opportunity, fair remuneration for his day's work, fair working conditions, friendly personal relations, and that the utmost will be made of his abilities, cannot be met with limitations and discriminations and still become Americanized. He comes to escape the brutality of the military system, and he finds the brutality of the industrial system, ruthless in its destruction of life and property and morality.

Americanization, which 'is the achievement of identity of economic interest, is the granting to men of a fair share of the returns of their labor, with sufficient leisure to use these returns. It is the satisfaction of the impulse to create things for use and for beauty rather than for profit alone. It is the establishment of just relationships and equitable dealing with all men of all races, including respect and consideration. It is a share in the management of business, giving men enduring incentives and a permanent interest and voice in determining their own working conditions.

Every man lives in his neighborhood, and beyond his home and his job. To most men, except in the largest cities, the municipality is interpreted in terms of his neighborhood. Few men get beyond this except through occasional excursions into the larger world. America is a country of parallel neighborhoods — the native American in one section and the immigrant in another. Americanization is the elimination of the parallel line. So long as the American thinks that a house in his street

is too good for his immigrant neighbor and tolerates discriminations in sanitation, housing, and enforcement of municipal laws, he can serve on all Americanization Committees that exist and still fail in his efforts. The immigrant neighborhood is often made up of people who have come from one province in the old country. Inevitably the culture of that neighborhood will be that of the old country; its language will persist and its traditions will flourish. It is not that we undervalue these, or desire to discredit them. But separated from the land and surroundings that gave them birth, from the history that cherishes them, they do not remain the strong, beautiful things they were on the other side. These aliens may retain some of the form of culture of the land of their birth long after its spirit has departed or has lost its savor in a new atmosphere. New opportunities, strange conditions, unforeseen adjustments, necessary sacrifices, and forces unseen and not understood affect the immigrant and his life here, and unless this culture is connected and fused with that of the new world, it loses its vitality or becomes corrupt.

For this reason neighborhoods should be American and a combination of the best of all the races that live in them. It is here that the school can become the conference center and the council chamber. It is the one American institution to be found in every town — free, neutral, and powerful. During the daytime it has the children who can interpret it; during the evening it may have the parents who need it for their community expression. From the schoolhouse come the beliefs that living conditions should be decent, that laws should be enforced for all alike, that there should be no racial discriminations. From participation in neighborhood activities and in governing their own communities, the immigrant will grow into the larger responsibilities of State and nation. In order that American political ideals should be understood by him, they must be lived within his consciousness, in the small radius of his neighborhood, and in that way he must see exemplified whatever American literature, art, music, and science have to give.

So long as colonies and immigrant sections exist, with their inferior housing, sanitation, and care, Americanization will fail. It matters not at all that we satisfy our conscience by

saying that immigrants prefer to live this way or that they lived this way in their own country. To say this is to forget that the crowded dwelling in Italy through which permeated the beauty and art, the religion, tradition, and association of the old country, is vastly different from the huts across the railroad track filled with strangers to whom the shop and saloon are the centers of gravity.

The immigrant looks to us to exemplify our Constitution and our ideals, and in his heart he respects us less for not maintaining our own standards for all people alike. So long as we fail to realize that the desire for education, for the opportunity to worship, for fellowship, and for community service are big factors in men's lives, we shall not reach the basis of Americanization, especially in the small industrial towns now coming into new life throughout the country by the rearrangement of industries through government contracts. Neighborhood Americanization means the opportunity of each individual citizen to establish personal sympathetic relations. It is mutual cooperation in neighborhood affairs. It is the development of the school as a community center. It is the neutral ground upon which men meet in recreation, in social relationships, and in intellectual debate.

The sources of authority in America are the final interpreters of Americanism. These are the legislature and the court. Every other Americanization achievement stands or falls finally according to the way equity is maintained among men. The administration of justice is the determining factor in men's lives, whether they turn to or from America. It is for the court to make clear the difference between liberty and license, and at the same time assure to each man alike the right to free speech. Let inequalities appear and Americanization is defeated. It is for the court to impose duties while it makes clear the opportunities, and to see that duties and privileges are alike the heritage of all free men. Free education is placed at the disposal of all people in America, but it is the duty of all to maintain and extend its benefits. It is well to set the immigrant in the pursuit of liberty and happiness when he lands here, but without safeguards against exploitation he can scarcely be blamed if he concludes that such liberty is a delusion of American minds.

The most moving appeal from the greatest of orators, the most beautifully written declaration of rights, the finest interpretation of American ideals by any living American finds the immigrant unresponsive if he has suffered injustice, if he has been denied a hearing, or if he has failed to see realized in the land of his dreams the things for which he left his native land. He forgives the man who has wronged him; he never forgets the government that has failed him. The law which was passed in one of the States prohibiting an alien from owning a dog, the enforcement of which resulted in deception and lying, has done much to imperil the immigrant's faith in the justice of American ideals. It reached his heart and his home, and he has never understood a country whose highest authority — the court — sanctioned such discriminations.

Americanization having its roots in political ideals cannot be achieved so long as these ideals, as interpreted by the sources of authority in America, mean one thing for the native-born and another thing for the foreign-born; one thing for men and another for women; one thing for employers and another for employees; one thing for the rich and another for the poor; one thing in one State and another thing in an adjoining State. No American who hopes for national unity can spend too much time insisting upon the most painstaking interpretation of the guarantees of American law, even though it takes him into such technical matters as interpreter service, cost of appeals, discriminatory laws, and race prejudices. Every support of a sound Americanism is strong or weak according as justice is done or not done.

America is no longer afraid of the word culture. In fact, it is considering quite seriously in some quarters having a culture of its own and calling it by that name. This makes it possible to consider as Americanization a recognition of the cultural forces in the various races as expressed in their literature and institutions. There is a growing appreciation of the fraternal and religious forces in the lives of the various races and their indispensable value in race fusion. In the old world, the cultural life of a race is so inextricably associated with their religious life that its first vital contact with American cultural life would seem to proceed along the lines of religious and fraternal development.

For this reason, in any cultural development in which the immigrant shares and is a real contributive factor, a way must be found to make his religious beliefs and experience of use. This means more than to permit him to worship in his own way. It means more than toleration. It means the use for America of the finest aspirations and traditions of these men. It means an appreciation of their literature and of the art which has come out of these beliefs.

Americanization, finally, is not any one of these things alone. There may be a home stake, and in the absence of identity of economic interest, it may fail. All other elements may be present, but if the court fails, the immigrant turns away. Americanization is the bringing to bear in the life of every stranger who enters the country, the sum total of American ideals in his home, in the shop, in the neighborhood, and in the legislatures and courts. The native-born American is the keeper of these ideals. His is the spirit that will maintain the free and strong institutions of America. His reception of the immigrant and the contacts he makes with him in large measure determine the immigrant's understanding of America and his reaction towards it. It is here that we enter the field of the science of racial relations. No effective program can be made until we set our own house in order, until we attain the right attitude individually, and until we equip ourselves with the necessary information to give us the right approach to the many races who are among us but not of us, whose faces, regardless of the high wages, the luxuries, and the freedom of America, are set towards the east.

TRUE AMERICANISM¹

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS, JUSTICE OF SUPREME COURT

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: *E pluribus unum* — out of many one — was the motto adopted by the founders of the Republic when they formed a union of the thirteen States. To these we have added, from time to time, thirty-five more. The founders were convinced, as we are, that a strong nation could be built through federation. They were also convinced, as we are, that in America, under a free government, many peoples would make one nation. Throughout all these years we have admitted to our country and to citizenship immigrants from the diverse lands of Europe. We had faith that thereby we could best serve ourselves and mankind. This faith has been justified. The United States has grown great. The immigrants and their immediate descendants have proved themselves as loyal as any citizens of the country. Liberty has knit us closely together as Americans. Note the common devotion to our country's emblem expressed at the recent Flag Day celebration in New York by boys and girls representing more than twenty different nationalities warring abroad.

On the nation's birthday it is customary for us to gather together for the purpose of considering how we may better serve our country. This year we are asked to address ourselves to the newcomers and to make this Fourth of July what has been termed Americanization Day.

AMERICANIZATION

What is Americanization? It manifests itself, in a superficial way, when the immigrant adopts the clothes, the manners, and the customs generally prevailing here. Far more important is the manifestation presented when he substitutes for his mother tongue the English language as the common medium of speech. But the adoption of our language, manners, and customs is only a small

¹ An oration delivered at Faneuil Hall, Boston, July 5, 1915; printed in *Boston City Record*, July 10, 1915.

part of the process. To become Americanized the change wrought must be fundamental. However great his outward conformity, the immigrant is not Americanized unless his interests and affections have become deeply rooted here. And we properly demand of the immigrant even more than this. He must be brought into complete harmony with our ideals and aspirations and coöperate with us for their attainment. Only when this has been done will he possess the national consciousness of an American.

I say "He must be brought into complete harmony." But let us not forget that many a poor immigrant comes to us from distant lands, ignorant of our language, strange in tattered clothes and with jarring manners, who is already truly American in this most important sense; who has long shared our ideals and who, oppressed and persecuted abroad, has yearned for our land of liberty and for the opportunity of aiding in the realization of its aims.

AMERICAN IDEALS

What are the American ideals? They are the development of the individual for his own and the common good; the development of the individual through liberty, and the attainment of the common good through democracy and social justice.

Our form of government, as well as humanity, compels us to strive for the development of the individual man. Under universal suffrage (soon to be extended to women) every voter is a part ruler of the state. Unless the rulers have, in the main, education and character, and are free men, our great experiment in democracy must fail. It devolves upon the state, therefore, to fit its rulers for their task. It must provide not only facilities for development, but the opportunity of using them. It must not only provide opportunity; it must stimulate the desire to avail of it. Thus we are compelled to insist upon observance of what we somewhat vaguely term the American standard of living; we become necessarily our brothers' keepers.

THE AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING

What does this standard imply? In substance, the exercise of those rights which our Constitution guarantees — the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Life, in this connection,

means living, not existing; liberty, freedom in things industrial as well as political; happiness includes, among other things, that satisfaction which can come only through the full development and utilization of one's faculties. In order that men may live and not merely exist, in order that men may develop their faculties, they must have a reasonable income; they must have health and leisure. High wages will not meet the worker's need unless employment be regular. The best of wages will not compensate for excessively long working hours which undermine health. And working conditions may be so bad as to nullify the good effects of high wages and short hours. The essentials of American citizenship are not satisfied by supplying merely the material needs or even the wants of the worker.

Every citizen must have education — broad and continuous. This essential of citizenship is not met by an education which ends at the age of fourteen, or even at eighteen or twenty-two. Education must continue throughout life. A country cannot be governed well by rulers whose education and mental development is limited to their attendance at the common school. Whether the education of the citizen in later years is to be given in classes or from the public platform, or is to be supplied through discussion in the lodges and the trade-unions, or is to be gained from the reading of papers, periodicals, and books, in any case freshness of mind is indispensable to its attainment. And to the preservation of freshness of mind a short workday is as essential as adequate food and proper conditions of working and of living. The worker must, in other words, have leisure. But leisure does not imply idleness. It means ability to work, not less, but more, ability to work at something besides breadwinning, ability to work harder while working at breadwinning, and ability to work more years at breadwinning. Leisure, so defined, is an essential of successful democracy.

Furthermore, the citizen in a successful democracy must not only have education; he must be free. Men are not free if dependent industrially upon the arbitrary will of another. Industrial liberty on the part of the worker cannot, therefore, exist if there be overweening industrial power. Some curb must be placed upon capitalistic combination. Nor will even this curb be effective unless the workers coöperate, as

in trade-unions. Control and coöperation are both essential to industrial liberty.

And if the American is to be fitted for his task as ruler, he must have besides education and industrial liberty also some degree of financial independence. Our existing industrial system is converting an ever increasing percentage of the population into wage earners, and experience teaches us that a large part of these become at some time financial dependents, by reason of sickness, accident, invalidity, superannuation, unemployment or premature death of the breadwinner of the family. Contingencies like these, which are generally referred to in the individual case as misfortunes, are now recognized as ordinary incidents in the life of the wage earner. The need of providing indemnity against financial losses from such ordinary contingencies in the workingman's life has become apparent and is already being supplied in other countries. The standard worthy to be called American implies some system of social insurance.

And since the child is the father of the man, we must bear constantly in mind that the American standard of living cannot be attained or preserved unless the child is not only well fed but well born; unless he lives under conditions wholesome morally as well as physically; unless he is given education adequate both in quantity and in character to fit him for life's work.

THE DISTINCTLY AMERICAN

Such are our ideals and the standard of living we have erected for ourselves. But what is there in these ideals which is peculiarly American? Many nations seek to develop the individual man for himself and for the common good. Some are as liberty-loving as we. Some pride themselves upon institutions more democratic than our own. Still others, less conspicuous for liberty or democracy, claim to be more successful in attaining social justice. And we are not the only nation which combines love of liberty with the practice of democracy and a longing for social justice. But there is one feature in our ideals and practices which is peculiarly American. It is inclusive brotherhood.

Other countries, while developing the individual man, have assumed that their common good would be attained only if the

privileges of citizenship in them should be limited practically to natives or to persons of a particular nationality. America, on the other hand, has always declared herself for equality of nationalities as well as for equality of individuals. It recognizes racial equality as an essential of full human liberty and true brotherhood, and that it is the complement of democracy. It has, therefore, given like welcome to all the peoples of Europe.

Democracy rests upon two pillars: one, the principle that all men are equally entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and the other, the conviction that such equal opportunity will most advance civilization. Aristocracy, on the other hand, denies both these postulates. It rests upon the principle of the superman. It willingly subordinates the many to the few, and seeks to justify sacrificing the individual by insisting that civilization will be advanced by such sacrifices.

The struggles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries both in peace and in war were devoted largely to overcoming the aristocratic position as applied to individuals. In establishing the equal right of every person to development it became clear that equal opportunity for all involves this necessary limitation: each man may develop himself so far, but only so far, as his doing so will not interfere with the exercise of a like right by all others. Thus liberty came to mean the right to enjoy life, to acquire property, to pursue happiness in such manner and to such extent only as the exercise of the right in each is consistent with the exercise of a like right by every other of our fellow-citizens. Liberty thus defined underlies twentieth century democracy. Liberty thus defined exists in a large part of the western world. And even where this equal right of each individual has not yet been accepted as a political right, its ethical claim is gaining recognition.

America, dedicated to liberty and the brotherhood of man, rejected the aristocratic principle of the superman as applied to peoples as it rejected it as applied to individuals. America has believed that each race had something of peculiar values which it can contribute to the attainment of those high ideals for which it is striving. America has believed that we must not only give to the immigrant the best that we have, but must preserve for America the good that is in the immigrant and develop in him

the best of which he is capable. America has believed that in differentiation, not in uniformity, lies the path of progress. It acted on this belief; it has advanced human happiness, and it has prospered.

WAR AND PEACE

On the other hand, the aristocratic theory as applied to peoples survived generally throughout Europe. It was there assumed by the stronger countries that the full development of one people necessarily involved its domination over another, and that only by such domination would civilization advance. Strong nationalities, assuming their own superiority, came to believe that they possessed the divine right to subject other peoples to their sway; and the belief in the existence of such a right ripened into a conviction that there was also a duty to exercise it. The Russianizing of Finland, the Prussianizing of Poland and Alsace, the Magyarizing of Croatia, the persecution of the Jews in Russia and Rumania, are the fruits of this arrogant claim of superiority, and that claim is also the underlying cause of the present war.

The movements of the last century have proved that whole peoples have individuality no less marked than that of the single person; that the individuality of a people is irrepressible, and that the misnamed internationalism which seeks the obliteration of nationalities or peoples is unattainable. The new nationalism adopted by America proclaims that each race or people, like each individual, has the right and duty to develop, and that only through such differentiated development will high civilization be attained. Not until these principles of nationalism, like those of democracy, are generally accepted will liberty be fully attained and minorities be secure in their rights. Not until then can the foundation be laid for a lasting peace among the nations.

The world longs for an end of this war, and even more for a peace that will endure. It turns anxiously to the United States, the one great neutral country, and bids us point the way. And may we not answer: Go the way of liberty and justice — led by democracy and the new nationalism. Without these, international congresses and supreme courts will prove vain and disarmament "The Great Illusion."

AMERICANISM ¹

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL.D.

FOUR centuries and a quarter have gone by since Columbus by discovering America opened the greatest era in world history. Four centuries have passed since the Spaniards began that colonization on the main land which has resulted in the growth of the nations of Latin-America. Three centuries have passed since, with the settlements on the coasts of Virginia and Massachusetts, the real history of what is now the United States began. All this we ultimately owe to the action of an Italian seaman in the service of a Spanish King and a Spanish Queen. It is eminently fitting that one of the largest and most influential social organizations of this great Republic, — a Republic in which the tongue is English, and the blood derived from many sources, — should, in its name, commemorate the great Italian. It is eminently fitting to make an address on Americanism before this society.

DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

We of the United States need above all things to remember that, while we are by blood and culture kin to each of the nations of Europe, we are also separate from each of them. We are a new and distinct nationality. We are developing our own distinctive culture and civilization, and the worth of this civilization will largely depend upon our determination to keep it distinctively our own. Our sons and daughters should be educated here and not abroad. We should freely take from every other nation whatever we can make of use, but we should adopt and develop to our own peculiar needs what we thus take, and never be content merely to copy.

Our nation was founded to perpetuate democratic principles. These principles are that each man is to be treated on his worth

¹ An address delivered before the Knights of Columbus, Carnegie Hall, New York, October 12, 1915.

as a man without regard to the land from which his forefathers came and without regard to the creed which he professes. If the United States proves false to these principles of civil and religious liberty, it will have inflicted the greatest blow on the system of free popular government that has ever been inflicted. Here we have had a virgin continent on which to try the experiment of making out of divers race stocks a new nation and of treating all the citizens of that nation in such a fashion as to preserve them equality of opportunity in industrial, civil, and political life. Our duty is to secure each man against any injustice by his fellows.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

One of the most important things to secure for him is the right to hold and to express the religious views that best meet his own soul needs. Any political movement directed against any body of our fellow-citizens because of their religious creed is a grave offense against American principles and American institutions. It is a wicked thing either to support or to oppose a man because of the creed he professes. This applies to Jew and Gentile, to Catholic and Protestant, and to the man who would be regarded as unorthodox by all of them alike. Political movements directed against men because of their religious belief, and intended to prevent men of that creed from holding office, have never accomplished anything but harm. This was true in the days of the "Know-Nothing" and Native-American parties in the middle of the last century; and it is just as true to-day. Such a movement directly contravenes the spirit of the Constitution itself. Washington and his associates believed that it was essential to the existence of this Republic that there should never be any union of Church and State; and such union is partially accomplished wherever a given creed is aided by the State or when any public servant is elected or defeated because of his creed. The Constitution explicitly forbids the requiring of any religious test as a qualification for holding office. To impose such a test by popular vote is as bad as to impose it by law. To vote either for or against a man because of his creed is to impose upon him a religious test and is a clear violation of the spirit of the Constitution.

Moreover, it is well to remember that these movements never achieve the end they nominally have in view. They do nothing whatsoever except to increase among the men of the various churches the spirit of sectarian intolerance which is base and unlovely in any civilization, but which is utterly revolting among a free people that profess the principles we profess. No such movement can ever permanently succeed here. All that it does is for a decade or so to greatly increase the spirit of theological animosity, both among the people to whom it appeals and among the people whom it assails. Furthermore, it has in the past invariably resulted, in so far as it was successful at all, in putting unworthy men into office; for there is nothing that a man of loose principles and of evil practices in public life so desires as the chance to distract attention from his own shortcomings and misdeeds by exciting and inflaming theological and sectarian prejudice.

We must recognize that it is a cardinal sin against democracy to support a man for public office because he belongs to a given creed or to oppose him because he belongs to a given creed. It is just as evil as to draw the line between class and class, between occupation and occupation in political life. No man who tries to draw either line is a good American. True Americanism demands that we judge each man on his conduct, that we so judge him in private life and that we so judge him in public life. The line of cleavage drawn on principle and conduct in public affairs is never in any healthy community identical with the line of cleavage between creed and creed or between class and class. On the contrary, where the community life is healthy, these lines of cleavage almost always run nearly at right angles to one another. It is eminently necessary to all of us that we should have able and honest public officials in the nation, in the city, in the state. If we make a serious and resolute effort to get such officials of the right kind, men who shall not only be honest but shall be able and shall take the right view of public questions, we will find as a matter of fact that the men we thus choose will be drawn from the professors of every creed and from among men who do not adhere to any creed.

For thirty-five years I have been more or less actively engaged in public life, in the performance of my political duties, now in

a public position, now in a private position. I have fought with all the fervor I possessed for the various causes in which with all my heart I believed ; and in every fight I thus made I have had with me and against me Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. There have been times when I have had to make the fight for or against some man of each creed on grounds of plain public morality, unconnected with questions of public policy. There were other times when I have made such a fight for or against a given man, not on grounds of public morality, for he may have been morally a good man, but on account of his attitude on questions of public policy, of governmental principle. In both cases, I have always found myself fighting beside, and fighting against, men of every creed. The one sure way to have secured the defeat of every good principle worth fighting for would have been to have permitted the fight to be changed into one along sectarian lines and inspired by the spirit of sectarian bitterness, either for the purpose of putting into public life or of keeping out of public life the believers in any given creed. Such conduct represents an assault upon Americanism. The man guilty of it is not a good American.

I hold that in this country there must be complete severance of Church and State ; that public moneys shall not be used for the purpose of advancing any particular creed ; and therefore that the public schools shall be non-sectarian. As a necessary corollary to this, not only the pupils but the members of the teaching force and the school officials of all kinds must be treated exactly on a par, no matter what their creed ; and there must be no more discrimination against Jew or Catholic or Protestant than discrimination in favor of Jew, Catholic or Protestant. Whoever makes such discrimination is an enemy of the public schools.

HYPHENATED AMERICANS

What is true of creed is no less true of nationality. There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism. When I refer to hyphenated Americans, I do not refer to naturalized Americans. Some of the very best Americans I have ever known were naturalized Americans, Americans born abroad. But a hyphenated American is not an American at all. This is just as true of the man who puts "native" before the hyphen as of the

man who puts German or Irish or English or French before the hyphen. Americanism is a matter of the spirit and of the soul. Our allegiance must be purely to the United States. We must unsparingly condemn any man who holds any other allegiance. But if he is heartily and singly loyal to this Republic, then no matter where he was born, he is just as good an American as ~~any one~~ else.

The one absolutely certain way of bringing this nation to ruin, of preventing all possibility of its continuing to be a nation at all, would be to permit it to become a tangle of squabbling nationalities, an intricate knot of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, English-Americans, French-Americans, Scandinavian-Americans or Italian-Americans, each preserving its separate nationality, each at heart feeling more sympathy with Europeans of that nationality, than with the other citizens of the American Republic. The men who do not become Americans and nothing else are hyphenated Americans; and there ought to be no room for them in this country. The man who calls himself an American citizen and who yet shows by his actions that he is primarily the citizen of a foreign land, plays a thoroughly mischievous part in the life of our body politic. He has no place here; and the sooner he returns to the land to which he feels his real heart-allegiance, the better it will be for every good American. There is no such thing as a hyphenated American who is a good American. The only man who is a good American is the man who is an American and nothing else.

I appeal to history. Among the generals of Washington in the Revolutionary War were Greene, Putnam, and Lee, who were of English descent; Wayne and Sullivan, who were of Irish descent; Marion, who was of French descent; Schuyler, who was of Dutch descent, and Muhlenberg and Herkimer, who were of German descent. But they were all of them Americans and nothing else, just as much as Washington. Carroll of Carrollton was a Catholic; Hancock a Protestant; Jefferson was heterodox from the standpoint of any orthodox creed; but these and all the other signers of the Declaration of Independence stood on an equality of duty and right and liberty, as Americans and nothing else.

So it was in the Civil War. Farragut's father was born in Spain and Sheridan's father in Ireland; Sherman and Thomas

were of English and Custer of German descent; and Grant came of a long line of American ancestors whose original home had been Scotland. But the Admiral was not a Spanish-American; and the Generals were not Scotch-Americans or Irish-Americans or English-Americans or German-Americans. They were all Americans and nothing else. This was just as true of Lee and of Stonewall Jackson and of Beauregard.

When in 1909 our battlefleet returned from its voyage around the world, Admirals Wainwright and Schroeder represented the best traditions and the most effective action in our navy; one was of old American blood and of English descent; the other was the son of German immigrants. But one was not a native-American and the other a German-American. Each was an American pure and simple. Each bore allegiance only to the flag of the United States. Each would have been incapable of considering the interests of Germany or of England or of any other country except the United States.

To take charge of the most important work under my administration, the building of the Panama Canal, I chose General Goethals. Both of his parents were born in Holland. But he was just plain United States. He wasn't a Dutch-American; if he had been I wouldn't have appointed him. So it was with such men, among those who served under me, as Admiral Osterhaus and General Barry. The father of one was born in Germany, the father of the other in Ireland. But they were both Americans, pure and simple, and first-rate fighting men in addition.

In my Cabinet at the time there were men of English and French, German, Irish, and Dutch blood, men born on this side and men born in Germany and Scotland; but they were all Americans and nothing else; and every one of them was incapable of thinking of himself or of his fellow-countrymen, excepting in terms of American citizenship. If any one of them had anything in the nature of a dual or divided allegiance in his soul, he never would have been appointed to serve under me, and he would have been instantly removed when the discovery was made. There wasn't one of them who was capable of desiring that the policy of the United States should be shaped with reference to the interests of any foreign country or with consideration for anything, outside of the general welfare of humanity, save the

honor and interest of the United States, and each was incapable of making any discrimination whatsoever among the citizens of the country he served, of our common country, save discrimination based on conduct and on conduct alone.

For an American citizen to vote as a German-American, an Irish-American, or an English-American, is to be a traitor to American institutions; and those hyphenated Americans who terrorize American politicians by threats of the foreign vote are engaged in treason to the American Republic.

PRINCIPLES OF AMERICANISM

Now this is a declaration of principles. How are we in practical fashion to secure the making of these principles part of the very fiber of our national life? First and foremost let us all resolve that in this country hereafter we shall place far less emphasis upon the question of right and much greater emphasis upon the matter of duty. A republic can't succeed and won't succeed in the tremendous international stress of the modern world unless its citizens possess that form of high-minded patriotism which consists in putting devotion to duty before the question of individual rights. This must be done in our family relations or the family will go to pieces; and no better tract for family life in this country can be imagined than the little story called "Mother," written by an American woman, Kathleen Norris, who happens to be a member of your own church.

What is true of the family, the foundation stone of our national life, is not less true of the entire superstructure. I am, as you know, a most ardent believer in national preparedness against war as a means of securing that honorable and self-respecting peace which is the only peace desired by all high-spirited people. But it is an absolute impossibility to secure such preparedness in full and proper form if it is an isolated feature of our policy. The lamentable fate of Belgium has shown that no justice in legislation or success in business will be of the slightest avail if the nation has not prepared in advance the strength to protect its rights. But it is equally true that there cannot be this preparation in advance for military strength unless there is a social basis of civil and social life behind it. There must be social,

economic, and military preparedness all alike, all harmoniously developed; and above all there must be spiritual and mental preparedness.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PREPAREDNESS

There must be not merely preparedness in things material; there must be preparedness in soul and mind. To prepare a great army and navy without preparing a proper national spirit would avail nothing. And if there is not only a proper national spirit, but proper national intelligence, we shall realize that even from the standpoint of the army and navy some civil preparedness is indispensable. For example, a plan for national defense which does not include the most far-reaching use and coöperation of our railroads must prove largely futile. These railroads are organized in time of peace. But we must have the most carefully thought out organization from the national and centralized standpoint in order to use them in time of war. This means first that those in charge of them from the highest to the lowest must understand their duty in time of war, must be permeated with the spirit of genuine patriotism; and second, that they and we shall understand that efficiency is as essential as patriotism; one is useless without the other.

Again: every citizen should be trained sedulously by every activity at our command to realize his duty to the nation. In France at this moment the workingmen who are not at the front are spending all their energies with the single thought of helping their brethren at the front by what they do in the munition plant, on the railroads, in the factories. It is a shocking, a lamentable thing that many of the trade-unions of England have taken a directly opposite view. I am not concerned with whether it be true, as they assert, that their employers are trying to exploit them, or, as these employers assert, that the labor men are trying to gain profit for those who stay at home at the cost of their brethren who fight in the trenches. The thing for us Americans to realize is that we must do our best to prevent similar conditions from growing up here. Business men, professional men, and wage workers alike must understand that there should be no question of their enjoying any rights whatsoever unless in the fullest way they recognize and live up to the duties that go with

those rights. This is just as true of the corporation as of the trade-union, and if either corporation or trade-union fails heartily to acknowledge this truth, then its activities are necessarily anti-social and detrimental to the welfare of the body politic as a whole. In war time, when the welfare of the nation is at stake, it should be accepted as axiomatic that the employer is to make no profit out of the war save that which is necessary to the efficient running of the business and to the living expenses of himself and family, and that the wageworker is to treat his wage from exactly the same standpoint and is to see to it that the labor organization to which he belongs is, in all its activities, subordinated to the service of the nation.

Now there must be some application of this spirit in times of peace or we cannot suddenly develop it in time of war. The strike situation in the United States at this time is a scandal to the country as a whole and discreditable alike to employer and employee. Any employer who fails to recognize that human rights come first and that the friendly relationship between himself and those working for him should be one of partnership and comradeship in mutual help no less than self-help is recreant to his duty as an American citizen, and it is to his interest, having in view the enormous destruction of life in the present war, to conserve, and to train to higher efficiency, alike for his benefit and for its, the labor supply. In return any employee who acts along the lines publicly advocated by the men who profess to speak for the I. W. W. is not merely an open enemy of business, but of this entire country and is out of place in our government.

You, Knights of Columbus, are particularly fitted to play a great part in the movement for national solidarity, without which there can be no real efficiency in either peace or war. During the last year and a quarter it has been brought home to us in startling fashion that many of the elements of our nation are not yet properly fused. It ought to be a literally appalling fact that members of two of the foreign embassies in this country have been discovered to be implicated in inciting their fellow-countrymen, whether naturalized American citizens or not, to the destruction of property and the crippling of American industries that are operating in accordance with internal law and international agreement. The malign activity of one of these embassies has been

brought home directly to the ambassador in such shape that his recall has been forced. The activities of the other have been set forth in detail by the publication in the press of its letters in such fashion as to make it perfectly clear that they were of the same general character. Of course, the two embassies were merely carrying out the instructions of their home governments.

Nor is it only the Germans and Austrians who take the view that as a matter of right they can treat their countrymen resident in America, even if naturalized citizens of the United States, as their allies and subjects, to be used in keeping alive separate national groups profoundly anti-American in sentiment, if the contest comes between American interests and those of foreign lands in question. It has recently been announced that the Russian government is to rent a house in New York as a national center to be Russian in faith and patriotism, to foster the Russian language and keep alive the national feeling in immigrants who come hither. All of this is utterly antagonistic to proper American sentiment, whether perpetrated in the name of Germany, of Austria, of Russia, of England, or France or any other country.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

We should meet this situation by on the one hand seeing that these immigrants get all their rights as American citizens, and on the other hand insisting that they live up to their duties as American citizens. Any discrimination against aliens is a wrong, for it tends to put the immigrant at a disadvantage and to cause him to feel bitterness and resentment during the very years when he should be preparing himself for American citizenship. If an immigrant is not fit to become a citizen, he should not be allowed to come here. If he is fit, he should be given all the rights to earn his own livelihood, and to better himself, that any man can have. Take such a matter as the illiteracy test; I entirely agree with those who feel that many very excellent possible citizens would be barred improperly by an illiteracy test. But why do you not admit aliens under a bond to learn to read and write within a certain time? It would then be a duty to see that they were given ample opportunity to learn to read and write and that they were deported if they failed to take advantage of the opportunity.

No man can be a good citizen if he is not at least in process of learning to speak the language of his fellow-citizens. And an alien who remains here without learning to speak English for more than a certain number of years should at the end of that time be treated as having refused to take the preliminary steps necessary to complete Americanization and should be deported. But there should be no denial or limitation of the alien's opportunity to work, to own property, and to take advantage of civic opportunities. Special legislation should deal with the aliens who do not come here to be made citizens. But the alien who comes here intending to become a citizen should be helped in every way to advance himself, should be removed from every possible disadvantage, and in return should be required under penalty of being sent back to the country from which he came, to prove that he is in good faith fitting himself to be an American citizen.

PREPARATIVES TO PREPAREDNESS

Therefore, we should devote ourselves as a preparative to preparedness, alike in peace and war, to secure the three elemental things: one, a common language, the English language; two, the increase in our social loyalty — citizenship absolutely undivided, a citizenship which acknowledges no flag except the flag of the United States and which emphatically repudiates all duality of intention or national loyalty; and third, an intelligent and resolute effort for the removal of industrial and social unrest, an effort which shall aim equally at securing every man his rights and to make every man understand that unless he in good faith performs his duties he is not entitled to any rights at all.

The American people should itself do these things for the immigrants. If we leave the immigrant to be helped by representatives of foreign governments, by foreign societies, by a press and institutions conducted in a foreign language and in the interest of foreign governments, and if we permit the immigrants to exist as alien groups, each group sundered from the rest of the citizens of the country, we shall store up for ourselves bitter trouble in the future.

MILITARY PREPAREDNESS

I am certain that the only permanently safe attitude for this country as regards national preparedness for self-defense is along its lines of universal service on the Swiss model. Switzerland is the most democratic of nations. Its army is the most democratic army in the world. There isn't a touch of militarism or aggressiveness about Switzerland. It has been found as a matter of actual practical experience in Switzerland that the universal military training has made a very marked increase in social efficiency and in the ability of the man thus trained to do well for himself in industry. The man who has received the training is a better citizen, is more self-respecting, more orderly, better able to hold his own, and more willing to respect the rights of others and at the same time he is a more valuable and better paid man in his business. We need that the navy and the army should be greatly increased and that their efficiency as units and in the aggregate should be increased to an even greater degree than their numbers. An adequate regular reserve should be established. Economy should be insisted on, and first of all in the abolition of useless army posts and navy yards. The National Guard should be supervised and controlled by the Federal War Department. Training camps such as at Plattsburg should be provided on a nation-wide basis and the government should pay the expenses. Foreign-born as well as native-born citizens should be brought together in those camps; and each man at the camp should take the oath of allegiance as unreservedly and unqualifiedly as the men of its regular army and navy now take it. Not only should battleships, battle cruisers, submarines, ample coast and field artillery be provided and a greater ammunition supply system, but there should be a utilization of those engaged in such professions as the ownership and management of motor cars, in aviation, and in the profession of engineering. Map-making and road improvement should be attended to, and, as I have already said, the railroads brought into intimate touch with the War Department. Moreover, the government should deal with conservation of all necessary war supplies such as mine products, potash, oil lands, and the like. Furthermore, all munition plants should be carefully surveyed

with special reference to their geographic distribution and for the possibility of increased munition and supply factories. Finally, remember that the men must be sedulously trained in peace to use this material or we shall merely prepare our ships, guns, and products as gifts to the enemy. All of these things should be done in any event, but let us never forget that the most important of all things is to introduce universal military service.

But let me repeat that this preparedness against war must be based upon efficiency and justice in the handling of ourselves in time of peace. If belligerent governments, while we are not hostile to them but merely neutral, strive nevertheless to make of this nation many nations, each hostile to the others and none of them loyal to the central government, then it may be accepted as certain that they would do far worse to us in time of war. If they encourage strikes and sabotage in our munition plants while we are neutral, it may be accepted as axiomatic that they would do far worse to us if we were hostile. It is our duty from the standpoint of self-defense to secure the complete Americanization of our people,—to make of the many peoples of this country a united nation, one in speech and feeling, and all, so far as possible, sharers in the best that each has brought to our shores.

AMERICANIZATION

The foreign-born population of this country must be an Americanized population — no other kind can fight the battles of America either in war or peace. It must talk the language of its native-born fellow-citizens, it must possess American citizenship and American ideals. It must stand firm by its oath of allegiance in word and deed and must show that in very fact it has renounced allegiance to every prince, potentate, or foreign government. It must be maintained on an American standard of living so as to prevent labor disturbances in important plants and at critical times. None of these objects can be secured as long as we have immigrant colonies, ghettos, and immigrant sections, and above all they cannot be assured so long as we consider the immigrant only as an industrial asset. The immigrant must not be allowed to drift or to be put at the mercy of the exploiter. Our object is not to imitate one of the older racial types, but to maintain a

new American type and then to secure loyalty to this type. We cannot secure such loyalty unless we make this a country where men shall feel that they have justice and also where they shall feel that they are required to perform the duties imposed upon them. The policy of "Let alone" which we have hitherto pursued is thoroughly vicious from two standpoints. By this policy we have permitted the immigrants, and too often the native-born laborers as well, to suffer injustice. Moreover, by this policy we have failed to impress upon the immigrant and upon the native-born as well that they are expected to do justice as well as to receive justice, that they are expected to be heartily and actively and single-mindedly loyal to the flag no less than to benefit by living under it.

We cannot afford to continue to use hundreds of thousands of immigrants merely as industrial assets while they remain social outcasts and menaces any more than fifty years ago we could afford to keep the black man merely as an industrial asset and not as a human being. We cannot afford to build a big industrial plant and herd men and women about it without care for their welfare. We cannot afford to permit squalid overcrowding or the kind of living system which makes impossible the decencies and necessities of life. We cannot afford the low wage rates and the merely seasonal industries which mean the sacrifice of both individual and family life and morals to the industrial machinery. We cannot afford to leave American mines, munitions plants, and general resources in the hands of alien workmen, alien to America and even likely to be made hostile to America by machinations such as have recently been provided in the case of the two foreign embassies in Washington. We cannot afford to run the risk of having in time of war men working on our railways or working in our munition plants who would in the name of duty to their own foreign countries bring destruction to us. Recent events have shown us that incitements to sabotage and strikes are in the view of at least two of the great foreign powers of Europe within their definition of neutral practices. What would be done to us in the name of war if these things are done to us in the name of neutrality?

Justice Dowling in his speech has described the excellent fourth degree of your order, of how in it you dwell upon duties rather

than rights, upon the great duties of patriotism and of national spirit. It is a fine thing to have a society that holds up such a standard of duty. I ask you to make a special effort to deal with Americanization, the fusing into one nation, a nation necessarily different from all other nations, of all who come to our shores. Pay heed to the three principal essentials: (1) the need of a common language, with a minimum amount of illiteracy; (2) the need of a common civil standard, similar ideals, beliefs, and customs symbolized by the oath of allegiance to America; and (3) the need of a high standard of living, of reasonable equality of opportunity and of social and industrial justice. In every great crisis in our history, in the Revolution and in the Civil War, and in the lesser crises, like the Spanish war, all factions and races have been forgotten in the common spirit of Americanism. Protestant and Catholic, men of English or of French, of Irish or of German, descent have joined with a single-minded purpose to secure for the country what only can be achieved by the resultant union of all patriotic citizens. You of this organization have done a great service by your insistence that citizens should pay heed first of all to their duties. Hitherto undue prominence has been given to the question of rights. Your organization is a splendid engine for giving to the stranger within our gates a high conception of American citizenship. Strive for unity. We suffer at present from a lack of leadership in these matters.

Even in the matter of national defense there is such a labyrinth of committees and counsels and advisors that there is a tendency on the part of the average citizen to become confused and do nothing. I ask you to help strike the note that shall unite our people. As a people we must be united. If we are not united we shall slip into the gulf of measureless disaster. We must be strong in purpose for our own defense and bent on securing justice within our borders. If as a nation we are split into warring camps, if we teach our citizens not to look upon one another as brothers but as enemies divided by the hatred of creed for creed or of those of one race against those of another race, surely we shall fail and our great democratic experiment on this continent will go down in crushing overthrow. I ask you here to-night and those like you to take a foremost part in the movement — a young men's movement — for a greater and better America in the future.

ONE AMERICA

All of us, no matter from what land our parents came, no matter in what way we may severally worship our Creator, must stand shoulder to shoulder in a united America for the elimination of race and religious prejudice. We must stand for a reign of equal justice to both big and small. We must insist on the maintenance of the American standard of living. We must stand for an adequate national control which shall secure a better training of our young men in time of peace, both for the work of peace and for the work of war. We must direct every national resource, material and spiritual, to the task not of shirking difficulties, but of training our people to overcome difficulties. Our aim must be, not to make life easy and soft, not to soften soul and body, but to fit us in virile fashion to do a great work for all mankind. This great work can only be done by a mighty democracy, with these qualities of soul, guided by those qualities of mind, which will both make it refuse to do injustice to any other nation, and also enable it to hold its own against aggression by any other nation. In our relations with the outside world, we must abhor wrongdoing, and disdain to commit it, and we must no less disdain the baseness of spirit which lamely submits to wrongdoing. Finally and most important of all, we must strive for the establishment within our own borders of that stern and lofty standard of personal and public neutrality which shall guarantee to each man his rights, and which shall insist in return upon the full performance by each man of his duties both to his neighbor and to the great nation whose flag must symbolize in the future as it has symbolized in the past the highest hopes of all mankind.

WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO THE IMMIGRANT

PHILIP DAVIS, LECTURER ON IMMIGRATION AND AMERICANIZATION
AT BOSTON UNIVERSITY

WHAT AMERICA MEANS

THE "SWEET LAND OF LIBERTY"

TO OUR annual million of newcomers, this country is still the "sweet land of liberty." Fundamentally, it is this idea of America which fired the imagination of, and gave birth to the migrating impulse among, the millions of diverse peoples who knocked at our gates. A recent newcomer, now a drygoods peddler, was asked to state his reason for coming to America.

"When I was home," he wrote, "I always thought that America got in it the eternal desires of Man: Liberty, Brotherhood, and Respect to Men. Of these reasons, I often thought to come to the land which the great Columbus discovered."

How came this peddler to think that America "got in it the eternal desires of man"? Examine the contents of our enormous foreign mail, written in a babel of tongues and forwarded, post-haste, to the four corners of the earth. Its chief message to the whole world is this: "America is a free country." This message travels with lightning speed from land to land, from hamlet to hamlet, from man to man.

"America is a free country." As the bugle call rouses the sleeping hosts at break of day, so have these words roused the Old World peasantry from its slumber of centuries. They started the whole of Europe on the march. The European children of to-day are the American immigrants of to-morrow. For even as children they learn all about America being a "free country."

"Many years ago," writes a young working girl, "I heard about America. Those who returned to the Fatherland all said

that America is a free country. I was a child then and I had no idea of the meaning of it."

But the words stuck to her, apparently. Later their meaning dawned upon her. Hence she is here now.

The fact that America is not merely a free country, but a *democracy*, that is, frankly experimenting in freedom along democratic lines, all the more strongly appeals to the imagination of the European masses, especially of the more politically oppressed peoples. A young man of eighteen, now working in a tobacco store, illiterate upon his arrival, naïvely wrote these words after eight months of study in the Civic Service House:

While in Russia, I read much about the United States and its government. At that time I could not understand how people can govern themselves. Now that I have spent nearly eight months in this country, I came to the conclusion that a democratic government is more advantageous than a monarchical.

His "conclusion" is based upon the fact that here the people can "freely express their thoughts and ideas," which he values greatly, having been tongue-tied in his own country. Free speech and a free press mean as much to them as they meant to our forefathers.

Moreover, the immigrant learns early that our democratic form of government is not merely a passing phase, subject to the will of a despot, enlightened or unenlightened, but is guaranteed to us by the Constitution of the United States. An immigrant girl of fifteen was asked to write a letter about America. This is what she wrote:

July 12, 1907.

I am only in this country two months. Therefore I cannot write. But I will write a little about America. This country is for sure a free country, forever. In March 4, 1789, the Constitution go into effect. This country became guarantee at liberty of conscience, free press and free speech. Therefore the Russian people are coming here because they haven't this in their country.

S. R.

Note the impersonal ending. She does not speak for herself. She confidently ascribes her reason for coming here to the entire "Russian People."

It is obvious from these simple statements of these latter-day pilgrims that the freedom which they have in mind is chiefly political. The freedom our pilgrim forefathers sought was mainly religious. But the common love of freedom is still, as it always has been, the great moving force.

Current literature on immigration refuses to recognize this common denominator — this world hunger for freedom. It insists on pointing out differences. The immigrant of yesterday is lauded; the immigrant of to-day is tolerated; the immigrant of to-morrow is dreaded. The English in America dreaded the coming of the Irish. The immigrants of Northwestern Europe dreaded the coming of the Southeastern Europeans. Strangely enough, the prejudice against the unwelcome stranger is said to be grounded in the fear of his undermining American liberty, or, as often plausibly put, his mistaking "liberty for license." Yet every immigrant, even the humblest peasant, insists that Liberty is the very thing for which he came.

THE LAND OF OPPORTUNITY

But there is another side to this story. The immigrant, shortly after his landing, changes his mind about at least one phase of American Liberty. He finds here, to be sure, free speech and a free press. American religious freedom he cannot gainsay; American political freedom he gravely suspects; American economic freedom he presently repudiates.

"I am not at all so satisfied from this country," wrote Jennie, a young white-goods worker, but a few months after her landing. "It is very hard to gib away alletime to the work and even then we are not able to make a living because the Bosses are always explotationists and we must work for them for nothing. Yes, the American politic liberty don't makes me happy when I see that the economic liberty is in a bed position."

Another working girl, a skirt finisher, puts the case somewhat differently: "When I was in ole country," she writes, "I thought that America is a free country for everybody. Now I see America is only for the capitalist but not for the working people. I know for a fact, I am striking now and when I was going picketing this morning to the shop, the politzman said to me: 'You must go away because I can arrest you!'"

A very intelligent Greek, proficient in a half dozen languages, ready and willing to do everything, was recommended, as a last resort, as a waiter in a French restaurant. He came back, as usual, a disappointed man and sighing said to me by way of comment :

My country 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty.
Not for me! Not for me!

He was particularly grieved to find that a knowledge of six languages did not help him to get a "jomb." His feeling about America is fairly representative of the large body of immigrant students, who constitute an important element of our immigrant population.

It is this system of work and wages which recognizes neither training nor talent, which disregards the physical interest as well as the spiritual welfare of the producer, devoting itself solely to the dumb product, which makes "hands" out of men, tools of apprentices, wage-slaves of all, that is responsible for the sudden change in feeling on the part of the immigrant shortly after landing. A land which tolerates wage slavery is not a "sweet land of liberty." The immigrant, somehow, cannot bring himself to reconcile the phrase with the fact; and the patriotism which that phrase was calculated to arouse remains, in face of the fact, stillborn.

FREE EDUCATION

Having at last found work, the immigrant recovers from these sadder and wiser economic experiences and enters upon his third stage of appreciation of America as the "land of free education."

The immigrant's enthusiasm wells up, fountain-like, whenever he thinks of our free system of education. A newcomer writes :

I have always had a great desire for education, but in the ole countre I didn't have no opportunity. But in the contre United States of America we all have the privilege to learn and educate ourselves as far as our ability allows us to. Therefore, I have all the reasons to like this contre, America, for all this from the bottom of my heart. I thank the American people for their kindness in taking an interest in educating us, strangers, and making men of us.

Joseph Rinaldo, an Italian boy of twelve, is even more effusive. He writes :

When I was a small boy, I said to myself I wish I could come and see the new world.

Comes across oceans, seas and rivers to the new world, America. One day I did come to America. When I arrived the boys on the street seemed good to me. Some said come and play; some said lets go in, the school bell rang. That's how I started to go to school. I started to learn more and more each day. You can study more, better and harder in America than in any other continent in the world. There are more schools in America than in Europe or Asia. America also has more libraries, public buildings, where to spend the time and become true citizens and not old loafers on the street.

I didn't know a thing when I came from Italy but now I know as much as any boy of my age. I know enough. I will learn more by and by. Because when we become men we must not work with a pick and shovel but as cashier or bookkeeper or some other good job like teachers.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Next to American education, the immigrant glories in the promise of American citizenship. What does American citizenship mean to him? A class in citizenship, consisting of a score of young men, all of them of voting age, but few having even their "first papers," were asked to define American citizenship. They nearly all agreed upon the following :

"Knowing the laws of the country and keeping them; also being faithful to the country."

They were next asked to mention some of the things a good citizen was expected to do for his country. The following answers were suggestive :

He must be honest and truly.

He must vote for the right officers.

He must study the history from the United States.

He must be willing to pay taxes.

He must stand for his rights.

He must send his children to school.

A good citizen should try and change bad laws.

These sentiments indicate a regard for American citizenship which is akin to patriotism. I have for years gathered letters

and compositions written by immigrants on the subject of patriotism. These will show, on examination, a true love of country and a sincere regard for its welfare. I quote from a composition entitled "My Impressions of America," written by John Flon, nine months after his landing.

It is human nature for every brave man to love his country and I would love America anyway because I live here and have no other country, but indeed America made a good impression upon me from the very beginning.

I will never forget my feelings of pleasure of the first day of my coming here. It was the day of election of our President Roosevelt. I could not understand what kind election it was. We Finns only know the Russian Czar. He is not elected by the people of his country. He rules because his father did. Therefore I was so glad and wonder-full to see all that was going on here on election day with my own eyes and like Columbus I felt like kneeling and kissing the soil and with tears give thanks to God for having brought me here.

To be sure, America does not mean all these things to all immigrants, but does it mean more to the average American? Certainly not. On the contrary, many a newcomer is thrilled by the oath of allegiance as the climax of the process of becoming a naturalized citizen far more than is the native-born American who automatically enters upon citizenship at the age of twenty-one. Witness the wonderful enthusiasm which made memorable the recent reception to four thousand newly naturalized voters under the auspices of the city of Philadelphia. The first words President Wilson said to them were: "It warms my heart that you should give me such a reception."

AMERICAN DECALOGUE

Last year, after the New Voters' Festival held in Boston testifying to the annual rebirth of this nation, an informal group of newly naturalized were asked to tell what expressions of America best appealed to them. The following are well worth considering as a basis for an American Decalogue :

1. The Land of Liberty.
2. The Land of Opportunity.
3. The Land of Peace and Plenty.

4. The Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave.
5. The Land where Free Education Flows like Milk and Honey.
6. A Haven of Refuge.
7. Many United Nationalities — One Nation.
8. Where Right makes Might. — LINCOLN.
9. Guarantees Inalienable Right to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.
10. A Government of the People, by the People, and for the People.

Some one suggested the preamble to the Constitution. We read it and agreed that it is still the best expression in literature of what America really means. We quote it here, italicizing the key words occurring in at least a half dozen of the expressions quoted above.

PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect *union*, establish *justice*, insure domestic *tranquillity*, provide for the *common defense*, promote the *general welfare*, and secure the blessings of *liberty* to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

CONCLUSION

A finer interpretation of not only the Preamble but of the Constitution itself as well as the Declaration of Independence will also help us forget apparent differences of dress and manners, race and language. "E Pluribus Unum." Out of many nationalities one nation: one in heart, mind, and spirit. The thing that counts is this oneness in spirit, remembering that this oneness potentially exists in all of us and may be fully as dynamic, whether it is the result of birth or of definite choice, not only on the Fourth of July but every day on the calendar.

"WHAT AMERICA MEANS": PRESIDENT WILSON

This in essence was President Wilson's appeal in his now memorable Philadelphia speech. It sums up "the great body of principles" to which he urged the new Americans' allegiance. It is positive in its appeal to "the passions which lift." This oneness

is especially urgent this year — a year of divided loyalties. Oneness in spirit does not mean mere homogeneity. It means “like-mindedness,” or as the President insisted, “national consciousness,” arising from a common aspiration to become a free nation — a world democracy.

HOW TO AMERICANIZE THE IMMIGRANT

DEFINITION OF AMERICANISM

Americanization is the process of assimilating on the part of the immigrants these basic principles of American Democracy enriched by the national and racial qualifications and traditions which the immigrants bring with them. A good way to begin is to stop calling immigrants names; such as, “aliens” or “foreigners.” Even the word “immigrant” sets them apart from the community instead of identifying them with the community. I suggest that we begin calling them instead “Americanists.” The Century Dictionary defines an Americanist (as distinguished from an American), “a person of any nation who prominently interests himself in the study of subjects relating to America.” To this study thousands of immigrants are already devoted and all of them should dedicate themselves.

Start them early with English on shipboard and during the detention period. As soon as they have landed, eager and enthusiastic, offer them a complete course from steerage to citizenship with public school facilities to reach 100 per cent of them. The writer believes that any Reader on civics for new Americans, in order to meet the demands of such course, must be so written as to set forth in simple English “What America Means,” and “How The Immigrant Can Best Americanize Himself.”

Not unmindful what the right kind of civic education can do for the immigrant and what he can do for himself, the writer nevertheless is convinced that the indirect methods of Americanizing the immigrant through a living wage, a standard home, clean streets, a square deal, the daily newspapers, the use of the ballot and abundant opportunities for social intercourse are vastly more important in any scheme of Americanizing 100 per cent of them than any textbook, however ideal.

SAMPLE PROGRAM FOR FOURTH OF JULY CITIZENSHIP CELEBRATION

1. Patriotic selections	<i>Band</i>
2. Songs from all nations	<i>Phonograph records</i>
3. "America"	<i>Chorus and audience</i>
4. Prayer (specially written; the Rauschenbusch type)	
5. Welcome to the new citizens	<i>The Mayor</i>
6. "Oath of Allegiance"	<i>Naturalization Judge</i>
7. Selected folk songs	<i>Phonograph records</i>
8. Address, "The State and the New America" . .	<i>State representative</i>
9. "Star Spangled Banner"	<i>Chorus and audience</i>
10. Five minute speeches or papers	<i>The prize winners</i>
11. Awarding of prizes.	<i>The Mayor</i>
12. "Hail Columbia"	<i>Chorus and audience</i>
13. Trip through America	<i>Moving pictures</i>
14. Patriotic selections	<i>Band</i>

1. CHORUS: The chorus should be made up of representatives of the choirs of the prominent nationality groups.

2. PRIZES: The municipality should offer simple prizes to all applicants registered in the school for citizenship for a short paper or speech on one of these topics, "What America Means to Me," "How to Americanize Immigrants," "How to Celebrate Americanization Day."

3. ORGANIZATION: The committee in charge of Americanization Day should always be headed by the mayor, as honorary chairman, and by leading citizens as active chairman and secretary, and small working committees on prizes, on invitations, on program, on reception. The committee on arrangements should be as representative a body as possible, including the various branches of the government of the city, state, and nation as well as representatives of the various nationalities and prominent public organizations.

4. CAUTION: The administration should not be too prominent in the celebration. It should be willing to keep in the background, yet coöperate in every way with the committee.

SUGGESTIONS

1. All songs on the program should be printed in full, also the oath of allegiance and committees in charge. Insert loose leaf in program with list of textbooks on America.

2. The celebration must not be a detached affair, but the final step in the process of naturalization.

3. In all communities where the attendance is not too large, CERTIFICATES OF CITIZENSHIP should be given out on this occasion on presentation by the immigrant of a *certificate of fitness* issued by the local School for Citizenship. The school should be regarded by the municipality as an integral part of the Americanization process.

4. The invitation should include the wives, and children over sixteen years of age, also all native-born persons who have just reached the twenty-first birthday.

5. Invite the leading employers to coöperate, preferably through the Chamber of Commerce or Board of Trade.

6. If possible, plan a banquet.

7. Wherever circumstances and weather permit, have celebration outdoors in a park, followed by a little pageant, or song fest or carnival, or a play like "At the Gates of the Young World." This plan would have the advantage of bringing out the children as well as the grown-ups. In small communities, plan refreshments.

8. Where the celebration takes place in a hall, decorate it with the flags of all nations.

9. Place registration cards, printed beforehand, on every seat, inviting all to join the New American Club, which should be organized immediately after the celebration.

10. Plan mock naturalization court to prepare candidates for Americanization Day.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE TRANSLATED INTO A DECLARATION OF CITIZENSHIP FOR THE NEWLY-NATURALIZED

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for certain persons to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another country and to assume the separate and equal station to which the laws of their adopted country entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of the people of that country requires that they should openly declare their belief in the basic principles of the land of their adoption.

They must hold, as these United States hold, these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form,

as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by serving their affiliations with the government to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of circumstances compel them to sever their connections with one country and affiliate themselves with another country, it is their right, it is their duty, to swear allegiance to the new government of which they are to be a part.

We, therefore, the new citizens of these United States of America, assembled this Fourth of July . . . , appealing to the Supreme Judgment of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name and by the authority of the good people of these United States of America, solemnly publish and declare our allegiance to them and we accordingly forswear allegiance to any king or crown ; that all political connections between us and any king or crown is and ought to be totally dissolved. As free and independent citizens we solemnly declare our allegiance to these United States whether in war or peace and to do only those acts and things which independent citizens may of right do. For the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of the Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to these United States our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

APPENDIX

AMERICANIZATION ¹

RICHARD K. CAMPBELL

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AS PARTICIPANTS IN FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION

IN PRESENTING this the first review of this new activity of the bureau, it is eminently desirable to refer to the fact that while this report deals with the achievements during the year it also refers to the preliminary steps in a work which has been in process of development and actual growth for over two years. When its full potentiality has been exerted it is possibly safe to assume that it will rank among the most far-reaching fundamental administrative activities ever launched by any department of the Government, dealing directly, as it does, individually with the citizenship of the entire body politic.

It presents the first linking together of the American public school with the Federal Government for the definite object of elevating the average of understanding of the most neglected of all professions — the profession of self-government — a profession most vital to the perpetuation of those principles enunciated in the American Declaration of Independence that "All men are created equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights." Only by an intelligent appreciation of that sovereignty embraced in self-government can the spirit of these words, uttered when "our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new Nation," be comprehended.

Heretofore the only attention given by the public school authorities directly to candidates for citizenship had been to the petitioners for naturalization. The petitioners in all instances have passed through the declarant stage for at least two years and have completed the five years' residence. They are eligible for a hearing and admission to citizenship 90 days after the petition has been made. It is the candidate for citizenship at this stage for whom the citizenship classes heretofore had been organized. Their period of probation has all but expired, they are about to be invested with citizenship, and become a part of the body politic. They represent the smaller,

¹ From the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Naturalization, 1916.

numerically, of the two classes — about 100,000 aliens a year. The bureau, however, presented an entirely new subject to the school authorities for their consideration and enrollment when it brought the declarant and his wife and the wife of the petitioner to their attention, and also when it brought the public schools to the attention of these hundreds of thousands of seekers after the “priceless heritage.” During the year preceding this report 247,815 alien friends declared under solemn oath their intention to become citizens of the United States and to reside permanently in this country. Each one of these candidates for citizenship must wait at least two years and ninety days before taking the final step. It is during this two-year period he is most receptive of influences for his Americanization. The wives of the declarants and petitioners represent a full quarter of a million of the immigrant body never previously approached directly by our Government as prospective citizens. This enterprise therefore is distinctly novel, unconceived before by either the public or the public school authorities and at the present time only comprehended in a very slight way by the general public.

DEPARTMENTAL DIRECTION

In that portion of the report of the Secretary of Labor for the fiscal year 1915 which was devoted to a review of the work of the Bureau of Naturalization, an extended commendation was made of the development of the plans of the Bureau of Naturalization for linking the public schools of the United States with the bureau in a campaign for that great objective of the act of June 29, 1906 — the actual elevation of the standard of and regard for American citizenship. In his reference to this work as “constructive work” the Secretary said:

The organic act of this bureau does not limit its operations to checking improper naturalization. By that act the bureau, operating under the direction and control of the Secretary of Labor, has “charge of all matters concerning the naturalization of aliens.” Evidently constructive work with reference to citizenship was contemplated by Congress, and such work has been initiated by the bureau.

After reviewing the number of foreigners applying for admission to citizenship, those admitted and those denied, the Secretary adverted to the fact that “individuals, associations, and public schools organized citizenship classes to teach petitioners for naturalization” as —

the direct result of resistance by naturalization examiners to the admission to citizenship of applicants ignorant of our form of government.

Continuing, the Secretary said :

But during the year of this report [1915] the bureau, after conferences with public school authorities, has perfected a plan by which all public schools may coöperate with it in educating citizenship candidates.

After briefly describing the method by which the public schools and the Bureau of Naturalization had carried on this national co-operative work, the Secretary, following an allusion to the million aliens who during the preceding three years had taken steps to become citizens, said :

Probably 75 per cent of these range all the way from fairly admissible to unfit candidates, but nearly all can be transformed through attendance at the public schools into desirable citizenship material. The value, therefore, of such a national movement is manifest. It benefits not only the individual candidate for citizenship but native-born citizens also and reacts desirably upon the entire civic interests of the country. That approximately three fourths of our resident aliens retain foreign allegiance appears from the census returns and only 25 per cent of those admitted to citizenship annually are the most desirable. The condition, therefore, which confronted the Bureau of Naturalization was whether or not to confine itself to negative work or to endeavor to improve the citizenship qualities of applicants. The latter is the course preferred and now pursued. For this purpose the bureau has developed its plans for linking with it the public schools of the United States.

These plans contemplate active support of each teacher in every class formed for the teaching of adults. During the first school year teachers will be requested to make notes of the subjects and courses of instruction and of their effect upon the pupil and to submit the results of their observations to the Bureau of Naturalization. When the results have been received the bureau will arrange them in systematic order and then call a conference at Washington for the purpose of formulating appropriate courses of instruction based upon experience.

BUREAU FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES

In the volume of Regulations of the Department of Labor, promulgated October 15, 1915, the functions and duties of the Bureau of Naturalization as clearly set forth, in part, are as follows :

The Bureau of Naturalization has administrative control, under the direction of the Secretary, of all matters relating to the naturalization of aliens and the administration of the naturalization laws. By the organic act of March 4, 1913, the administrative officer in charge of the Bureau of Naturalization and of the administration of the naturalization law is the Commissioner of Naturalization and in his absence the Deputy Commissioner of Naturalization.

In its administration of the naturalization law the bureau obtains the cooperation of the public school authorities throughout the United States. It furnishes them the names and addresses of the declarants for citizenship and petitioners for naturalization for the purpose of bringing these prospective citizens into contact at the earliest moment with the Americanizing influences of the public school system and thereby contributing to the elevation of citizenship standards. By insuring comprehension of the true spirit of our institutions on the part of aliens admitted to citizenship the bureau may hope to make their acquisition serve as a strengthening influence upon the moral, social, political, and industrial qualities of those institutions.

Through reports from various public schools where courses in citizenship have been taken by aliens seeking naturalization the bureau aims to disseminate information throughout the public school system. It thereby acts as a clearing house of information on civic instruction. Without relaxing its efforts at excluding unfit aliens from citizenship, it is endeavoring to stimulate preparation. Its ideal in this respect is to promote the attainment by aliens of such qualifications for the citizenship they seek as will better fit them for its duties.

The bureau has in its archives the duplicate of all naturalization papers issued by all of the courts exercising naturalization jurisdiction throughout the United States since the Federal supervision of the naturalization law was undertaken. These embrace the declaration of intention, the petition for naturalization, and the certificate of naturalization.

These references to the lawful functions and activities of the Bureau of Naturalization by the Secretary in his annual report and in the fiscal regulations of the department find their origin in the plan formulated in the bureau on April 20, 1914. This plan was based upon the authority conferred by Congress upon this bureau by the acts of June 29, 1906, and March 4, 1913. In the first act Congress provided a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States, and, to accomplish this uniformity, created a Federal administrative bureau charged with the administration of this law. By the act of March 4, 1913, it declared the Commissioner of Naturalization or in his absence the Deputy Commissioner of Naturalization to be the Federal officer in charge of the administration of the naturalization laws, under the direction of the Secretary of Labor, and placed with the Bureau of Naturalization the charge of all matters concerning the naturalization of aliens.

EARLY ACTIVITIES

Within this broad field of authority resistance to the admission to citizenship of candidates wholly unfit for that high estate was one of the prominent activities of the bureau in the initiation of its administrative authority. This activity aroused public attention to such a

degree on behalf of the disappointed applicants that conferences in their behalf were held by the bureau's field representatives with public-spirited individuals, public school authorities, and members of the Federal and State judiciary, with the result that as early as in 1909 citizenship classes were organized. Some correspondence was carried on between the bureau and individuals interested in the well-being of the immigrant, but no definite action was taken by the bureau.

The first of these classes reported to the bureau was organized in Hartford, Connecticut, through the conferences of the naturalization examiners, Judge James P. Platt, of the district court of the United States, and the public school authorities of that city. Classes were organized later in other parts of New England, and the spirit of this activity extended gradually to other parts of the country, Rock Island, Illinois, being one of the earliest places where citizenship classes were formed.

BROADENING OF POLICY

Discussions of this activity were held in the bureau from time to time, particularly in the latter part of 1913 and in the early part of 1914, with the result that on April 20, 1914, a plan was submitted for dignifying in the eyes of the public the proceeding of admission to citizenship and placing it upon that high plane which it has always held in the minds of those who thoroughly appreciate and value citizenship. The results accomplished locally through conferences and the formation of citizenship classes and the benefits derived therefrom were cited as accomplishments possible throughout the entire nation. The elimination of the known evils attending some of the private organizations seeking, under the guise of instruction, to exploit the ignorance of the candidates for citizenship as an easy means for the acquisition of a lucrative income, was referred to as one of the reforms that would follow a coöperative activity between the public schools, the public generally, and the Bureau of Naturalization.

The expressions of the Executive in recognition of the highest principles and ideals of government both nationally and internationally and the peculiar relationship of the Bureau of Naturalization to these in its direct dealing with the citizenry and citizenship ideals were dwelt upon as justifying the inauguration of such a policy. It was seen that the influence of the bureau for the betterment of citizenship could be extended to every hamlet in the United States through the expansion and extension of the influence of the

naturalization laws. This plan proposed the organization of the public schools with the Bureau of Naturalization into an active unit for the development of American ideals of citizenship in the student body; the assembling together on stated occasions, in the different metropolitan and other centers, of naturalized citizens and candidates for citizenship; the conduct of patriotic exercises, including addresses, and singing national anthems; and a public conferring of citizenship.

BROADENING OF ACTIVITIES

CONFERENCES WITH SCHOOL OFFICIALS

After conferences with the Assistant Secretary of Labor upon this project and at his instance a representative of the bureau visited the cities of Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, and New York in the summer of 1914 and the following winter, held discussions and conferences with the public school authorities, representatives of the judiciary, Government officials, business organizations, and others upon this proposed nation-wide plan for citizenship preparedness through the Americanization of the resident alien body and the consequent reaction upon and stimulation of the interest of the native-born American in the benefits to be derived by him from that citizenship which is his by the right of birth.

The proposition of a coöperative movement on the part of the public schools with the Bureau of Naturalization was not only heartily indorsed, but the bureau was urged by these educators to take the lead in this educational work so vital to citizenship and to formulate a course of instruction adaptable to the candidates for citizenship. In the conferences with the judges of the courts the presentation of the educational plan brought forth their unanimous indorsement and assurances that they would recognize the coöperation of the school authorities with the Bureau of Naturalization at the time the petitions for naturalization were heard by the courts for the admission to citizenship of the candidates.

Concurrently with this, with the object of organizing civic classes, the bureau carried on correspondence directly with the authorities of different cities and with those interested in the subject of naturalization. Among these places where civic classes were organized the city of Los Angeles attained greatest prominence.

SURVEYS OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Following the conferences referred to, steps were perfected in March, 1915, for a survey of the entire country by correspondence and through the field officers of the bureau to ascertain the efforts

and accomplishments of the public school authorities in the direction of educating foreigners over 18 years of age; what percentage of the foreigners were candidates for citizenship in these classes; the scope of instruction offered by the public schools; and what other organizations were interested in the preparation of the foreigner for citizenship. This survey was carefully carried on throughout the United States by the entire Naturalization Service and continued uninterrupted until the inauguration of this national coöperative work with the opening of the school term in 1915.

The reports disclosed many interesting situations. An isolated one from the superintendent of schools at Green Bay, Wisconsin, follows:

We have been conducting night school classes for foreigners for the past three years. The first year we had about 12 foreigners enrolled, the second year about 32, this year the total number for the year in the foreign classes was about 71. Out of this enrollment of 71 about 12 are women. These classes have been meeting twice a week for two hours on each night since last October, and are to continue until May 13. Of those enrolled all are over 18 years of age, with the majority ranging from 18 to 32 years. About 10 of this enrollment are taking this work with a view to making application for citizenship. Most of them, however, will make use of it for that purpose, even though such is not their intention at the present time. We find the attendance in the foreign classes better than most night school classes. These people evince a decided interest in the work and show a determined spirit to learn the English language, especially as regards our customs and laws. These classes have been a source of great satisfaction to us.

This report is characteristic of many of those received and indicates fairly well the interest on the part of the school authorities and the appreciation of the foreigners in this much-needed instruction. The reports also showed that the larger cities had been devoting their attention to the education of the foreigner, probably the greatest activity being reported from New York City with its 1000 classes comprising approximately 40,000 adult foreigners. The bureau learned of the existence of classes for instructing foreigners in many other places where, taken collectively, the instruction embraced virtually everything taught in the grammar schools and in some instances in high schools, but the actual instruction in citizenship was found only in approximately a score of places and in these in but its earliest stage of development. It was also disclosed that in many places classes had been organized, flourished, waned, and finally died for lack of sufficient support. In these places the establishment and maintenance of schools were assured by those connected with them if the Bureau of Naturalization would lend its needed Federal support.

PHILADELPHIA RECEPTION — EXECUTIVE RECOGNITION

As a means of centralizing the interest of the public upon this proposed novel national coöperative movement, the bureau, in December, 1914, proposed to the mayor of Philadelphia to hold the reception to the newly naturalized citizens in that city, which occurred May 10, 1915, and which was honored by the presence of the President of the United States. Immediately preceding this reception the bureau, with the approval of the Secretary, announced in the columns of the press the launching of the nation-wide coöperative educational campaign for the betterment and strengthening of the citizenship of the entire nation, through the aid of the public schools, thus consummating the first stage of the plans for the great Americanization undertaking to which end direct preparations had been going on for over a year. The public response and indorsement given to this reception and educational announcement were beyond all expectations of the bureau.

AMERICANIZATION DAY, 1915

As a direct result of the address of the President, the newspaper publicity, and discussions by representatives of the bureau, a wave of patriotic sentiment was aroused which extended throughout the country. Immediately thereafter, in the month of May, patriotic and enterprising individuals proceeded to associate themselves together in the organization of committees whose main objects were to maintain this newly aroused interest. Some looked to a national recognition of the naturalization proceedings; others by celebrations, and all in various ways, strove to make impressive in the eyes of the public the steps attendant upon naturalization. Those occupying positions of official responsibility, as well as others prominent in the industrial, religious, social, and political world, responded to the influence of this national wave of interest in citizenship created by the reception at Philadelphia. Americanization committees, led by the mayors or other officials, were formed in cities throughout the land to take some cognizance of the naturalization proceedings, and on the Fourth of July and from time to time thereafter, on the admission to citizenship of numbers of aliens in their cities, to hold Americanization Day receptions for the newly naturalized similar to the one held in Philadelphia. From the reports received by the bureau it is evident that these committees were thoroughly equipped and enthusiastic in their support of its work and carried on extensive campaigns of publicity.

Posters and circular letters were sent broadcast throughout the country by private and Federal agencies, syndicated news articles were prepared by those whose interest in naturalization matters had been stimulated by the Philadelphia reception and published from time to time in the press throughout the country. Senators, Congressmen, mayors, governors, captains of industry, and patriotic, labor, social, civic, and other organizations were appealed to. Individuals of the greatest prominence were enlisted in this cause both in speaking and writing upon this work of the bureau; prizes were offered for the best presentation of literary or artistic effort; in short, during the period immediately following upon the reception which was proposed by this bureau and organized by the city of Philadelphia in coöperation with the members of the bureau, the interest of the whole nation was aroused in citizenship as possibly never before in so short a space of time in any governmental activity.

The inspiration which the Philadelphia reception and the speech of the President inspired is shown by the following quotations from the correspondence files of the bureau:

America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American. And the man who goes among you to trade upon your nationality is no worthy son to live under the Stars and Stripes.

You dreamed dreams of what America was to be and I hope you have brought the dreams with you. No man who does not see visions will ever realize any high hope or undertaking; any high enterprise; and just because you brought the dreams with you, America is more likely to realize the dreams such as you brought. You are enriching us if you come expecting us to be better than we are.

Continuing, the correspondence showed these celebrations were intended to be occasions to invite the newly naturalized citizens to be the guests of the municipalities, with public ceremonies dignifying naturalization generally for the first time in the history of the nation, and to make July 4, 1915, a day upon which to interpret America to the many peoples in our land, to welcome our new citizens, translate to them the meaning of America, and suggest ways by which they can give their best to America and receive from her the guaranty of true American citizenship.

The Secretary of Labor, in the discussions of the purposes of this plan of coöperation, expressed his indorsement of them as realizing some of the hopes and ideals entertained by him for the Department of Labor at the time of its creation.

NATION-WIDE CONFERENCES

So well had these efforts of the bureau yielded results that at the direction of the Secretary of Labor the Deputy Commissioner of Naturalization made a tour of the United States to present its plans, address gatherings of educators, and confer with public school authorities and other prominent citizens upon the details necessary to this unified action. Among the cities visited were Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, Omaha, Denver, Salt Lake City, Los Angeles, Oakland, San Francisco, Portland (Oregon), Seattle, Tacoma, Spokane, Cœur d'Alene, Bismarck, Duluth, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Albany, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and other smaller places. In these cities, as a result of these conferences, definite plans were matured which were approved by the Secretary, and the nation-wide coöperative work announced through the columns of the public press in May, 1915, became a reality with the opening of the new school year.

SCHOOL PROBLEMS

It was early learned that the greatest difficulty had been experienced in securing the enrollment of adults other than those who voluntarily came. Publication of notices in the press in all tongues inviting the alien population, posting of notices in public places, and appeals to racial organizations, employers of labor, labor organizations, and others were included in the field of endeavor to secure the desired attendance.

Under the wave of awakened interest renewed activity was again shown in these methods by many agencies, including some governmental participation. Most prominent among these were colored posters in many languages sent out by the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior, announcing these citizenship classes and advising foreigners to attend night school in order to learn English, become better citizens, be able to make a better living, and live better. While this support to the work of this bureau was sincere and patriotic, it was known that some more practical plan having the personal touch was needed to bring in the vast numbers not responding.

The bureau therefore undertook, first, to call upon each alien candidate for citizenship, through letters personally addressed to him and his wife, to go to these public schools; second, it requested the teachers to secure the aid of the student body in the classes for adult foreigners to prevail upon their fellow-countrymen and friends to enroll; and, third, that the names and addresses of the foreign-born parents of the children in the public schools be availed of to send

personal invitations to those who would be benefited by the public schools to attend them. It is believed that with the full development of these avenues of activity every alien in every community in time will be approached and invited to attend the public schools.

It was reported also that the greatest difficulty, next to securing the enrollment of adult students, was to secure regular and continued attendance until some material betterment should result beyond a more or less crude ability to speak and write our tongue. The average attendance as compared with the enrollment was found to have been very low, especially in the largest centers. The bureau, therefore, advocated in its correspondence with the supporting organizations that prizes be offered for papers and debates upon different American subjects by these students; that public recognition of citizenship be given with the presentation of certificates of graduation and naturalization and the award of the prizes. These were believed to be legitimate inducements to be offered by the public schools and the public generally to secure higher proficiency and larger attendance. It is gratifying that a very general support has been given these projects.

STANDARDIZATION OF CITIZENSHIP INSTRUCTION

The need of a standard course of instruction to occupy a certain period of time in its mastery by foreigners, including the illiterate, was emphasized by all, and the preparation of such a course by this bureau, to be printed in but one language — English — was urged by reason of its position of authority in all matters concerning naturalization.

The bureau, in response to the numerous calls upon it, agreed to serve the public schools in meeting the public need for a standard course of citizenship instruction. It was furnished by many schools with the material used in this plan of instruction, and therefrom compiled, in small pamphlet form, as a preliminary step in the advance toward standardization, an Outline Course in Citizenship. Thousands of copies of this pamphlet were distributed for use in the citizenship classes. At their request large numbers of the pamphlet also were furnished for use in the day schools, in accordance with the recommendation of the bureau that the subject matter be taught in the upper graded and high schools to the young American boy and girl coming into citizenship responsibilities. In undertaking this duty the bureau regards the entire public school system of the United States as a vast national committee working with it in the standardization of this special branch of instruction.

This pamphlet deals elementally with the duties of citizenship in the city, county, State, and nation, and has been uniformly spoken of as a timely publication. A prominent Federal judge, commenting upon the course, while recognizing the elemental character, expressed the belief, after some considerable questioning outside of the court room, that "not 50 per cent of the native-born adult male population of the United States could get a 50 per cent mark on the topics suggested in the Outline Course." The belief has been expressed that the use of the Outline Course would be beneficial to the schools as well as to the students. Referring to the young people going through the public schools, particularly those in attendance upon the day schools, one jurist said :

They have gone to the public schools and left them without the slightest knowledge of the framework or method of administration of either the National or State Governments. They sometimes know the practical workings of the city government, but not by reason of anything that the schools taught.

The need undoubtedly exists for a more intimate sense of responsibility in the native-born citizen for our Government, and adequate instruction in citizenship responsibility should be established in every public school of the United States. If less than 50 per cent of the native-born adult male population of the United States can manifest a 50 per cent knowledge on the elements of our Government, surely such a uniform course should be established.

In addition to the recognition of the demands of the public school authorities for a standard course in citizenship, recommendation was made that there be embodied in this course some practical means by which the actual performance of citizenship responsibilities and duties might be undertaken by the prospective candidate for citizenship, and that this be carried on in such manner as to cause the public schools to be used as community centers ; that a syllabus of the naturalization law be prepared and placed in the hands of the public school teachers, together with the preliminary forms supplied by the bureau to foreigners to aid them in furnishing the facts necessary to the filing of a declaration of intention and a petition for naturalization.

The requests for the preparation of a textbook by the bureau received during the past two years were renewed after the receipt by the public school authorities of the Outline Course in Citizenship instruction. Accordingly requests were forwarded during March and April to all the superintendents of the schools engaged in this work to send in copies of the courses of instruction they were giving and any matter they were using. From the material received a course

was partially prepared and discussed with approval at the citizenship convention. Its completion at an early time is being undertaken. At the convention the necessity for such a standard course of instruction was repeatedly asserted, and the opportunity which the bureau offered for the accomplishment through it by the public schools of a standardization of citizenship instruction was heartily applauded. It is hoped to have this book, together with the Outline Course amplified, ready for distribution to the students as a textbook, and to the teachers as a manual, respectively, with the opening of the new school year.

Copies of the Outline Course were forwarded by the secretary of this department to the War and Navy Departments shortly after it was published, with the suggestion that the course in citizenship might with benefit be added to the other educational work done by those departments. Both departments promptly expressed interest in the subject as desirable for the instruction of enlisted men of the Army and Navy, and called for hundreds of copies of the pamphlet for distribution to their various schools for enlisted men. Later many additional hundreds of copies were furnished these departments, upon request, for distribution to the various departments of the Army, Army posts, naval stations, and on shipboard.

SYLLABUS OF THE NATURALIZATION LAW

The bureau also has prepared a syllabus of the naturalization law, making it available for the public school teachers to give advice to those of the school members desiring to seek naturalization, and placed in their hands the preliminary forms heretofore given only to the clerks of the naturalization courts and the individual candidate for citizenship. Many thousands of these documents have been furnished the public school authorities, and their free use by them in the classroom will work a greater individual saving of unnecessary expense to the alien friend than any one other service that the teacher may render the prospective citizen. Notwithstanding the limitation previously observed in the distribution of these forms to the clerks of courts, large numbers of them have been constantly obtained by unscrupulous individuals, their main objective being to exact a fee, toll, or petty graft from the ignorant and unsuspecting foreigners for the small amount of advice which any public school teacher or disinterested American citizen would be only too glad to render without charge. These trifling services have been charged for in amounts reported to range from 25 cents to \$50, which the uninformed and unsuspecting alien must pay if he embarks upon

the road to citizenship under the auspices of these self-serving individuals. It is urged, therefore, that the public school teachers avail themselves not only of the forms, but of the slight knowledge of the law afforded by the syllabus, and make an active use of the knowledge thus acquired in behalf of their students, and, through them, of their friends not enrolled in the schools. Each teacher should become in this manner an assistant naturalization examiner. The preparation and distribution of these documents in this manner was approved by the secretary.

SCHOOL RECORD CARDS

In order to carry into action the details of the approved plan, individual cards were prepared and printed for the declarants, the petitioners, and their wives, respectively, and one for the transferree, or foreigner moving from place to place, a color scheme being adopted to distinguish these records. These cards were furnished for use as the school record, and from the subject matter contained it will be possible to show the transformation brought about by the public schools. The card for the declarant is shown below.

NATURALIZATION EDUCATIONAL RECORD

Form Nat. Ed. 1

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF NATURALIZATION

(City.)

(Name of school)

Name. Age.

Residence. Arrived in U. S.

Occupation. Nationality. Decln. of Int.

SCHOOL RECORD

Date of school entrance { 1st year. Length of attendance { 1st year, . . nights
2d year. 2d year, . . . nights

Name of wife.

EDUCATIONAL RATING OF DECLARANT

At entrance —

Illiterate. Yes No Speaks English (See note)
Reads in native language Yes No Reads English (See note)
Writes in native language Yes No Writes English (See note)

At entrance

End of 1st year

End of 2d year

Previous education.

Note. — Show Well = W., Fair = F., Poor = P., None = N.

The card for the petitioner differs only in subject matter by indicating that the alien is a petitioner for naturalization.

The purpose of these cards in the plan proposed and used by the public school authorities during the year was to show the name of every foreigner who had spoken for citizenship and also to provide a record of attendance at the school. With this record the illiterates can be shown upon entering the school and the progress toward the eradication of illiteracy among the foreigners recorded. When these cards were sent out to the superintendents of schools they were requested to maintain the records and return the cards at the end of the school year, to enable the bureau to tabulate the information shown by them at that time. This was carefully done as far as the school facilities admitted, but the force at the disposal of the bureau has been insufficient to enable it to tabulate the information contained. It is hoped with the increase in the personnel requested in the estimates submitted to the department that the very valuable information which may come from these cards may be tabulated and shown in the next annual report.

AID OF ORGANIZATIONS REQUESTED

The plan also proposed sending letters to each candidate for citizenship and his wife inviting them to the schools, obtaining the services of various organizations in arousing interest in this work and in supporting the public schools in their endeavors to form these classes. These organizations included all churches, Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, Grand Army of the Republic, Spanish-American War Veterans, labor organizations, women's clubs, singing societies, community-center organizations, the National Education Association, chambers of commerce, and commercial and various racial or national organizations. It was believed they would stimulate the interest of those engaged in this work by presenting flags to the school and court rooms, causing libraries to open in the evening, providing special departments in the libraries with books dealing with civics and citizenship in simple language and making the presence of these books known, providing entertainments in public libraries, public schools, and elsewhere, arousing interest in the national anthems, illustrating governmental activities—Federal, State, and municipal—through motion pictures, lantern slides, and lectures, providing joint graduation exercises of the adult foreigners in the public schools and ceremonies at their admission to citizenship, and in other ways dignifying citizenship as it should be.

PUBLIC RECOGNITION OF CITIZENSHIP

A certificate of graduation was recommended for adoption by the bureau for distribution to the successful candidates for citizenship in attendance upon the public schools, which might be presented at a ceremonial of graduation from the public schools at the time the certificate of naturalization is granted; this certificate to bear the signatures of officials in Washington and in the naturalization field service, together with those of the school authorities, as an evidence of distinction and honor.

As a result of the discussions with the school authorities and members of the judiciary the proposition of a joint representation of the public schools and the Bureau of Naturalization upon the certificate of graduation issued by the public schools took definite form. It was both approved and urged upon the bureau that it perfect a certificate of graduation to be issued in the name of the candidate for citizenship by the school authorities upon his admission to citizenship and at the same time that his certificate of naturalization is delivered to him. In a few places the certificate of the public schools was being urged as final evidence of the admissibility of a candidate for citizenship, but upon a consideration of the requirements of the law, as well as of the evils that undoubtedly would result from such a practice, it was seen that a certificate of graduation could serve no such purpose. Congress having placed the administrative supervision of the naturalization law with this Federal agency, it cannot delegate its authority; nor can its authority be delegated to the educational institutions of this country. The public schools are not sufficiently in touch with the candidate for citizenship, throughout the five-year period — except in the rarest instances — to warrant the issuance of a certificate carrying with it such responsibilities. Few of the candidates for citizenship ever attend the night schools, and a smaller number the day schools, while the period of attendance almost invariably fails to extend over the five years of residence during which good moral character must be established. In some cities certificates of graduation have been prepared by the school authorities for issuance to the adult foreign students in the night classes. Ceremonies and formal exercises have been observed on the occasion of their presentation. These exercises have been participated in by the judiciary, municipal officials, and public-spirited individuals and organizations, with the result that the naturalization proceeding has been correspondingly enhanced in the minds of the general public.

CITIZENSHIP SUNDAY

An observance of a national citizenship Sunday by the churches was recommended, and a convention of the public school authorities with the bureau also was embraced in the plan. Every item contained in the program had received the strongest indorsements and approval of the Federal and State judges having naturalization jurisdiction, public school authorities, and organizations of every character interested in the welfare of the alien and the nation, and this plan as here outlined was given departmental approval. Virtually all of the propositions have become realities since and have taken their place as administrative activities of this bureau in conformity with the authority conferred upon it by Congress. That the preparations had been made wisely and that there is substantial merit to this national enterprise are attested by the extent of territory in which in so short a time it has been undertaken and supported by the school authorities.

In addition to the personal conferences referred to, and the publicity through the press, letters were sent to the superintendents of schools of every city and town of 4000 inhabitants and over, inviting their attention to this great national need and asking their coöperation. Similar letters were sent later to all places of 2500 population. Favorable responses were received from the public schools in every State of the Union. When it is considered that all of this work was of a pioneer character, both on the part of the public schools and of this bureau, the progress toward a unified system has been nothing short of marvelous.

In some of the large cities the plan proposed by the bureau for securing the attendance upon the public schools of the citizenship candidates failed of full realization, while in cities of smaller population the success was complete. The greatest favor was found in places with a relatively small foreign community, or where the entire population was not so great as to lose the sense of personal guardianship of their foreign-born friends, while in others a less interested spirit was manifest and in still others an indifference to their presence, well-being, and wants was found. In every community, however, it was possible to find some sympathizers among the citizenry who would be willing to put their shoulders to the wheel to move forward the cause.

In the larger cities and, indeed, throughout the entire country, one well-known condition has been again emphasized — the inadequacy of the financial support given by the local communities to the public schools. They should be more liberally provided with the necessary

funds. In many communities where no provision for maintaining the night schools had been made, the bureau, through the activities of its own officers, secured the financial support necessary by arousing public-spirited individuals to contribute to the public school funds sufficient to admit of the establishment and maintenance of these classes. In others individual school-teachers and public-spirited men and women in various walks of life constituted a volunteer force to carry on this work of higher ideals. In the States where the general funds could not be availed of for this purpose, patriotic individuals aided the municipalities to meet the situation, personally provided funds to insure the opening of these classes.

Not all of the appeals for the support of this bureau in aid of the public schools were from American citizens. Many came from foreigners seeking an opportunity to fit themselves through education for citizenship responsibilities.

The responses from churches of all denominations received by the bureau to its call for a national observance by them of good citizenship Sunday on July 2, 1916, are filled with expressions of gratification and indorsement of the efforts to engraft the spiritual element upon this work. The material advantages have been generally recognized by the public as shown by the expressions of approval and encouragement conveyed in the resolutions adopted by many commercial bodies through the country.

LARGE PERCENTAGE OF NON-CITIZEN STUDENTS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

As a result of inquiries made of various public school superintendents in the largest cities it has been disclosed that about 80 per cent of the adult foreigners in the night schools have taken no steps toward securing American citizenship. Approximately 18 per cent among those remaining represent those who have taken out their first papers and 2 per cent those who have secured their certificates of naturalization. These proportions vary in some cities, so that 83 per cent, and even as high as 94 per cent, were reported as non-citizens. This would seem to call for some attention on the part of the local authorities, and emphasizes more clearly than any other one element the desirability of teaching in these classes the true spirit of our institutions of government. The subject of American citizenship should be kept constantly in the foreground in these classes, so that all it signifies may be brought to the attention of this too-large percentage of non-citizen membership of the student body. It is fair to assume that by following a wise and intelligent treatment of this

subject among this larger number of foreigners a regard for American ideals of government will be inspired in their minds even greater than that heretofore felt by their declarant and petitioner classmates. Virtually every immigrant landing upon these shores is a prospective candidate for American citizenship and may be legitimately so regarded. He has left the ties of family, sovereignty, and nativity in the old country and cast his lot amongst us. His immediate welfare is being cared for under our institutions of government, with no immediate sense of the form of government entering into his daily round of activities. Those who come to the public schools are of the most ambitious and energetic of the alien friends. They come for just what their intelligence tells them they can get — the means for securing a better livelihood. They are ready to receive everything that the teacher has to give them for their betterment. They are ready recipients of instruction in every feature relating to America and American institutions.

JUDICIAL SUPPORT ASSURED

Among the assurances to the bureau of support in this entire educational propaganda, those received from the judiciary were exceedingly inspiring. Throughout the extent of the land the judges have realized their inability to settle upon any standard of admissibility, either nationally or locally. There never has been any concerted action heretofore made for the establishment of such a standard. Every judge sitting in naturalization cases with whom the matter has been discussed, either directly or by correspondence, has given his unqualified assurance of support to this undertaking. They have expressed uniformly their sense of regret at the necessity for the dismissal of petitions because of lack of knowledge on the part of the petitioners. In many courts petitioners are no longer dismissed if that be the sole ground, but the petitions are deferred and the candidates directed to secure the aid of the public schools in advancing their understanding of our institutions.

As shown by the statements of the various chief examiners, these continuances of petitions for naturalization to later dates at the original hearings by the courts are increasing. This is a most significant recognition by the courts of the higher standard which in various localities the public schools are aiding the candidates to attain.

This already has become the practice in cities where the public schools are in coöperation with the bureau and is extending rapidly as the adequacy of their facilities are known. In many courts the

merest rudimentary knowledge has been accepted as the best that can be manifested. This is so, especially where individuals and certain private organizations have collected together a few facts, and after discussing these with the candidates have drilled them in making set responses to certain stereotyped questions. Yet no judge believes that such an acquisition of information actually equips an otherwise uninformed alien to discharge the duties of American citizenship. In some localities this represents the height of development of public thought regarding citizenship preparation.

PREVAILING EVILS TO OVERCOME

There appear to be actual combinations in some places in restraint of the opening of the public school for teaching the adult foreigner. Non-action by the public schools tends to strengthen and perpetuate just such organizations, whose sole objective is private individual gain. The bureau has in its files at least one instance where a practice appears to have grown up by which at one naturalization hearing a single attorney had 99 petitioners on his list. This hearing was no variation from the general rule, except that the number of foreigners under his control who were candidates for citizenship might have been less or more on that hearing day than at some others. He has stated that he receives from \$10 to \$25 from each of these foreigners, and it is generally known that the net pick-up of this attorney at a naturalization hearing ranges anywhere from \$900 to \$1500, and yet in this community where he flourishes the public schools have not, for some inscrutable reason, organized classes for these foreigners. One particularly impressive feature of this traffic in this community should be mentioned — that most, if not all, of the foreigners who come under his influence are engaged in the mining industry. If these hard-working foreigners were engaged in a lucrative vocation, the tax of from \$10 to \$25 to insure their admission to citizenship might not be individually excessive. Such action not only does not inspire these individuals to apply for American citizenship, but is a decided deterrent upon the exercise of the desire to do so, as it is generally understood that the runners of this individual make statements which are calculated to discourage the application for citizenship excepting through this particular route.

It was this particular activity to which reference was made in the plan originally proposing this unification of effort between the public schools and the Bureau of Naturalization. Its elimination was believed possible by this means; but, as stated, up to the present time the bureau has not been able to secure the opening of the public

schools of that community, notwithstanding constant correspondence and conferences by the field examiners of the bureau. The bureau believes, however, that the time is very near when its efforts will result in the complete breaking up of this most extensive trafficking on the ignorance of the foreigners, as it is much encouraged, by reports to it, in the belief that the public schools will organize during the present scholastic year classes for real and actual instruction to displace the specious "question-and-answer" drill to enable the candidate to "get by."

WIVES OF CANDIDATES FOR CITIZENSHIP

During the year, for the purpose of including the wife in this citizenship-betterment campaign by the public schools, the bureau wrote a special letter personally addressed to the wives of 49,094 petitioners and declarants, telling them of the advantages which would result from their attendance upon the public schools. The name of each wife was also sent, upon an individual card, to the public school in the community where the candidate lived. This inclusion of the wife in the scope of this activity was to enable her to get some conception of the meaning of an American home and aid her in establishing it for her family. In many cities throughout the country the public night schools now teach home care, sewing, cooking, and other domestic arts and sciences to the foreign-born women in their communities. Intense interest is manifested upon the part of these wives and mothers, as in many instances they bring their babies to the schoolroom, and while they sleep the mothers devote their time to learning to read, speak, and write in our tongue in addition to receiving instruction in the more domestic subjects. In order to insure extending this influence to the wife of every declarant the bureau, with the approval of the department, changed the form of the declaration of intention so as to require the inclusion of the name of the wife therein, no provision having been made for her name in the form as originally prepared. Approximately a quarter of a million women of foreign allegiance will be thus brought within the province of the Bureau of Naturalization through the filing of declarations of intention and petitions for naturalization by their husbands. There is a large number of the foreign element represented by the children of the immigrants, but all of the educational facilities which the schools of this country afford are offered to these children, and the bureau understands this work is being furthered by the Immigration Bureau of this department. This report, therefore, does not deal with the children of the immigrant in any sense.

Many women's clubs and various women's organizations have applied to the bureau to participate in furthering this work. The bureau has accepted all proffers of aid and in turn appealed to many other organizations to lend their coöperation in the extension of this national movement. The bureau believes that the influences which have been set in motion will be felt by all of the women of the resident foreign body, as it has received the assurances of heartiest coöperation from all of these organizations. An appeal is therefore being made to the wife of every foreigner who is a candidate for citizenship — through all of these agencies working in common with the bureau — to avail herself of the public schools, and to the public schools to open their doors to a wider and broader contact with the wife of the candidate for citizenship, and to aid in elevating her condition from that produced by the European environment under which she was born to the high plane of American intellectual equality in the home.

STATE GOVERNMENTAL COÖPERATION

Many local State agencies have been authorized to carry on this work, and in some instances are in direct coöperation with the bureau in a greater extension of the influence of the public schools. Notable among these may be mentioned the California Department of Home Education, which is working in support of this movement to further the education of the wives of the candidates for citizenship, sending its representatives to the very homes of the candidates and taking the message of the American home to the wives of the coming Americans.

FIELD OF POSSIBLE ACTIVITY

Since July 1, 1910, there has been a net addition to the foreign population in this country of approximately 3,000,000, as shown by the immigrants remaining and becoming annual additions to the population. In this entire number scarcely any naturalizations could occur, because of the necessity for five years' continuous residence within the United States required by law. Only those among this number could be naturalized who acted promptly in filing their petitions for naturalization upon the expiration of the five-year period during the course of the year under review. While the table shows a population, therefore, of 29,990,947 in the communities coöperating with this bureau, undoubtedly in these communities reside the majority of the 3,000,000 additions to the foreign population of the country. The four States not included in the table had only

84,680 foreigners at the last census, and the bureau has been assured that they will participate in this Americanizing activity at the opening of the new school year.

In many of the States the foreign population is out of proportion to the facilities afforded by the public schools. Assurances have been received, however, of the extension of this coöperative movement, so that virtually all of the resident foreign population will be reached. The plans of the bureau which are in process of development for invading isolated mining camps, logging camps, construction camps, rural communities, and wherever else the foreign-born candidate may be found, will insure carrying into the remotest corners of our land the opportunity for a realization of the dreams of those who have come amongst us from the lands beyond the seas. As stated by the secretary in the quoted portion of the last annual report of the department, this educational work "benefits not only the individual candidate for citizenship but the native-born citizens also, and reacts desirably upon the entire civic interests of the country."

There are approximately 3000 counties in the States throughout the entire country, including Alaska and Hawaii. In 2136 counties the naturalization law is in active administrative operation, as shown by the State courts exercising naturalization jurisdiction therein. In all of the counties where the State courts are not exercising jurisdiction the applicants resident therein apply to the appropriate district court of the United States. It probably is safe to assume, in view of the extension of the field from year to year, that naturalization may be conferred at some time upon residents in every county in the United States in which foreigners are found. From this it will be seen that the scope and influence of the naturalization law will be exerted in every city, village, town, cross roads hamlet, and rural and backwoods section in the United States.

RENEWED OPPORTUNITY FOR ALIEN FRIENDS

This coöperation between the public schools and the bureau means the extension to the alien friend of the helping hand and a nationwide movement going into the colonized groups of foreign-born residents with the direct purpose on the part of the Federal Government of carrying into these centers that greatest of all American boons — opportunity: the opportunity to realize the ideals which inspired the alien to leave the country of his nativity and cast his lot among us; the opportunity to secure his position in society upon

a higher plane; the opportunity to obtain a better job for himself and advance the interests and welfare of his family; the opportunity for them to be placed in the atmosphere of that greatest of all Americanizing influences — the American public school — and there to have implanted in their hearts and souls the true spirit of our institutions of government, for which every candidate for citizenship has a higher and sacred ambition.

From this it should be seen that the old order of things in naturalization has completely ceased to exist as even tolerable. The time has passed when the alien could secure the title to American citizenship whether he wanted it or not and at the behest of the politician whose sole purpose was to make him available for the one act on election day. This order has been succeeded by an observance of the law by the courts with as much thoroughness as conditions have permitted, so that about 25 per cent of the admissions to citizenship are fully justified. The other 75 per cent have now been brought to the attention of the public schools. The schools have seen their opportunity to inaugurate a fundamental course of instruction in citizenship, patriotism, governmental institutions, self-government, and all that pertains to our institutions and to carry on this work in that most productive field of labor which is to be found in this nation — the alien adult population. The phenomenal progress that has been made during the past year justifies the prediction that the public schools in every community where the alien friend is to be found will open their doors for his instruction and make this work of citizenship preparation a hundred per cent reality throughout the entire country.

The brightest and most encouraging phase of this work has been found in the ready response of the Chief Executive of the Nation to lend the presence of his office in honor of this function of the bureau. The first occasion, as mentioned, was the Philadelphia reception; the second was at the citizenship convention held in the city of Washington during the week of July 10, 1916, Raymond F. Crist, Deputy Commissioner of Naturalization, presiding, of which the following is the official program:

CITIZENSHIP CONVENTION

Monday, July 10. — Address, "Welcome to the City," Hon. Oliver P. Newman, Commissioner of the District of Columbia; "Americanism," Hon. Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor; address of welcome, Ernest L. Thurston, superintendent of schools, Washington, D. C.; "Evening schools for foreigners in the Northwest," Robert S. Coleman, chief

naturalization examiner, St. Paul, Minnesota; "The public schools in the Philippine Islands and Hawaii" (illustrated), Hon. Clarence B. Miller, Representative in Congress.

Tuesday, July 11. — Address, Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy; "The schools of the United States Army," Lieut. E. Z. Steever, United States Army; address, Samuel Gompers, president of American Federation of Labor; "Americanizing a community" (illustrated), J. Henri Wagner, chief clerk Bureau of Naturalization; "Rural night schools for aliens in northern Minnesota," E. A. Freeman, district superintendent of schools, Grand Rapids, Minnesota; "Preparation for American citizenship and life," Hon. Philander P. Claxton, Commissioner United States Bureau of Education.

Wednesday, July 12. — "Methods of reaching and teaching illiterates," Mrs. Cora Wilson Stewart, president of Kentucky Illiteracy Commission, Frankfort, Kentucky; "Outdoor school work in Tacoma, Washington" (illustrated), Hon. Albert Johnson, Representative in Congress; discussion of textbooks by the convention; "An American in the making" (illustrated).

Thursday, July 13. — Selection, the Marine Band; "Civic preparedness and Americanization," J. M. Berkey, director of special schools and extension work, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; "Some of the problems of getting aliens into the night schools," W. M. Ragsdale, chief naturalization examiner, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; address, the President of the United States; selection, the Marine Band; "The immigrant in America" (illustrated); "What Portland, Oregon, is doing to Americanize foreigners," L. R. Alderman, superintendent of schools, Portland, Oregon; address, Hon. William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor.

Friday, July 14. — Address, Hon. Frederick L. Siddons, associate justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia: "The man he might have been" (illustrated); "What Boston is doing in immigrant education," M. J. Downey, assistant director evening and continuation schools, Boston, Massachusetts; "The business man's point of view," I. Walton Schmidt, Industrial Welfare Department, Board of Commerce, Detroit, Michigan; "The industrial plan of education in Wisconsin," Andrew H. Melville, member State conference board on industrial education and chief of the bureau of civic, commercial, and community development, University of Wisconsin Extension Division; "A résumé," Raymond F. Crist, Deputy Commissioner of Naturalization.

Saturday, July 15. — Miscellaneous.

This convention was the first of its kind ever held in the United States and was attended by a number of representative public school superintendents, principals, and teachers from various parts of the country. These members came from the cities and towns where the public schools are in coöperation with the Bureau of Naturalization in the preparation for citizenship of the candidates for that estate by naturalization. The convention was participated in also by

Government officials representing the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the Government and the staff of field officers of the Bureau of Naturalization, by whom speeches and addresses were made. At the opening of the convention, after referring to the initiation of this work as taking place since the organization of the Department of Labor and as one of its activities, the presiding officer stated the twofold object of the convention to be to consider the problems and advancement during the past year in the education of the candidate for citizenship by the public schools and to discuss the textbook for each candidate for citizenship who enters the public schools which the bureau has in course of preparation, in direct response to the calls upon it from the public schools of the country and the many organizations interested in Americanization work of these two governmental agencies. Space does not admit in this report setting forth the speeches, as they are to be printed in their entirety. It is most fitting, however, to give the following quotation from the forceful address of the President :

It is not fair to the great multitudes of hopeful men and women who press into this country from other countries that we should leave them without that friendly and intimate instruction which will enable them very soon after they come to find out what America is like at heart and what America is intended for among the nations of the world. I believe that the chief school that these people must attend after they get here is the school which all of us attend, which is furnished by the life of the communities in which we live and the nation to which we belong.

It is easy, my fellow-citizens, to communicate physical lessons, but it is very difficult to communicate spiritual lessons. America was intended to be a spirit among the nations of the world, and it is the purpose of conferences like this to find out the best way to introduce the newcomers to this spirit, and by that very interest in them to enhance and purify in ourselves the thing that ought to make America great, and not only ought to make her great, but ought to make her exhibit a spirit unlike any other nation in the world.

So my interest in this movement is as much an interest in ourselves as in those whom we are trying to Americanize, because if we are genuine Americans they cannot avoid the infection ; whereas if we are not genuine Americans there will be nothing to infect them with, and no amount of teaching, no amount of exposition of the Constitution — which I find very few persons understand — no amount of dwelling upon the idea of liberty and of justice will accomplish the object we have in view, unless we ourselves illustrate the idea of justice and of liberty.

This was the crowning event of the year and of the two and one half years of preparation leading to the achievement of the unification of the State public schools with the Federal Government. It is hoped that this citizenship convention may be the first of a

series where annually the feast of reason may be partaken with profit by an increasing number and mark a steady annual development toward the national standardization of the subject matter and method of instruction, the broadening of the potentiality of effort, a drawing closer together of the candidates for citizenship with the prospective candidates for citizenship and the public schools of the country in this nation-wide Americanizing undertaking. Out of this closer contact the bureau entertains the great hope that the door of the public schoolhouses will be maintained open throughout the year for the instruction of these millions, as it either must furnish their names monthly to the public schools with unfailing regularity or see many thousands denied during the period when the schoolhouses are closed. None should be denied this opportunity, but all, regardless of age, should be induced to undertake the course of instruction leading at least to the ability to speak in our tongue. Regardless of age illiterates in their own tongue and with no knowledge of ours, though upwards of 50 years of age, both men and women, have, within the short period of a twelvemonth, been equipped with a creditable mastery of American English through the educational agencies which this country affords.

APPRECIATION

The bureau desires to extend its heartiest thanks and appreciation to the many organizations which have lent such unselfish, unstinted, and patriotic aid in the various localities in implanting this national work of elevating the standard of citizenship. The local press in every community appeared to perceive the great advantage of this governmental aid to their public schools, as shown by the most liberal attention in their columns given to the opening of these schools and to the patriotic favorable editorial notices of the subject from time to time. Unquestionably the daily and weekly periodicals had much to do with arousing a wide interest in their communities and throughout the territory of their circulation. Especial praise is extended to the newspapers of the smaller cities and towns and the more rural communities. The metropolitan press was no less pronounced in its support, but in these centers of population its influence was not so readily discernible. The field officers of the bureau and the personnel in the bureau engaged in this work have prosecuted it with an interest and enthusiasm which insures complete ultimate success. By all of these participating in this work of humanity, as they have for years, the necessity for this instruction of our prospective citizens was most pronouncedly felt. It has been

only through their persistent, loyal, intelligent, and patriotic efforts that this great Americanizing force, once perceived, was made possible of being set into motion and being brought to a definite reality. By their personal contact and correspondence with the public they have started up interest on the part of the school authorities, commercial organizations, the press, churches, the resident alien body, and the native citizenry to such an extent that the highest achievements possible have crowned their efforts during this one brief year of combined effort.

The greatest evidences of unselfish patriotism have been demonstrated by those primarily interested in the educational organizations of a private nature in the relinquishment of their desires to engage, or to continue to engage, in pursuit of this work independently of the public schools. In one of the most active of these organizations expressions have been made by those immediately engaged in citizenship instruction of a willingness not only to see the work taken over entirely by the public schools but to lend their aid to its accomplishment.

NEW LEGISLATION

As the bureau has gained in experience, its belief in the efficacy or desirability of further legislative action upon the rule for the naturalization of aliens has diminished. The law as it stands in a large measure has justified itself, in actual practice, as wisely conceived. The chief obstructions to its successful operation, apart from administrative features, have been the special enactments made from time to time to meet exceptional cases of assumed hardship to aliens who otherwise would be barred from citizenship or delayed in securing it except at the sacrifice of their personal convenience to a greater or less extent. Such special legislation, even when carefully prepared, is too much the subject of hasty amendment during the process of consideration in the committees or on the floor of the two Houses of Congress to be regarded as a desirable means of perfecting the law.

If there is any exception to this view, it would be the enactment of a law making the establishment of every alien's individual fitness, whether seeking citizenship directly or obtaining derivatively through a naturalized parent, a prerequisite to full participation in the rights of American citizenship. Upon this point the bureau can only advert to what has been said repeatedly in its annual reports, where it called attention to the fact that even if such derivative citizens should be personally qualified, they neither have the chance to exercise their

own volition as to assuming our citizenship nor do they openly assume any of the obligations of allegiance to our laws and form of government.

There is, furthermore, the so-called dual-citizenship question to be considered, by which those who have been naturalized obtain a citizenship that ceases when they return to the country of their origin. A citizenship so limited is in conflict with the elementary principles of our form of government, which recognizes the inherent right of a human being, as of one born "free," to expatriate himself and freely choose the country of his allegiance.

This, of course, is not a matter that can be controlled by legislation, but is dependent upon international agreement, which it is urged should again be inaugurated by negotiation with those countries with which, as yet, the United States has not effected satisfactory treaty settlement of this point.

NATIONAL AMERICANIZATION CONFERENCE

DIGEST OF PROGRAM ADDRESSES MADE BEFORE CONFERENCE OF
AMERICANIZATION SPECIALISTS AND WORKERS HELD IN WASHING-
TON, MAY 12-15, 1919

PURPOSES OF THE CONFERENCE

FRED C. BUTLER, DIRECTOR OF AMERICANIZATION

WE NOW find ourselves facing the future with a nation fully aroused to the importance of a real Americanization and eager to undertake the work. Calls are now coming to the Americanization Division saying, "We are ready for work. Just how shall we go about it?" It was to answer this question that this conference was called. No man is wise enough to lay out a program for Americanization and set forth the exact ways in which this great task can be done. We felt that this must come out of the valuable lessons you men and women have learned who have been doing this work for many years past.

The opinions crystallized here will be made the basis of our plans and subjects for special bulletins. The proceedings may possibly be issued in full and made available to you at once for such help as you can get from them.

The war has left us no greater task than that of bringing into full fellowship those who among us were born in other lands. That this must be done sympathetically and with a broad and tolerant understanding goes without saying. It is everywhere recognized that any real program of Americanization must take into consideration the shortcomings of us of native birth if we are to build a true and enduring democracy. We can succeed only if we approach our task with hearts beating in sympathy with the needs of our fellow-men, with a vision unclouded by the hates and passions of war, "with charity toward all and malice toward none." Unless we are ourselves convinced that these people from other lands are desirable, potential Americans, that we need them here, that they come not with empty hands but with arts, crafts, sciences, music, and ideals which will add to the wealth of our common heritage, unless we feel that to us is given not so much a duty as a great opportunity, we shall fail. For ours is the first of all a human problem.

To those who gave up their hearthstones, their homeland, the ties of love and consanguinity, to begin life anew in a strange land, speaking a strange tongue, we are to interpret America.

✓ EDUCATION IN AMERICANIZATION

PHILANDER P. CLAXTON, COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION

Education is the fundamental thing in Americanization, and of the elements comprising this fundamental, the first is instruction in the English language. This tongue is the common means of expression — the literature, the statutes, State and national constitutions, the newspapers, the very signs of instruction and warning, being printed in English. Without a knowledge of the language no one can ever begin to know the American people and American ideals.

It is not a part of my duty here at this conference to indicate just how this should be done, but first it must be done for the children who come from other countries. We compel parents and guardians to send their children to school that the children may not be deprived of the opportunity offered by the State and that the State may not be cheated out of the product of good citizenship. We must require that the schools to which children are permitted to go in lieu of attendance on the public schools shall teach the things which the public schools are teaching. They shall all teach English. There is the problem of teaching the grown-up man and woman who have reached the age when it is not easy for them to learn a new language.

The second element of the fundamental is giving the newcomers a knowledge of this country. The growth of the United States has been dramatic and phenomenal. This is a story worth knowing, and in some way we must get it into the minds and hearts and into the ways of these people who have come from other shores that they may know what America means and that ideal of freedom for which we have been willing to fight.

These new people are coming now with much the same spirit that brought our earliest settlers to America, from the great middle classes as we are, all of us, and we have confidence in their ability and in the strength of their good right arms. In making them into Americans, we shall ourselves learn more of the spirit of America and broaden our own ideals and enrich our own material and æsthetic lives. It is in this spirit that we shall enter with your coöperation on this program of the education of the ten or twelve million people who need our help in this regard.

BEST TECHNICAL METHODS OF TEACHING ENGLISH TO THE FOREIGN-BORN

CHARLES F. TOWNE, DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRANT EDUCATION, MASSACHUSETTS

There is a natural tendency on the part of both teachers and pupils to rely on the printed page as the instrument by which to teach language.

Experience has demonstrated that this is a fallacy. Spoken language is not learned through the eye. Consequently our teaching procedure should place oral instruction and practice in speaking ahead of instruction in reading. Pupils should first be taught the meaning of the theme through the devices of action, gesture, play of features, inflection of the voice, together with the use of objects and pictures. They should learn to voice each sentence through imitation and repetition until they are able to repeat the complete theme or that portion of the theme that serves for the lesson. The teacher should then print or write the first sentence on the board, where there should be more drill in associating the symbols with the sounds and their meanings. The remaining sentence should also be treated in this way, and only after the pupils are able to understand and speak the complete theme and to read it from the board should they be permitted to practice reading from printed page.

A comprehensive, direct method emphasizes the use of language in understanding and speaking as the features of most practical value to the foreign-born. It aims to make English the language of the classroom because of its value in the training of the ear of the pupil. It holds to the sentence as the unit of thought and discounts the learning of disconnected word lists. By the arrangement of the sentences according to time sequence it assists the memory of the pupil, and by the orderly introduction of the variants it covers the field of grammar in practical fashion without resort to abstract rules and definitions. By concert work it relieves bashful pupils from embarrassment and keeps each one interested and alert. By separating the phonic drills from the reading period it maintains the continuity of the reading exercise. It can be used by any teacher with any class, and by thoroughness of organization it can be made effective in the hands of the inexperienced and relatively unskilled as well as in the hands of the well-trained and experienced. By choice of material every lesson may not only be made a lesson in English, but also a lesson in Americanization and so aid in advancing the pupil one more step along the road toward loyal American citizenship.

THE PHONOGRAPH IN AMERICANIZATION

W. A. WILLSON, EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT, COLUMBIA GRAPHOPHONE COMPANY

If we are to transform our foreign communities into American communities we must create in them and around them an American atmosphere. In the accomplishment of this the influence of the phonograph is second to none. We have in the phonograph a means of spreading American ideals and standards in every home. In connection with keeping vivid the impressions made upon the child of foreign-born parentage at the public school, the phonograph plays a real part, as the child accustomed to it at school will usually find a way to have the instrument brought into the home, where the process of making real Americans is continued.

The phonograph system of language instruction enables the student to learn the language in his home in spare moments and without the presence of a living teacher. A lesson may be reviewed a hundred times and correct pronunciation is mastered by hearing the teacher's voice repeat the sound again and again. The benefits to be conferred upon the non-English speaking population of the country through widespread introduction of this new method of teaching cannot be overestimated. This method not only gives ability to speak and understand a language through a trained organ of hearing and mind, but also gives ability to read and write, for while the student is listening to the English record he is also reading the sentences in his textbook and becoming familiar with the general structure of the language.

USING THE STEREOPTICON FOR TEACHING ENGLISH TO
THE FOREIGN-BORN

H. D. RICKARD, PUTNAM SCHOOL, SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

If a teacher could apply individual instruction methods to each pupil in a class of 40, all at the same time, his work is inexpensive, efficient, and practical. We try to keep all the pupils in the rooms working all the time instead of working with one individual out of a class of 40, by the use of the stereopticon slide. It has been found that three fourths of the foreign-born who begin the study of English need objective work at the start. The slides take the place of the real object, such as the table, the door, or the girl, and provide the connecting link between the written word and the object.

As a device for keeping up the interest, the stereopticon has unlimited possibilities. It affords a rest period both from the glare of the room lights and the pupils' posture. From an economical standpoint it would be cheaper to use the slide all the time the lesson is going on, for when the one bulb in the lantern is burning the other dozen are not; and instead of being scattered, the attention of the entire class is concentrated upon the slide.

It seems to me that a very economical use of public money could be made in preparing a series of slides suitable for Americanization work and then loan them to the schools having such classes. Then, if a book could be prepared to be put in the hands of the pupils with illustrations and lessons, numbered to correspond with the lessons on the slides, the work would be put on a convenient, compact, and permanent basis for review and future reference. Civil government could be taught in this way, too.

USING PERIODICALS IN SCHOOLS

WILLIAM McANDREWS, ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
NEW YORK CITY

What changed 13 colonies from British people to the American Nation? If you will look back into history you will see that the means used to arouse the country was the periodical press. If this was the means effective in 1760 and in 1860, it bids fair to be the means used in 1960, and will be the channel through which ideals and ideas of Americanism are to be spread and perpetuated.

Last week, in response to an inquiry addressed to 246 school superintendents as to what they were doing to take advantage of the great awakening that has come from the war, it was learned that 226 of them are using periodical literature as a school exercise. This 91 per cent use the periodicals for 1 period a week. In view of the fact that they have from 19 to 25 periods of other studies, 5 periods devoted to Latin and 5 periods devoted to algebra, this is a small percentage of time allotted for such work. Can you tell me any subject which, minute for minute, is more productive of thought in regard to the problems of Americanism than the study of the problems as they are presented by the weekly textbooks which everybody out of school is using?

When the magazine comes in I do not hold it and prepare a lesson, but everybody takes his lesson home and spends an hour reading articles of his own selection preparatory to discussing them in class

next day. The pupil is then in the position of being ready to serve those who have not read those particular articles, with what knowledge he has gained and his own opinions.

REORGANIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES FOR AMERICANIZATION

F. V. THOMPSON, SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

I want to begin by emphasizing the thing which I wish to conclude with, namely, that we need more adequate legislation and increased funds. We might just as well cease talking about the problem of Americanization unless we are disposed to face this issue. This period of stimulation, general interest and propaganda needs to be capitalized now before reaction sets in.

Education for citizenship is a public matter. It is undignified for a great nation or a great State to depend upon private enterprise for this most important matter before the Nation. Knowing as I do from my experience with night schools, the limitations of the evening schools, I would like to set up an institution to be known as a daytime immigrant school. It would be a sort of holding corporation for the various devices which our recent experience has shown are proper and effective. It would have an organization set up for full-time performance with a director and expert at the head of it. It can be the parent school for the factory-class teacher — and I am one who believes the factory class should be under the supervision of the public school system. There would be evening classes for those who wished them, also.

In this problem of education there are three partners, the nation, the State, and the community. Each should bear the expense equally. The community has to operate the scheme, the State coöperating with it, and the nation coöperating with the State. In none of our communities where public moneys are being expended for evening-school instruction — using that term as synonymous with Americanization — is the amount expended more than 1 per cent of the school budget. We are spending in less than half of the communities, less than 1 per cent of the public moneys for the immigrant at this moment. The education of immigrants has been thrown consequently into all sorts of private agencies, all of them well meaning and some of them very dangerous from the viewpoint of public expediency.

THE SOCIAL UNIT EXPERIMENT

WILBUR C. PHILLIPS, EXECUTIVE, SOCIAL UNIT ORGANIZATION, CINCINNATI,
OHIO

The Social Unit experiment is being carried out in Cincinnati because that city was successful out of 16 which competed with each other, in offering the most hearty backing and support for the idea of socializing a community. It is staged in a district of 15,000 people, which of several competing districts evinced the most sincere interest. About 3200 people and 26 organizations signed the petition to the National Social Unit organization to enter the district. An organization of 205 local people, who had banded together of their own initiative, undertook the organization extension. In each of the 31 blocks composing the district, a temporary committee of citizens was named with a temporary block executive having about 100 families in charge.

This year, in January, these temporary appointees were duly elected on the preferential ballot system. These block executives, who are mainly women because they have the daytime in which to become acquainted with their blocks, make up the popular chamber of the neighborhood legislature. We have a skilled chamber which is made up of representatives of the occupational groups. All occupations have not been organized, the experiments having been made with the doctors, nurses, and professional men. The 31 executives from the blocks have elected an executive of their own and they in turn represent 31 block councils. The nine skilled executives have elected an executive of their own. One of the features of this plan is the responsible executive, there being three who make a sort of commission form of government. The job of the executive is to keep in close accord with members of his committee, getting their viewpoints and opinions and after a program is once decided upon, setting to work to execute it.

INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION

MRS. J. E. OWEN PHILLIPS, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, KALAMAZOO,
MICHIGAN

Kalamazoo's plan as it is being broadened from the local industries to the whole community is purely a tentative one, an experiment in fact. We do not know whether or not it is going to succeed, for we find that the great educational process of Americanization is needed

for the manufacturer, for the employer, and for the citizens as a whole, as well as for the foreign-born worker. We wish to draw all of these together in a wide educational propaganda.

Some few months ago a group of manufacturers in the chamber of commerce at Kalamazoo decided to try to work out a plan along democratic American lines to make the people realize that in this country we are all brothers in a practical, definite way. My husband and I went up there to put into practice a plan we had thought out for such a purpose. We formed in each of the 10 factories a good-fellowship league, with a shop committee in each one of them. These are composed of seven persons of both sexes and were to be the point of contact between the central Good-Fellowship League and the individual factories. They were elected by the workers and represented the managerial end as well as the workers' element. We are hoping to form a central industrial board in Kalamazoo and to include on it representatives of the general public, because in the industrial troubles the public is the sufferer. Efficiency talks have been given at the weekly factory meeting. We have used the auditorium in the chamber of commerce for activities and we have had dances, smokes, and gatherings of all kinds. We now have a shop paper, which has grown rapidly.

COORDINATING A COMMUNITY

MRS. MARGARET LONG, NATIONAL CATHOLIC WAR COUNCIL

Can a modern American city suffering from the grave maladies normally induced by sudden and critical industrial expansion and congestion outgrow its growing pains and recover robust health? If coördination of all the forces within the command of a sick community is a remedy in one city suffering as East St. Louis has suffered, it should prove a remedy in most if not all cities.

The first field selected by the Federal Government as a demonstration project of the force of concentrated effort in the big drive for higher citizenship was East St. Louis. It was chosen because overnight it sprang from a normal city into a great industrial center with peoples pouring in from every section of this country and Europe.

The key to the coördination plan is the War Civics Committee. It was originally headed up in the community organization branch of the Industrial Service Section of the Ordnance Department. It is now headed in the office of Dean Keppel, Third Assistant Secretary of War, with joint responsibility to Fred C. Butler, Director of

Americanization, Bureau of Education. A paid staff of workers and specialists execute the plans; and the committee counts for counsel on a general committee of 50, an executive committee of 9, and subcommittees chosen from local representative men and women who give a great amount of volunteer service. The total membership of the subcommittee is about 300.

The function of the Civic Committee is to be compared with that of a central planning division in a business concern. It promotes, stimulates, develops, and coördinates social agencies. A fund of \$184,000 was subscribed by the industries and businesses of the city to cover overhead expenses for three years.

TRAINED TEACHERS GREATEST NEED

W. C. SMITH, STATE SUPERVISOR OF IMMIGRANT EDUCATION FOR
NEW YORK

Americanization's supreme task in the field of education is the raising up of a body of trained teachers and workers who know the needs of the foreign-born students and how to meet these needs in method, technique, and measurable results. Until the State and Nation places the work of properly trained teachers upon such a professional basis that it will command sufficient financial returns to induce the gifted to enter the work the results must suffer.

Any course for the training of teachers for English must furnish to the worker:

1. A background of the histories, causes of immigration, distribution in this country, and effect on Americans of the foreign-born people.
2. Actual contact with the foreign-born student or some other effective means for gaining a sympathetic attitude.
3. Latest information concerning best methods and texts available from Americanization workers everywhere.
4. Formation of a workable program.
5. Comparison of texts as to various points of strength and weakness.
6. Knowledge of the immigrants' needs in civics and citizenship.

The New York State policy of trained teachers was enacted into law in 1918, and courses embodying the points maintained in this paper were carried on in various parts of the State, training 2700 teachers at a cost of about \$20,000. About 60 per cent of these courses were made up of teachers engaged in the work and the remaining were volunteers and social workers. Thirty hours' work was required; credits and preferences were given by many cities, notably New York,

Rochester, Syracuse, and Buffalo. Definite research on a wide range of subjects, from the problems of the evening school to a comparative study of the alien woman in America, was required, and an examination on the covered subjects given at the close.

TRAINING TEACHERS FOR THE INDUSTRIES

C. C. DE WITT, FORD MOTOR COMPANY, DETROIT, MICHIGAN

When industries wake up to the fact that their plants are full of potential teachers and are willing to give recognition to their talent then our Americanization problem will practically have been solved, for it takes only a short time to teach the American language with a broad knowledge of civil government, which is one of the many by-products given with a well-outlined course. I most vigorously hold to the principle of a laid-down course and the teacher trained to follow it. There are several advantages in using the industrial teacher because teacher and student have so many things in common. He works for the same employer, the same hours, and has the same environment. Then, too, he comes in contact with his students in the shop when the class is not in session.

Once industry discovers how easy it is, every plant in the country will have its Americanization school, furnished with its own equipment and taught by leaders found under the roof of its own concern. The Ford English School uses the volunteer teacher system, and I have found that it is not necessary to have such teachers work overtime. They can be taken from their place of work at regular periods for classes, thus giving them a change and raising their prestige with the departments. These teachers are recruited from men who are natural-born leaders of other men, and they are trained in Americanization before being assigned to a class.

TRAINING PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS FOR THE WORK

JOHN J. MAHONEY, STATE NORMAL COLLEGE, LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS

About six months ago the Americanization study of the Carnegie Foundation found that only 34 per cent of all teachers in Americanization work were trained and that 78 per cent of this number were in New England States. This did not include cities such as New York, Boston, Cleveland, and Buffalo, who did not report in the questionnaire, and 75 per cent of these superintendents who replied expressed a preference for properly trained teachers.

We are barely beginning to break ground in the important task of training teachers for Americanization work as a life vocation or the retraining of public school instructors for this work. Generally speaking, normal schools which train for all work below the high school grades are not yet training teachers for Americanization work. The situation is improving, but considering the size of the task, our attempts to prepare for it through teacher training are as yet pitifully inadequate. There is grave danger that some of the institutions will offer courses conducted by people who never taught immigrants or had first-hand contact with them. No teacher can be a first-class instructor without that knowledge. Sociology, with all its connections, should be a part of the training of Americanization teachers, for this work is a highly specialized one.

The most important thought that I can give you here is that persons training to be Americanization teachers should have a course of lectures, reports, and discussions intended to put Americanism into Americanization. Teachers must know the social, political, and industrial aspects of American democracy before they can aid others to become real Americans, and in my experience all teachers did not give evidence of knowing these things. They must understand that this is a Government of the people, by the people, for the people; that this country has no aristocracy save that of worth and fineness of spirit; and that the doctrine of the economic "square deal" points the way to the enduring happiness of society as a whole.

USING THE SCHOOLS AT SCRANTON

S. E. WEBER, SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, SCRANTON, PENNSYLVANIA

Scranton conducted a survey of its local non-English-speaking industrial workers and learned that 6 out of every 10 of these men had made no attempt to become citizens, that more than 70 per cent of this unnaturalized element had been in this country for 12 years, and that over one half of them were wholly illiterate in any language. In view of this situation the board of education gave the superintendent of schools full authority to open as many classes as the demand warranted. Every coal operator and mine superintendent in the district was invited to coöperate and every employer of non-English-speaking labor did so. Classes were begun at once, and after the men are once enrolled, the question of holding their interests rests jointly on the school authorities and the employer. An entrance fee of \$1 is charged each man, this being refunded if he attends 70 per cent of the session.

Our teachers are carefully selected from our regular teaching force and are kept on the job as long as they demonstrate their ability to hold their students. Employers take cognizance of the efforts of their employees to study. Classes were opened for the women, and active assistance has been given by the Catholic priests.

TRAINING HOME TEACHERS

MISS HARRIET P. DOW, YORKVILLE NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK CITY

Much must be made over the work that individuals can do in Americanization through volunteer service, because just now work in the homes of foreign-born women is altogether an individual effort. Club women throughout the land who are busy making up their programs for the next winter's study can be urged to put into these programs more of the vital need of women to work with foreign women until they feel the appeal and volunteer to do it. Having recruited volunteers, how will we train them? We should train them through definite instruction. They should be taught all the materials at hand available for use in their work in the homes, and this can best be taught by people who have traveled the road before.

These instructors need to know the environment of the foreign people among whom they are to send the volunteers. They need to know more of the foreign-born woman's church, more of the practical help that the foreign-born man can give to the work. The foreign store where the woman trades is one of the greatest sources of help in knowing the real foreign situation. The doctors and nurses have the straight road to the foreign-born woman's heart. There should ever be an attitude of trying to get the foreign woman's viewpoint. We have all heard of the woman who sewed on her children's underwear in the fall and did not take them off until spring. But did we stop to think that coming from Italy, this woman did the most natural thing she could think of to protect the bodies of her children against what to her is an unusually rigorous winter? Every worker should be required to make one actual contact with a foreign-born woman before she is qualified to be a home teacher, and she should make this through her own efforts.

USING THE SCHOOLHOUSES

H. H. GOLDBERGER, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK CITY

Only by living with Americans, by establishing a variety of contacts — social, industrial, economic, and political — can the foreigner become Americanized. Such contacts may easily be established in the school. Night schools can become efficient community centers, laboratories for mixing the various elements of the citizenship.

Instead of teaching civics as it has in the past, the school may put these principles into practice by organizing democratic groups whereby the foreign-born man knows first-hand what constitutes democratic organization.

One result of the socializing of the school is the discovery through experience, rather than by the imagination of the teacher, what instruction in the English language is needed by the foreign-born pupils under his natural living conditions, outside the artificial status of the schoolroom. I wish to emphasize that social work of all kinds appeals to me not so much because of its attractiveness and advertising value but because of the new incentive it gives to the students to learn the language more adequately. In one New York City school, where such socializing has gone forward, the school found, after trying the idea, that the number of classes at the close of the school year for the first time in its history was larger than when the fall session had opened. So popular have these extra school activities become among the foreign-born that, I understand, participation in them is restricted to those who are enrolled also in the English classes.

PROMOTION OF EDUCATION IN INDUSTRY

W. M. ROBERTS, ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, CHICAGO

If the employers representing the dominant industries in any industrial city remain indifferent as to whether or not the foreign-born men in their employ know the English language, it requires extraordinary effort on the part of other agencies of the community to get them started to learning English. The experiences growing out of the war have shown that the foreign-born men would like to be called Americans; that they would prefer to speak English in the shop and on the street, and that they have not learned largely because it was not required of them in the factory, was not necessary at home, and they could get all the news they wanted out of the foreign

language newspaper. If an opportunity is given them to learn the language during the day, they usually accept it with much satisfaction, particularly the man who is too indifferent to go to evening school.

I am convinced that the vigorous community "drive," with its great publicity and reflection by implication upon the foreign-born, is not the way to begin such a work. A better way is to have one or more industry begin quietly and quite as a matter between the management and the employees. One forceful personality or a small working committee engaged in "selling" this proposition to one establishment after another is to be preferred to a regiment of copy writers and speakers. If the quiet method does not bring results, there may be need for a drive and much jumping on those who are blocking the game. One detail should be emphasized — there must be some one delegated by the factory management to see that all obligations assumed by the plant are fully carried out and that this person is always on the job.

EDUCATION FOR THE RURAL FOREIGN-BORN

PETER A. SPEEK, SLAVIC SECTION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Education for the adult foreign-born settler in the rural sections of the country should be extended through home teachers, especially trained and equipped for the work. High schools and colleges should specifically train their immigrant girl students to become teachers in the colonies of their respective nationalities that the immigrant women might be reached.

The problem of education is acutest in the large colonies of immigrant settlers, especially in the States where the foreign-born settlers, including the un-Americanized third and fourth generations, constitute a large majority of the rural population. In many of these, entire populations of foreign-born of the same nationality elect their own local public officials, put up their own country towns, with their own bankers, newspapers, and schools. From these places came a considerable number of the American-born drafted men who could not write, speak, or even understand English.

Schools must be consolidated, school administration must be bettered, and the rural course must give the children of the farmer practical education. Rural school teachers, who show qualifications for this Americanization work, must be adequately paid throughout the calendar year. A pension for old age and health and accident insurance are calculated to win a more contented body of teachers,

At the schoolhouses, teacherages must be established with small experimental farms for the family of the teacher.

The school year must be changed to meet the calendar year as one means of increasing attendance at the rural school. Short vacations could be given during the special farming seasons, the work the children do for their parents at that time being considered part of their school curriculum.

EDUCATION IN THE LUMBER CAMPS

FRED H. RINDGE, JR., INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE, Y. M. C. A., NEW YORK CITY

As we Y. M. C. A. men have gone about the country from one lumber camp to another it has been increasingly evident that educational Americanization, religious and social agencies ought to greatly extend their service in coöperation with both employers and employees. During the war the Y. M. C. A. served over 200 of the 300 camps of spruce loggers who were getting out spruce for aëroplanes in Washington, Oregon, and California. About 30,000 soldiers and 110,000 civilians were engaged in the spruce-production division.

Any program for meeting the educational needs among loggers and lumbermen should embrace classes in English for foreign-born and illiterates, entertainment features, physical hygiene, instruction in thrift, and opportunities for the personal human touch in character building. It is important that the students in forestry and engineering schools of the country should be reached with fundamental Americanization principles, for in their hands will largely lie the future course of such work in the camps. They should hear lectures on the human problem of the lumber camp and should be given the chance, as undergraduates, to work and serve in the lumber camps during the summer, at any rate, for their actual contact. They should be encouraged to volunteer during their college course to teach foreign-born students the English language, that they may know some of the difficulties the newcomer has with the language.

AMERICANIZATION METHODS IN INDUSTRY OTHER THAN
EDUCATIONE. E. BACH, AMERICANIZATION BUREAU, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA¹

Americanization in industry is an attempt to restore the old-time relationship which once existed between an employer and an employee before industrial life became so complex. Satisfactory working conditions are among the most potent factors in the building of Americans. Without word or action the employer thus shows that his workmen mean more to him than so much man power. Pure air, good light, pure drinking water, ample washing facilities, sanitary conditions, safety, first aid, hospital facilities, workmen's relief funds, and co-operative activities of whatever sort are all available for Americanizing the foreign-born employee. When industry once fully appreciates its responsibility for providing the American standard of living as being obligatory upon it, then the workmen will be given comfortable homes, wholesome milk, sanitary conditions, ample gardens, recreation and church facilities.

Another effective method of Americanization is a protection of the workmen against exploitation. Possibly the most important industrial phase in this process of Americanization as touching the workman is the American or un-American attitude of his foreman. As the personal contact is such an important element in teaching the foreign-born those things which we value in America, this is a very vital point in industrial life. The employment manager can give the foreign-born applicant a favorable or unfavorable impression of the industry by the kind of treatment he accords him at the time of seeking a job.

AMERICANIZATION THROUGH INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT

WILLIAM LAMKIE, INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS SERVICE NEW YORK CITY

An Americanization standard of living cannot be maintained among foreign-born workers until a minimum wage based on the requirements of modern civilization be established. We must have health and employment insurance, old-age pensions, child-labor laws, and the regulation of employment to safeguard the future motherhood and protect the rights of these mothers. Up to the present we have approached the foreign-born through his physical forces and we have neglected to appraise and utilize his spiritual faculties. After all, the employees of an establishment are its best customers and only by

¹ Presented by F. H. Cody, assistant superintendent of schools, Detroit, Michigan.

stimulating the desires of the foreign-born workman for the better things of life, through advertising and other means, will industry find a market for its greatest production.

To make the employment service an Americanizing force there must be a better means for distributing the alien workers who usually settle in the congested centers of ports of entry. There must be labor exchanges performing for labor the service the Federal reserve banks render the money market. The vestibule school idea developed during the war offers one of the greatest incentives for the Americanization of the foreign-born worker as it enables him to break into the class of skilled labor. The foreign-born worker who becomes Americanized should receive a higher wage than one who has not, and the wage scale should be graduated to cover each step in the process of citizenship.

English and citizenship can best be taught the foreign-born workman by his fellow-workmen, the study following the routine of the day's work and pay.

RELATION OF AMERICANIZATION TO SAFETY IN INDUSTRIES

JOHN A. OARTEL, CARNEGIE STEEL COMPANY, PITTSBURGH

I sometimes wonder if we Americans who have been accustomed to our environment all our lives can appreciate the mental attitude of the foreign-born workman in our industries. The man from any of the countries of southern Europe has been transported within a few weeks from the quiet life of a country village, where the hazard to life and limb is unknown, to the busy life of the mill or factory. Shifting locomotives, molten metal, and moving machinery confront him at every turn. Is there any wonder he sometimes becomes confused and pays the price with his life or limb?

We as Americans are becoming awakened to the fact that it is not right that 30,000 lives should be sacrificed annually and 100,000 maimed workmen should be the by-product of American industry. The words trade risk will no more suffice as a reason for the taking of a life. We are looking to you who are fostering this Americanism project to furnish us the means by which we can get the message of safety to our workmen. With the understanding of our language and an appreciation of our ideals, he will be led and taught to observe that personal thoughtfulness and carefulness of his own safety which we feel is the only thing lacking to-day.

INDUSTRIAL HEALTH

BERNARD J. NEWMAN, SANITARIAN, UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Numerous as are the losses through accidents due to ignorance of hazards and inability to understand English, they are but a minor percentage of the losses of man power in industry resulting from sickness due to preventable causes. It matters not whether the foreign-born come to these shores in search of gold or personal liberty or to escape from Old World autocracies, if the grind into which they are thrown turns their days into prolonged toil and subjects them to undue exposure they will lack the leisure and strength to cultivate Americanism. Such hazards as are present in industry can be removed by the simple program of plant hygiene, personal hygiene, and the engineering and medical skill and organization that necessarily attends both. Managers of industry do not deliberately want to maintain conditions which thus bear heavily on their employees. The great difficulty has been the definite lack of knowledge of the hazards and the means to keep them under control.

Industry should study the two fields fruitful of hazards to her workers — the industrial plant and the industrial zone surrounding such a plant. It is in this latter field that more self-evident causes of diseases commonly known can be found and against which prophylactic measures may readily be adopted. In this zone the responsibility is a dual one, resting alike on the community and the plant management. No plant should be allowed to operate which does not have some form of organization for medical and surgical care. It does not follow that such organization should be uniform, as different conditions call for different forms of organization.

INDUSTRIAL RECREATION AND AMERICANIZATION

A. W. COFFIN, WAR CIVICS COMMITTEE, EAST ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS

One of the greatest needs of the foreign-born industrial workers is not a plaything but a playfellow. The Human Engineer has just recently been recognized by employers as a necessary adjunct of plant organization. Too often the superintendent, the foreman, the employer, and the native-born workman miss a great opportunity to be the foreign-born workman's hero or his general or corporal instead of his taskmaster, through neglect to form a playfellowship with the newcomer.

The program of recreational activities of any plant must be the result of fostered growth, this being particularly true where the foreign-born employee is present in the majority. The director of these play times becomes at once a chemist, bringing together the best contributions from many nationalities and throwing out the slag and dross.

I would suggest that the first step toward planning to give the foreign employee directed recreation is to ascertain what nationalities are represented in the working personnel. If the Italians are present, provide some baccio balls and see what happens. If the Slavs are enrolled, make some parallel bars, and watch who uses them most during the noon hour. If there are English, Scotchmen, or Canadians to be considered, have facilities for soccer and cricket.

For longer periods of time than the noon hour, there are the field sports, track meets, and organized hikes. Music will always find an immediate response from the foreign-born man or woman as a source of recreation. Teaching domestic science and home making to the foreign-born woman and girl in industry as part of the industrial recreational program cannot be overlooked by any company. A majority of these girls will marry men of their own race in the company's employ. Properly selected food, a cheerful home, intelligent care of the children, and knowledge of thrift are fundamentals of these men's efficiency.

✓ SECURING INTEREST OF RACIAL ORGANIZATIONS

FELIX J. STREYCKMANS, FOREIGN LANGUAGE DIVISION, LIBERTY LOAN,
CHICAGO

In the fourth Liberty loan, the Chicago district led in the percentage of the population that subscribed. The average percentage of population subscribing in the United States was 21.9 — in Chicago proper, it was over 43 per cent, or double that of the country as a whole.

In local communities, where only one or two racial groups exist, they should be made a part of the community Americanization committee, and when so recognized, they will, as volunteers, do all the work that is asked of them.

The success of our organization depended upon the fact that it recognized only two classes of citizens — there were no German-Americans, or French-Americans, or Italian-Americans — there were only the loyal and the disloyal. Every one strove to be in the loyal class. The place of one's birth is no guaranty of one's loyalty. No distinction was made between people who sprang from enemy, neutral,

or allied countries. It was found that love of country could be and was expressed in the 33 different tongues that were spoken by the members of the organization. The American of German descent vied with the others to show his patriotism, and some of the members of German extraction were the hardest workers.

Let us hope that the work done by the foreign-born among the foreign-born during the pendency of the war will be carried on after the dawn of peace. But in order to do this, the American-born and the foreign-born, capital and labor, the society leaders and those in the lowlier walks of life, must join hands with the same democratic spirit which they displayed while the great world's conflict was raging.

✓ COÖPERATION OF FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS

HARRY LIPSKY, DAILY JEWISH COURIER, CHICAGO

For all purposes, the foreign-language press is the one sympathetic, intelligent, and trusted medium through which the foreign-born, old and young, may be approached and through which the Americanization work can best be carried on. Official recognition of these facts by the proper governmental agency will hearten the foreign-language press and give it renewed faith in our country and its institutions, while silencing forever the attack made upon it and secure it against the threats of annihilation.

The Government should have a news service instituted for the special purpose of conveying to the foreign-language press such news as may be of special interest to the foreign-language press readers. This press must be given the opportunity to coöperate with the Government, being invited to assist, on a basis of equality, those agencies engaged in Americanization.

The most important point of all to remember is that most foreign-language communities are no longer large inarticulate masses of human beings, but are organized to carry on propaganda through press, pulpit, and pamphlet. So the press cannot go at the matter of Americanization in the spirit of adventure, just hitting about blindly at what may be considered un-American attitudes or disloyal propaganda. Campaigns that tell us of the advantages of becoming citizens or of learning English or acquiring the American "social graces" can be carried on with good results.

SECURING COÖPERATION OF FOREIGN-BORN PEOPLE: FROM VIEWPOINT OF THE FOREIGN-BORN

ALBERT MAMATY, SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA, PITTSBURGH,
PENNSYLVANIA

That indifference and contempt which native Americans have evinced in the past years toward the foreign-born newcomer should be replaced by sympathy and active interest if this country is to become the great homogeneous nation we all hope it will be. This sympathy can be awakened only by a greater knowledge concerning these various races immigrating to this country, for they, too, have their glorious history, their patriotic struggles, and their great men of literature, art, science, and every line of human endeavor.

Until recently the foreign-born woman has been an almost entirely neglected factor in American civilization. Think of the millions of boys and girls these women are bringing up and who will be part of the next generation of American citizens, and think of how these women are given any place in the development of American communities. American-born women can do much to educate public sentiment, through their organizations, to remedy this, to influence boards of health, housing, and other municipal effort to give attention to this defect.

Workers in the Americanization movement must realize that they cannot hasten the change they wish in the foreign-born. A man or woman born in Europe cannot ever be completely transformed into just the American the native-born is found to be. But it is unnecessary to hasten the process. Natural evolution will do the work and the transformation will be complete in the second generation.

SECURING COÖPERATION OF FOREIGN-BORN PEOPLE: FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE NATIVE-BORN

NATHAN PEYSER, EDUCATIONAL ALLIANCE, NEW YORK CITY

If the whole-hearted and dynamic interest of the immigrant population is to be gained, our aim must be held sharply in view and a rational approach made. What should be particularly appreciated is the injurious effect upon possible coöperation liable to be made by the point of view that the foreign-born element in the United States is a menace. We cannot hope to have the loyalty and support of an individual upon whom we are continually casting animadversions

and whose inner worth we are ever aspersing. The immigrant group is an asset and a promise for the future. The newcomer is not to be looked on with distrust and suspicion as a possible criminal, but rather as our guest. He remains our guest during good behavior until he becomes a citizen and then he becomes one of us. As both guest and citizen, he is a member of the community and should be protected against unjust attacks.

The gaining of coöperation depends upon the securing of interest in the thing to be achieved. Unless this motive be developed, the active participation of the foreign-born in Americanization need not be expected. Give the foreign-born the opportunity to learn English. There are more communities without facilities for this than there are municipalities having them. Do not attack his native tongue and compel him to sacrifice his individuality or his wages to gain this knowledge. Do not keep him from contact with those who speak English. Show him the best side of citizenship. The community movement looms large as an excellent device for democratic co-operative action.

THE FOREIGN-BORN AND AMERICA

HERBERT A. MILLER, OBERLIN COLLEGE, OBERLIN, OHIO

The immigrant has instincts and emotions common to all mankind, with limitations and prejudices such as all people have. By studying ourselves carefully we can explain many problems of the alien.

Each nationality is absolutely unique. The common language, common geographical origin, and common religion have developed characteristics that are persistent and definite. However much alike these traits may seem to an outsider, in the consciousness of each group they are most highly differentiated.

Far more than is generally appreciated, the immigrant has come here to get free from political, religious, and cultural oppression. It is not without significance that practically no Roumanians or Serbs come here from Roumania or Serbia, but from Austria-Hungary. Most of the recent immigrants have lived where the ruling power was trying to kill the national individuality of its subject peoples.

The most outstanding contribution of the immigrant to America is the object lesson in political science he presents in every industrial city of the country, an illustration of the history and results of European oppression.

Understanding of these forces is the first need of the immigrant America must reach. There will be a hold over of psychosis until

long after the European cause is removed, and America must act as a physician seeking to heal the wounds for which she has no responsibility.

The peace conference is the best Americanization agency. The foreign-born will never forget the land of his birth so long as injustice prevails there; he will always be longing to help those of his racial brothers left behind.

NATURALIZATION'S PART IN THE MOVEMENT

RAYMOND F. CRIST, DIRECTOR OF CITIZENSHIP, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

At the present time those of foreign birth represent about 17,000,000 of our population. Approximately 4,000,000 of these 17,000,000 have come into contact with the Federal Government through the Bureau of Naturalization of the Department of Labor. With the increase in the public attention in the general subject of Americanization there has been an increase in the number of foreigners who are applying for citizenship. In the fiscal year 1910 there were 222,264 applicants for first and second papers. In 1913 there were 276,818 applicants.

In 1915 there were 354,132 applicants. In 1917 there were 571,068, while in 1918 there were 509,478. In the present fiscal year, commencing July 1, 1918, 528,273 naturalization papers were filed during the first nine months, and the indications are that there will be in the neighborhood of 650,000 original applicants for first and final papers for the entire fiscal year.

There has been an average of more than one person born abroad who derives citizenship from the act of the husband or father. This average has been found to be constant through years of observation, so that we may say that 1,156,546 members of the foreign-born population of the United States came forward during the first nine months of the present fiscal year and took steps necessary to have citizenship conferred upon them. With the close of the year this amount should exceed 1,250,000.

During April, May, and June in 1917 more applications were filed than during any entire year with the exception of one.

✓ ELIMINATION OF EXPLOITATION

REGINALD HEBER SMITH, FORMER COUNSEL IN CHIEF, BOSTON
LEGAL AID SOCIETY

Exploitation of the foreign born can be prevented only through the law. This is the only democratic, American way to do it. The only way to make an American out of a foreign-born man is to treat him as an American.

Protection through the law for elimination of exploitation includes three distinct elements. The first of these is a sensitive social mechanism that will detect bad practices as rapidly as they are practiced. This may be an immigration commission or a legal aid society or a social service organization, but it must act because sharp practices have a new edge on them every day. The second thing is to have a sufficient body of well-drafted laws against exploitation. You will find 92 per cent of these laws already on the statute books, the other 5 per cent being those needed to be enacted to bring legislation up to current development. The law on the books is one thing, the law in action is another.

The third essential is the existence of an administration of justice which shall be accessible to all and which shall be workable by all and which will grant equal chances to all before the law. This problem on the administration of justice in the courts is the heart of the whole Americanization movement. You can work as hard as you like to teach the foreign-born resident to love American institutions, but if he doesn't get fair treatment when he comes in contact with those institutions, he will think they do not deserve his respect.

NEIGHBORHOOD WORK AMONG FOREIGN-BORN

MRS. MARY KINGSBURY SIMKHOVITCH, DIRECTOR OF GREENWICH HOUSE,
NEW YORK CITY

To fit the foreign-born's home life and neighborhood life into American traditions and ideals we should drop the attempt to secure uniformity of customs and try to get unity of purpose. Freedom for the woman and the child is what we should be working for in Americanizing the home life of the newcomer. We do this somewhat through insisting on education for all children. We free the woman to a certain extent by opening the doors of factories, shops, and offices

to her. We must more adequately free them by a social program which will protect the home against disease, against the encroachment of industry, and against congested living quarters occasioned by high rentals.

To engage the interest of the newcomer in this kind of a social program is the only real way to Americanize him. He must be taken into fellowship, and he must Americanize himself. We in the settlements believe that as long as he lives apart, he will not change. We need humility, because we have given him so cold a welcome; a determination to share his life more fully and to give him the opportunity to share ours; a desire to serve him, to prove our sincerity, and an invitation to him to assume the joint responsibility of creating the new era.

THE FOREIGN-BORN IN THE COMMUNITY

ALLEN T. BURNS, CARNEGIE CORPORATION, NEW YORK CITY

What will it profit the foreign-born if he gains the whole English language but loses the life of America? This conference marks a high-water mark as to Americanization because there has been given so large a place to the discussion of how the foreign and native born Americans can enter into mutual and vital relationships. We must not slip back into the old thought that language is the foremost factor in the problem.

It seems to me that the first thing we need to realize is that foreign-born persons participate largely in American life only through their national active groupings. Whether we like it or not, we really participate in American life effectively largely and only as we are organized. This is especially true of those who have not learned our language and they must share in American life through grouping action if they are to share at all. It is not until we find some way of making groups feel, through insistent organization of themselves, that they register somewhere in American life that we can expect to make them feel truly American.

The immigrant is going to Americanize himself and all we can do is to help him form such natural, normal, and vital group organizations. It is for us to see that these natural and normal processes remain true to type with only such adjustments as will leave base enough for the new American to develop these most essential features of Americanism — self-reliance, enterprise, self-direction, self-sufficiency — that these fundamental things may be preserved. Any process which tends to destroy these fundamentals will be a travesty upon the fair name of America itself.

AMERICA'S HERITAGE

FRANKLIN K. LANE, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

The right of revolution does not exist in America. We had a revolution 140 years ago which made it unnecessary to have any other revolution in this country, because it was fundamental. One of the many meanings of democracy is that it is a form of government in which the right of revolution has been lost by giving the Government wholly to the people. Revolution means revolt. Against whom are we to revolt in the United States excepting the people of the United States?

If we Americans do not like officials, programs, policies, measures, systems, we can try others, but in Europe the right of self-determination as to domestic concerns has been denied, and therefore the right of revolution has been preached.

No man can be a sound and sterling American who believes that force is necessary to effectuate the popular will. As we have taken from the duelist his pistol and compelled him to seek redress in the law, so in the larger affairs of the Nation we have said: "This is your country. Make it what you will; but you must not use force, for when you came here and became a citizen you gave over the right to resort to anything but public opinion and the methods of the law in the determination of national policies. If you are in a minority you must wait until you become a majority, and as a majority you must be content to prevail by processes which respect the rights of the minority."

Americanism does not mean that any one economic system is right, or that the United States is a perfected land; it does not mean that any one social philosophy must be accepted as the final expression of truth; but Americanism does mean that we have evolved for ourselves machinery by which revolution, as a method of changing our life, is outgrown and outlawed.

AMERICA A NATION OF FOREIGN-BORN

WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, SECRETARY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
AND LABOR

There is none of us who can afford to be so far remote from this problem in our thought as to forget our own particular relation to it, if we look far enough back. We have not far to go in this country before we run across such names as Eau Claire and Fond du Lac and La

Crosse, and we must not forget what we owe to the Frenchmen who trod our land before our ancestors even knew they could walk on it. And so with the Spaniards who invaded our country in the South before a European settler ever placed his foot here.

We are in a sense, every one of us, foreigners. We are a blend, as Secretary Lane has said. In this conference we are but transmitting to our own shoulders and to the shoulders of our children the job that somebody once did for us, or else we should not have been so comfortable as we are here to-day. It is something that has gone on from the beginning, but I am afraid that we have, at least some of us, reached a place where we have been taking it, until lately, too much for granted. I cannot remember that anybody ever taught me very much about the value of American citizenship. I used to wonder at the pride with which a Roman was said to proclaim, "I am a Roman citizen." I did not quite understand what it meant. I rather thought it was funny for Paul to say that he was a citizen of no mean city, in his Acts of the Apostles. What it meant I had no very distinct idea, but I have it now, however. I do not know just how, but I suppose it came unconsciously to me. I have an example or two in recent months that has made me realize it. I wish we could teach those who come over here that we do not want to impose something on them, but that we want to help them to think in citizenship terms.

MAKING A PERMANENT PENTECOST

JOHN H. FINLEY, STATE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION, NEW YORK

To make here in America a permanent Pentecost that all the people of the land may understand one another, we must begin with a common language. I know that this is not the sufficient thing, but we must begin with words, for all the good and bad that gets done in the world is done through words. I appreciate that it is not simply the method that is the important thing, and I am very glad to bring you a message from my own State.

You will recall that last year at your conference the three bills which have been proposed in the New York Legislature for Americanization were submitted for your consideration. These bills were unanimously ratified by your conference, and that action was responsible, I think, in a large measure, for the passage of the bills by the legislature a week or two later. Yesterday I went to the governor's office to ask whether or not he had signed an appropriation bill for \$100,000 for carrying forward Americanization work in our State. We

started a few years ago with \$2500. Last year we had \$20,000 and this year we have \$36,000 in our department, and then this \$100,000 bill was drawn. I found that the bill had not been signed. But to-day, when I called at the governor's office, I learned that the bill has been signed and I am happy that we can make this contribution to the national program for making this land dear to all of us.

On the 12th of February I was in the Holy Land as commissioner for the Red Cross and I stood where Abram is said to have been born. I was observing the birthday of Abraham Lincoln and I was very glad that Father Abram had migrated so that the land of Abraham Lincoln was made possible.

COMMUNITY GATHERINGS AND RECREATION

THOMAS WOOD STEVENS, CARNEGIE TECHNICAL SCHOOL, PITTSBURGH,
PENNSYLVANIA

Granting at once the value of participation by the foreign-born in festivals common to the whole community, the question which usually arises is how to do it. The kirmess has been tried, but its limits are narrow, the sequence of dances making a monotonous show. The method to be followed in new work must be more frankly dramatic. In any case, the festival should be the work of the whole community, the foreign-born groups bearing only their proportionate share of it and thus contributing the traditions of their history and ideals rather than conserving them apart for festivals of their own presentation.

The chief language of such a performance should be English if the audience is to be held and the occasion attain its purposes. Pantomime must be a large factor, with folk dances entering in but not dominating the whole performance. The most workable device has been found to be the herald, who is obviously of the same nationality as the group presented, to interpret the situations of the various scenes to the audience. These heralds' speeches are a vital factor in the impressiveness of the pantomime, and I have never found a foreign-born group that suggested a trifling or uninteresting subject to be presented as its contribution.

While foreign-born people take readily to festivals, the native Americans need to learn more of the play spirit. The pageant and festival have done something toward making a beginning; the community drama must meet with encouragement and serious study on the part of the nation's artists.

THRIFT AND PROTECTION OF SAVINGS

C. J. KEENAN, DEPUTY APPRAISER OF THE PORT OF NEW YORK

To my mind, there arises the grave question of whether or not the foreign-born element of our population is in greater need of this propaganda than the native-born, for I believe that the former is more likely to present an exposition of the practice of thrift in its daily living than is the latter. A movement of this kind need not confine itself to any one element of the citizenship, for thrift directs itself more toward the conservation of materials than the mere saving of money.

The people of foreign countries generally look upon a bank as a Government institution, which accounts for the practice so prevalent among them of patronizing private banking institutions after they come to this country. An enterprising foreign-born citizen will oftentimes, after reaching a certain stage of prosperity, open a bank with the legend "State Bank" over the door. I will not say he deliberately misrepresents the character of his bank, but certainly he accomplishes the purpose of making the public, at least some part of it, believe it is connected with the Government.

The very best plan to protect the savings of the public is to encourage one of the many forms of coöperative banking. Coöperative banking has been in operation in Europe for many years and recently it has been introduced into New York State by the credit union law. This union is also designed to meet the need of the citizen who wished to borrow and has not sufficient security with which to effect the loan, for he becomes a borrower of his own funds to the extent that he is owner of paid-up shares in the union.

✓ IMPROVING HOUSING CONDITIONS AMONG THE
FOREIGN-BORN

JOHN IHLDER, SECRETARY PHILADELPHIA HOUSING ASSOCIATION

Good management of houses leased to foreign-born tenants can be made a powerful agent for bringing the slum dwelling up to American standards. The relationship of landlord and tenant has been commercialized in this country, so far as the foreign-born resident is concerned.

We consider the American standard of housing an essential in Americanization, for there is no one thing that sets a family or group apart so surely as living in a dwelling which public opinion in the community holds in contempt. This public opinion is not based on costliness. The grapevine which adorns the Italian truck gardener's farmhouse and distinguishes it from the Anglo-Saxon's home attracts. It is the squalid, overflowing tenement which prevents the casual neighborliness between the native and the foreign born. Until we can throw down this barrier of the repellent dwelling we shall not go far in mingling with our alien fellow townsmen. This change can be brought about, first, by the enforcement of laws requiring not only the proper design and construction of all dwellings but their proper upkeep, and, secondly, by the house owners taking American standards of living into the home of the foreign-born tenant. The first change is fundamental, for by no other means can every dwelling be made to conform to the American ideals. This method means sewer and water main extension to parts of towns now neglected, the enforcement of house connection, and regular and frequent collection of garbage.

More than 20 years ago the Octavia Hill Association was formed to buy old houses in neglected sections of Philadelphia, or act as agent for owners of such property, and put such dwellings in good condition. It manages these dwellings to the best interest of the tenant, not only responding to his desire for improvement, but stimulating these desires. The rent collector takes an interest in the family problems, having information of civic and social organizations which can aid the foreign-born to become Americanized.

COORDINATION OF AMERICANIZATION AGENCIES

C. H. PAULL, BUREAU OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

In Americanization work we must make every effort to avoid a tendency to monopolize from a purely selfish standpoint. No single agency is in a position to contribute all that is implied in the term "Americanization." When agencies in a community attempt to carry on this work without any mutual understanding or sympathy, the results are duplication of work, overlooking of essential work which each agency leaves for the other to do, distrust on the part of the new American of the agencies which he soon discovers are failing to work with a common motive, and a loss of the enthusiasm which group action develops.

A community about to interest itself in Americanization should first make a survey or study in which both the existing facilities and the possible facilities for work are determined as accurately as possible. The next step is to bring these resources together under a single purpose with a willingness to pool their interests for the common good.

For an agency to entertain anxiety about not having enough to do is as far fetched as worrying about what we shall do when the world is wholly reformed. In both cases we can well conserve our powers for effective endeavor and leave the rest for some future generation to work out. There are a great number of functions which are in the nature of an overload to the schools and the industry which these agencies can assist materially in carrying. Regardless of the failures of the schoolman of the past, the perspective of the educator is essential to Americanization work.

Y. M. C. A. IN AMERICANIZATION

PETER ROBERTS, INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT, INTERNATIONAL Y. M. C. A.

Men and boys of foreign parentage are the field of the Y. M. C. A., and the work to be done there is very definitely outlined in our own minds, as including basically the teaching of English without asking that any man forget his native tongue. We emphasize the advantage of having citizenship in the United States, not asking, either, that a man forget entirely his native hearthstone. Then we provide lectures on everything pertaining to American life, the plan of the American Government, and the makers of America. We provide entertainments to bring before the American public the gifts brought to this country by the foreign-born newcomers.

Another thing we stress is recreational activity. I am sorry that more attention has not been given here in this conference to the problem of the son of foreign-born parentage. We hope to reach him through recreational activity. In our organization we have the advisory councils where the foreign-born man may go for advice to protect himself against exploitation and other evils. This advice is free. Americanization is a group of men and women enthused by the spirit of service who are interpreting the spirit of America and not a little English, a little lecture course, or an advisory council, or naturalization, but everybody working together.

THE Y. W. C. A. PART IN THE MOVEMENT

MISS EDITH JARDINE, INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE, Y. W. C. A.,
NEW YORK CITY

Realizing the need for immediate action, the Y. W. C. A. organized the International Institute as its machinery for work among foreign-born women and girls in 1912. Such work is to-day being extended into communities under the same designation. Now there are 40 of these institutes embracing the New England States, California, New Jersey, Honolulu, Texas, and New York. Over 22,000 foreign-born women have been reached through the New York center alone during the past six years.

We have been successful in reaching the hearts of the foreign-born women and girls because we have touched the women of their own respective races. We believe that we have made our best contribution to the movement in stressing the importance of using the best type of the foreign-born woman leader to help the people of her own nationality. Among the offshoots of the institute work are the Mother's Clubs, which are designed to reach the stay-at-home women. Parental clinics, cooking classes, food demonstrations, and English classes are taught in these clubs. The hospitality of the International Institutes are always extended to the masculine relatives of the women. We hope that our place is to act as a link and an interpreter between our foreign-born and native-born people to draw them a little nearer together in that community of spirit which constitutes real Americanization.

THE CATHOLICS IN THE WORK

JOHN O'GRADY, NATIONAL CATHOLIC WAR COUNCIL

If you desire to understand our attitude in regard to democracy, read the reconstruction program of the National Catholic War Council. We are interested in coöperating with all agencies for the promotion of citizenship and the teaching of English. We are willing to coöperate with them provided we have a say in the plans that are formulated. We are endeavoring at the present time to interest all Catholic societies in America in the promotion of citizenship and the teaching of English. We are endeavoring particularly to interest the various racial groups. It is impossible to outline in detail in such brief time what is

being done, but we are having published a textbook on civics for immigrants that will be translated into all the important languages.

This conference ought to keep in mind that the two great immediate objectives in this Americanization work before us are the teaching of English and the promotion of instruction in citizenship. We ought to get together and find out what additional machinery we need to put these great objectives into reality. We ought to have some say in any form of legislation that is proposed, for we are in closer touch with the immigrants than any other institution. We are willing to do our best for the making of a better America.

JEWISH WOMEN AID IMMIGRANTS

MISS HELEN WINKLER, COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

Less than 16 per cent of the girls employed in factories drawing their workers from a large foreign settlement take advantage of the night school facilities, and under 1 per cent of the mothers attend such classes. This was learned in the industrial survey made by Council of Jewish Women.

The reasons given by the girls of the factories for not attending night schools were mainly these: Long working hours and consequent fatigue; need for wholesome recreation which could be had at night only; natural discouragement in ungraded classes made up of aliens of both sexes and all ages; poor teaching standards. Mothers could attend daytime classes, but these are available only in very few localities.

The council has about 28,000 women representing 106 local branches in as many cities throughout this country and Canada, each organization having its immigrant aid committee, which protects the immigrant woman and girl until her destination is reached.

CIVIC ORGANIZATION AS ONE OF THE AGENCIES

T. A. LEVY, AMERICANIZATION LEAGUE, SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

The Americanization committee of the chamber of commerce found the social gathering the highest type of activity for assimilating the foreign-born. After having the leaders brought together, the committee advanced to the point of having a group of native-born entertain a foreign-born group. This was followed by the foreign-born group playing host in turn to the native-born group. The University Club, the Rotary Club, and like societies have been asked to also engage in this program.

Although the chamber of commerce initiated the work of Americanization in Syracuse, in a broad-minded way, it worked itself out of a job and turned over the control of the problem to the municipality, believing that the city was less likely to incur any suspicion of a partisan basis. It thus changed its position from being the parent of the movement to that of becoming a distant relative.

The foreign-born employee spends more time in the factory, shop, or store than in any other place. His health and even his life to some extent is in the hands of the manager of the plant in which he is at work. The ethical and economical part of Americanization should not be sundered. There remains a vast field for correlation of these forces by the chamber of commerce and other civic agencies.

USING THE WOMEN'S CLUBS

MRS. PERCY V. PENNYPACKER, HONORARY PRESIDENT
GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

I fully believe that there is no greater duty before this conference than to present a sane, practical, comprehensive plan of work to the organized womanhood of the country. Such a plan must be scientific without being too technical and must be presented to the club women sympathetically, dramatically, and persistently. It must be presented sympathetically because the trained worker does not always realize the power of the volunteer force represented in an organized body of club women.

The trained worker should not expect from the volunteer worker just what she would from the person who has had all the advantages of training; but, on the other hand, she should not undervalue what the volunteer can give. The volunteer has learned lessons in the school of life that some experts have not; she has a certain practical contact with the community life about her that renders her invaluable. We have preached year in and year out that there is nothing so dangerous as ignorance at work, and we would like to make every woman's organization do this, too.

Women have proved, during the war, that they like to work under the Government's direction, so if we have the Government at the head of this movement it will be a tremendous incentive to women all over the land to do their best work.

LIBRARIES: THE FRIEND OF THE FOREIGN BORN

PREPARED BY JOHN FOSTER CARR; READ BY MISS THERESA HITCHLER

In some respects the library has a far greater opportunity to be an aid to the foreign-born than do the schools, because being friendly and helpful its aid is oftentimes less formal and more inviting. It is open throughout the year, it makes no strenuous demands on a man after a hard day's work, and it welcomes those who think themselves too old to go to school. The library brings the immigrant in effective touch with American democracy and American ideals and helps destroy the impression of heartless commercialism that many of our immigrants continually assert is the main characteristic of our civilization.

Nearly 800 public libraries are taking part in the movement to aid the foreign-born. In New York City, with its 43 branches, those branches having the largest so-called immigrant membership lead all others in circulation. The use of books in foreign languages has increased so rapidly that their circulation now reaches nearly 700,000 a year. The results have been so pleasing that the supply of foreign-language books has been increased 30 per cent in the last two years. Once the foreign-born reader enters the library he needs personal attention to have the simple rules given him in his own language, to have the different rooms explained. He can not use the index cards nor understand the mysteries of registration. They may be brought in by various devices, publicity and service to classrooms being handy ones.

PUBLIC-HEALTH NURSE IN AMERICANIZATION

MRS. BESSIE HAASIS, EDUCATIONAL SECRETARY NATIONAL ORGANIZATION
FOR PUBLIC-HEALTH NURSING

The public-health nurse enters the home of the foreign-born at a time when there is trouble. Service is needed and needed badly. Her uniform proclaims her as a worker, and to the men and women who have toiled in workshop or field this is a passport to confidence. Those who come from countries where ministry to the sick is the function of the church recognize in the uniform the added sanction and beneficence of religious service. It is their thought that the priest might have sent her.

Nine times out of ten her visits bring immediate and tangible benefit. A few simple dressings for the burned hand and the father is able

to return to work in three or four days. Once the gratitude of the family and its confidence is gained there is no subject on which they will not ask and accept advice. Herein lies the opportunity of the public-health nurse to win the family over to such American standards and habits as are better than their own. There is no reason why the public-health nurse's advice should be limited to matters of health. Her aim is to remedy not only the case of illness, but whatever is wrong with the family. The nurse can get greater results and sooner through the children. The amount of time it takes to teach one foreign-born mother how to properly care for her baby will teach a class of 20 little girls the same knowledge. The children can convince the mother, especially when the nurse works with both.

BOYS' AND GIRLS' ORGANIZATIONS

BURDETTE G. LEWIS, COMMISSIONER OF INSTITUTIONS, NEW JERSEY

We should welcome boys' gangs and function them for the purpose of Americanization. Some of the things we may do are: Select the best out of all cultures and use it as a basis of our educational work; link up our educational and recreational systems; see to it that the schools teach our boys and girls how to make a living, as well as how to read and speak English; recognize juvenile delinquency as a family affair and turn our children's court into domestic relations' courts.

We should take the finger prints of all offenders, whether they be young or old, so that no one may make a joke of the laws of the land by falsifying about their identity. We should utilize the boys who organize the bottle-fight gangs and the girls who form peculiar cliques to bring home to their parents the benefits provided at the child-welfare stations in our cities. We can use the country boy and girl's desire to associate as a great force for revivifying American rural life. We can have the boys and girls bring their parents to school to see the motion pictures which we now use in teaching history, geography, and other studies. The boys and girls can be used to renew on American soil that association of child and parent in recreational activities so characteristic of many European nations.

We can introduce these foreign-born boys and girls to their own traditional games, such as Italian dancing, Japanese kite flying, and Bohemian wrestling. There are the Boy Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls to be used for instruction in personal hygiene.

DEMONSTRATION AGENT'S RÔLE IN MOVEMENT

MISS GERTRUDE VAN HOESEN, EXTENSION WORK WITH WOMEN,
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

District organizations in the cities and community organizations in the rural sections have made it possible for the home demonstration agents of the Department of Agriculture to reach the foreign-born woman. In many places each racial group is represented on the community or district committee by intelligent leaders of that group, who are able to articulate the needs of the non-English-speaking mother and housekeeper. The foreign clergy, the social workers, the visiting nurses, and the public school officials all offer opportunities for making such contacts in behalf of demonstration agents.

In many States the leaflets of the Food Administration during the war were translated in various languages. While there has been some criticism of this move, in numerous cases the very sight of the conservation receipts printed in her native tongue has been the entering wedge for developing the woman's confidence in the home demonstration agent. One of the most important things accomplished by the demonstration worker has been the closer understanding given the old American of the habits and needs of the new American, thereby inspiring enthusiasm and friendliness instead of apathy and antagonism. Social community leadership is absolutely essential to the success of any organization seeking to back up the home demonstration agent, and there is a wide field for the development of the home demonstration project leader. The highest function of the home demonstration agent is to solve problems, that the women may not only learn how to feed their families, but feed them accordingly.

CONGRESS OF MOTHERS AND PARENT-TEACHER BODIES

PREPARED BY MRS. FREDERIC SCHOFF, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL
ASSOCIATIONS OF THESE BODIES ¹

There are obstacles which must be overcome in order to secure the mothers. The first one is the lack of encouragement of their husbands in regard to attending meetings. There seems to be a prejudice among foreign people against women going out or joining in club work. An important means we have found has been the placing of leaflets

¹ Presented by Mrs. Joseph P. Munford, Vice President.

in schools where the fathers are learning English showing them the necessity of having their wives learn also.

The women feel that in their own countries they have brought up children successfully and that they do not need to be told everything. By learning the good things that our foreign-born people know, and showing them that they have some things to teach us, their attitude is entirely changed. We consider this is a very important part of the success in Americanization work.

The Parent-teacher Association, because it takes in all children in our public schools, has been a splendid medium for organizing foreign mothers.

The Americanization department of the Bureau of Education can do nothing better than to emphasize among the foreign men of this country the absolute necessity of keeping mothers up to the rest of the family in knowledge of our language and our customs.

WHAT THE STATE AND NATION CAN DO TO HELP THE COMMUNITY

GEORGE H. BELL, FORMER SECRETARY CALIFORNIA IMMIGRANT AND
HOUSING COMMISSION

To our way of thinking, the efforts of the communities are largely wasted if they are not based on uniform standards which have been so correlated that each community is doing its share in developing a unified State and Nation. Organization is the first step that the State and Nation must take to help the community. Each State must establish a central commission with the responsibility for developing and executing a State program of Americanization, properly co-ordinated with the national program. Secondly, the National Government must establish a central agency charged with the full power of a broad national Americanization program carried on in coöperation with the State. I am authorized to present this plan as the suggestion of the California Immigration and Housing Commission.

One has only to point to the lack of a clear, definite, authorized Americanization program during the past two years as proof of the need for one. A State commission which is to coöperate with an official central Americanization headquarters should be democratic and made up of citizens who have had actual experience with immigrants and who would represent various viewpoints in connection with the problem. The State can afford to keep experts on the various lines, even if the communities cannot do so, and make them available

for survey and consultation work to these committees. The State must assume the initiative, although it is not obligatory that it maintain a staff large enough to do all the direct field work. The more progressive communities should aid the backward ones.

WHAT THE CHURCHES CAN DO IN AMERICANIZATION

REVEREND WORTH TIPPY, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE COMMISSION ON CHURCH SOCIAL SERVICE, FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

The churches have long been an important factor in Americanization. They have homes and agencies for meeting and caring for immigrants at every port in the United States where immigrants are admitted. They have special schools and colleges for the various language groups, special seminaries for the training of ministers, and in every city where the foreign-born congregate the leading denominations spend large amounts of money and have many influential centers of activity. This work is wholly Americanization in the broadest sense of that term. In addition to the teaching of English, there is the care of the family, especially of the children, in the atmosphere of the spiritual ideals of America. All these missions and churches to the foreign-born are intensely patriotic. I can think of no better or more powerful agency for Americanization than the right kind of a church for immigrants. It should be known also that the great women's boards of home missions of the churches spend several millions of dollars in this work every year.

The Americanization problem of the church is not so much to do new work, or new kinds of work, as to do more powerfully what it has been doing for generations; and that it is preparing to do.

HUMAN DOCUMENTS: FIVE POLISH PEASANT LETTERS ¹

DEAREST Olejniczka:

I greet you from my heart, and wish you health and happiness. God grant that this little letter reaches you well, and as happy as the birdies in May. This I wish you from my heart, dear Olejniczka.

The rain is falling; it falls beneath my slipping feet.

I do not mind; the post office is near.

When I write my little letter

I will flit with it there,

And then, dearest Olejniczka,

My heart will be light, from giving you a pleasure.

In no grove do the birds sing so sweetly

As my heart, dearest Olejniczka, for you.

Go, little letter, across the broad sea, for I cannot come to you.

When I arose in the morning, I looked up to the heavens and thought to myself that to you, dearest Okejniczka, a little letter I must send.

Dearest Olejniczka, I left papa, I left sister and brother and you to start out in the wide world, and to-day I am yearning and fading away like the world without the sun.

If I shall ever see you again, then, like a little child, of great joy I shall cry. To your feet I shall bow low, and your hands I shall kiss. Then you shall know how I love you, dearest Olejniczka.

I went up on a high hill and looked in that far direction, but I see you not, and I hear you not.

Dearest Olejniczka, only a few words will I write. As many sand-grains as there are in the field, as many drops of water in the sea, so many sweet years of life I, Walercia, wish you for the Easter holidays. I wish you all good, a hundred years of life, health and happiness. And loveliness I wish you. I greet you through the white lilies, I think of you every night, dearest Olejniczka.

Are you not in Bielice any more, or what? Answer, as I sent you a letter and there is no answer. Is there no one to write for you?

¹ From *Immigrants in America Review*, April, 1916.

And now I write you how I am getting along. I am getting along well, very well. I have worked in a factory and I am now working in a hotel. I receive 18 (in our money 32) dollars a month, and that is very good.

If you would like it we could bring Wladzio over some day. We eat here every day what we get only for Easter in our country. We are bringing over Helena and brother now. I had \$120 and I sent back \$90.

I have no more to write, only we greet you from my heart, dearest Olejniczka. And the Olejniks and their children; and Wladislaw we greet; and the Szases with their children; and the Zwolyneks with their children; and the Grotas with their children, and the Gyrlas with their children; and all our acquaintances we greet.

My address:

North America [etc.]

Good-by. For the present, sweet good-by.

My dear Stas:

You ask me for my opinion about marriage, and you ask about [Miss] Swatowna. My brother, my Stas, I don't know what lot awaits me. About this Swatowna, as you know, I tried so hard to gain her favor, I took so many hard steps, and all this brought me nothing. I should have come out all right there for, as this Miss Swatowna told me, she "gave a basket" to Rudkowski because she loved me. But finally, when I expected to end the business, then my family began to find fault with it, particularly mother. Well, I gave up the game, I stopped calling on her. How they must talk about me there now! Swatowna is still a girl.

I don't know now what will be the end of the hopes with which I still deceive myself about the Kowalczyks in Czyzew. If God helped me, it would be the best there. All this is in the hands of God. But it is a hard nut to bite, for there is a crowd of various men around, and the Kowalczyks themselves look upon this business from several sides. I hear that they prefer me, but there was a time when things were so bad that I said to myself that I wouldn't go there again. I was there a few times and I never found her; evidently she hid herself. And she hid herself not because she hated me, but because different marriage-brokers laughed at her for receiving attention from me. Worse still, I noticed that the Kowalczyks began to treat me indifferently, particularly Mrs. Kowalczyk. This observation pained me much, but what could I do?

If I am to be successful with the Kowalczyks this money which you speak of sending from America would be a great help. It would be

necessary to show at least 2000 roubles there, so if you sent your money I would be that much bolder, because no stranger would know that it is borrowed money. I say at least 2000. It would be well to show I have 5000 cash of my own. I don't know, dear Stas, whether my efforts will bring me happiness or irretrievable loss. O, my great God! I implore you to help me. . . .

Wiktor Markiewicz.

Zazdierz, November 1st, [1910].

Dear Son:

Walenty in Dobrzykow, built a small mill upon his water in competition with us, but he grinds only three-quarters of once-ground flour a-day. Well, we don't know how it will be further. As to Elzbietka, she has a boy, a butcher from Lubien; I don't know whether she will marry him or not, but she says that this winter she will surely decide; if not this one, then another. I have trouble enough now for my sins. Always new guests, always some new fashion, always these new things, so that my income does not suffice. And you know that your father always says: "When anything is not there, we can do without it." But sometimes it must be had, even if it must be cut out from under the palm of the hand! So, dear son, I beg you very much, if you can, send me a little money, but for my own needs. Elzbietka is grown up, Polcia is bigger still, Zonia begins to overtake them, and they all need to be dressed, while it is useless to speak to your father about it. If you can, send it as soon as possible, because if I sell some cow, or hog, or grain, it must be put aside. Your father says that it cannot be spent. We gave Pecia 100 roubles [when married] and 200, but we must still give 200 more. Bicia also [must have money], so we must put money aside. Well, we have nice hogs, nice cattle and a nice horse, but I must work conscientiously for all this. Your father just excuses himself with his old age, and I may work with the children so that my bones crack. He says: "Then don't keep so much farm-stock, don't work! Do I order you to do all this?" But when he wants anything, he has to have it. As to the crops, everything is not bad . . . only we must work so much.

Everywhere only work and work, so that my bones lap over one another. But what can be done? Unfortunately my teeth decline absolutely to work any longer and I must have some new ones put in, but I have not money enough for it, for I have other things to spend it on. So if it is not a great detriment to you I beg you for a few roubles for my teeth. But if not, it cannot be helped. Well, grandmother wants to move to us now, but your father is honey and sugar and your

grandmother is gall and pepper. Whoever has tried it knows the taste. Oh, all my life I have enjoyed this honey and this sugar! I have it often under every nail. But what can be done? It is the will of God. . . .

Your loving mother,
Anna Markiewicz.

Warsaw, May 12, 1909.

My dear, my beloved Uncle:

I received your letter this week. It was so sad that it frightened me and therefore I write directly in order to share my thoughts with you. I regret that I caused you pain without even knowing it. It is true that lately I did not give you any sign of life, but believe me, I was so ill that I could not take a pen in hand, and brother Wacio is as afraid of writing as a Jew of water, and moreover nobody can write for me as I write myself; therefore I did not ask either my other brother or my parents. I believed that I should die and then my parents would write to you. Meanwhile it has turned out otherwise. I am still alive, I don't know for how long a time. In any case every letter that I write seems to me the last which I can write. Therefore you see, dear uncle, in what a position I am; please don't wonder, if I am late in writing, although I will try to avoid it as much as possible. You don't write whether you are in good health. How are auntie and my cousins doing? I know only that they are working but that is not enough for me. With us there is no news. My parents and brothers are in good health and in the best of spirits; it is always so, only sometimes it changes under the influence of higher forces, but everything ends happily.

I had lately the honor of getting acquainted with our countryman from Lipsk. Perhaps you remember him, Mr. Adam Chomiczewski. He deigned to come to us because his cousin, Skokowska, who is in Warsaw for treatment, lives with us. You have no idea what a man he is, you cannot remember all the benefits he has done to people, all the wealth and relationships he has! He is a friend of the first persons in Warsaw and in the whole country! He poses egregiously, but he evidently does not know that whoever listened to him, says, "Stupid man!" I like people from my country, but this one does not please me.

I will write to-day about no general questions, because to tell the truth, I am very sleepy, it is late already, and during the day I have no time to write because I am preparing to go away next week, or in some days. Then, there is nothing of importance. About personal questions also much cannot be said. I shall write you at length after

getting to Wyzarne, I shall have more time there and my thoughts will be freer. I hope to live for those few weeks, and if it happens otherwise, well, then my parents will inform you that your correspondent has removed from here to eternity. But I confess that, if formerly I wished to die, now such an ending is distasteful to me. I want to live. It seems that I perceived too late that life is beautiful in spite of all. I am curious whether in dying we have all our presence of mind, whether we understand what is going on at this moment with us and around us. If so, excuse me, please. I don't wish to die in full consciousness. I cannot imagine what occurs in the head, in the thoughts of the dying person, what he feels and thinks. Do you know, I have the intention of dying with a pen in my hand, namely to write what I feel in those last moments. Of course if it is possible to do it and if regret for the flying life does not oppress me.

I write as if I were already with one foot in the grave, but it is not so, because I don't even lie in bed, but I walk, I even sew sometimes with the sewing machine. Only this "death" persecutes me, and I cannot write more to-day, because all my faculties are covered with mourning-crepe.

[Greetings and kisses.]

Zocha.

Lipsk, June 20, 1909.

My dear Uncle:

Two weeks have passed already since I left Warsaw, and not until to-day have I found time to write to you, dear uncle. I had to renew my old acquaintanceships, and had other obligations also, which did not permit me to do until now what I should have begun with. How is your health, dear uncle and auntie? Are my little cousins in good health, do they play or work? I am curious how the weather is and the temperature in America, because here it is bad, not wet, but very cold. Do you know, not all the potatoes have yet come up? The summer will be very late.

I feel worse than bad in my health. It has come so far that, while five years ago I weighed 148 pounds, now I weigh scarcely 112; it is perhaps the smallest weight that a grown-up person can have. I have little hope of living for a long time, and still less of having the health and strength which I need so much for work. That is the reason I cannot carry out your advice, dear uncle, about long walks. From Wyzarne to Lipsk is 6 versts, to Peolyki 4 times as much. It is not for my strength to walk so long a way, since if I walk a little through the forest I feel terribly tired. Corsets and narrow shoes I don't

wear even in Warsaw, the more so in the country. I eat as much soured and sweet milk as I can and everything made from milk, I also eat all vegetables, but what is the use of all this? In the country indeed I get better during the summer and some pounds are added to my weight, but the winter takes all this away and more still. How long will it last, and what kind of illness is it? No doctor can know it. The home remedies, the so-called old women's remedies, don't bring the desired results either. I try everything that anybody advises me to do, and in vain. Now somebody got the idea that it is a tape-worm, and they gave me some poison; but I fear to use it lest I may poison myself in truth. Death does not let us wait very long for itself. Why should I hasten its visit?

In Lipsk I found everything as it has been from old; no changes reach these retired places. If there were not the frequent, too frequent immigration to America and back, people here could remain for a long time "as in God's house behind the stove" [Proverb: happy and calm], without knowing that there exists a world besides Suwalki, Grodno, Warsaw and Czestochowa, and that in this world people are more intelligent, richer and better prepared to live. Here those who have money enough sit every day in the tavern — no, it is not a tavern, these belong to the past — but a "restaurant"! Lipsk has been able to do this much for the comfort of its citizens, and those who have not so much money work the whole week in order that they may at least on Sunday "be equal to men" and sit at the same table, or under the same table. Not everybody is like this, but an enormous majority. The cause of all this is the lack of schools, and therefore people who are a little more intelligent cry "enlightenment," but their voice is a voice calling in the wilderness. The rich and noble are abroad, and only they could do something if they would. And in general people grow indifferent to everything that is Polish and for Poland — not indifferent to the brilliant and splendid Poland which clinks with its thousands of roubles, but to this poor, gray, vulgar, and stupid Poland. What do they care if the children of hired workmen remain poor hired workmen? That for a long time still they will believe that by charms and curses, illness and different other troubles are chased away. On the contrary, they endeavor to maintain as long as possible this unnatural state, because they know that when there is not a single illiterate, from this moment the thousands will no more flow so easily as now to their bottomless pockets.

Thence comes this indifference for all exhibits which have the local industry in view. The rich industrial does not care for such an exhibit, because he will always find a sale for his products, if not here then elsewhere; and then, his clients are rich people who imitate

what they see abroad. What do they care for local industry? And we poor people, we disregard this, and do you know why? Because such expositions have no practical importance. In America perhaps they are as they ought to be, but with us it is simply a "turning of the head."

Such a "turning of the head" is, for instance, our "Association for Knowledge of the Country" to which you wrote once, asking, what is the object of this Association. If you thought that it occupies itself with the question of enriching of the country, you erred greatly. They travel through the land, it is true, but for the pleasure of it, not in order to study what is done in this part or the other and what could be done in a given place. They care only for a nice locality, for old ruins of castles, palaces, churches, and nothing more. All this is very nice, but in my opinion it is not the time to do it now; we have so many questions of more importance, concerning the present and the future, that it is impossible to occupy ourselves with the past. So our peasants' reason tells us, which is contrary to the "fine reason of the lords" as the Jews say. In America people are more practical, therefore it is better there than here.

Staying in the country annoys me very much, not because I am without occupation — I have enough for my strength — but much time remains which in Warsaw I spent in reading books, and here I have none. I am robbed of this only pleasure that remained, because I like books better than all amusements and play in society, all visits, etc. In Warsaw I surrounded myself with books like a true bookworm; here I cannot borrow them anywhere, and I am sad.

[Greetings and kisses.]

Zocha.

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INDEX

- Accident legislation, 242
 Agricultural Association of Japanese, 463; wage in England, 41; average wage, 71
 Aid societies, German, 132; Japanese, 175
 Aliens, congestion of, 504; departures of, 168; friends of, 692
 Allegiance, oath of, 609
 Alliance Israelite Universelle, 138
 Alpine race, 232
 American Federation of Labor, 262
 American ideals, 638; industrial liberty, 639; education, 639; social insurance, 640; inclusive brotherhood, 640; differentiation, 642
 "Americanists," 666
 Americanization, plan, 461; committee, 469
 Americanization Day, 677
 Anarchists, 405, 413; tools of demagogues, 371
 Anthracite fields, 158
 Artificial immigration, 525
 Asia Minor, 54
 Assimilation of immigrants, 54, 63, 207
 Assisted immigration, 79, 340, 388
 Austrian immigration, 72
 Austria-Hungary, 71, 166
 Average wage, 244
 Aztec, 28

 Balkans, 71
 Baltic race, 232
 Birth rate, 291-294
 Bohemian immigration, 166
 Bulgarian immigration, 166

 California, Americanization Committee, 459; appropriation for evening schools, 569; state aid for evening schools, 572; supervision of evening schools, 573; Bureau of Complaints, 440; Bureau of Education, 453; Bureau of Information, 444; labor camp sanitation laws, 446; classes for foreign-born women, 457; co-operation of San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, 462; Department of Home Education, 691; domestic educators, 571; home teacher legislation, 454; housing institution, 450; labor camps inspection, 445; labor exchanges, 448, 540; Los Angeles Survey, 445; lumber camps, 447; migratory labor, 448; neighborhood campaign, 456; plan for Americanization, 461; publicity for evening schools, 578; regularizing attendance in, 537; training teachers of foreigners, 574; war program, 439
 Catholic immigration, opposition to, 326-330
 Celtic exodus, 436
 Celtic race, 46-62
 Children, Italian, 152; Jewish, 140
 Child labor legislation, 251
 Chinese, exclusion, 231; law, 196, 200, 352-359; Chinese gold rush, 192; unskilled labor, 194
 Citizenship, 663; certificates of, 668; convention, 693; papers, 600
 City versus country, distribution in, 509-511
 Civics, study of, 589
 Civil War, 156
 Claxton, 700
 Cleveland Immigration League, 598
 Cleveland's veto, 343
 Clothing industry, 140
 Colonies and immigration, 665
 "Colonial descent," 236
 Colonization, 502; of Irish, 320; of Italian, 54; Burlingame Treaty, 351
 Columbus, 643
 Common language, 653

- Community councils, 618, 677
 Compulsion and religion, 582; compulsion and persuasion, 586
 Congestion, 216, 219-220
 Contessa Lisa Cipriani, 534
 Contract labor, 332-333; law regarding, 338
 Conversion or extermination, 29
 Convicts, 233
 Courts of naturalization, 484
 Croatian, Magyarizing, 642
 Crusades, 29
 Czecho-Slovaks, 622, 625
- Decalogue, American, 664
 Declaration of citizenship, 658
 Defectives, exclusion of, 346
 Descendants of foreign-born, 619
 Disabilities of aliens, 391-393
 Discrimination against aliens, 652
 Diseases of immigrants, 301
- Employers, 374
 Employment centres, 550
 English language, 53, 62, 490, 494; English an economic asset, 595; language of reconstruction, 625
 Exclusion of Mediterraneans, 307
 Exiles, 126
 Exploitation of immigrants, 722; in factories, 479; of emigration, 369; by employers, 374; of women, 296
 Extension of territory, 27; Spain and Portugal, 30; France, 31; England, 32
- Family wage, 246
 Famine in Ireland, 42
 Farm labor board of California, 468
 Federal problem of education, 564
 Ferrero, 325
 Finley, J. H., 725
 Finnish immigration, 72
 Fisher, Professor Irving, 268
 Ford committee, 338
 Foreign-born in industry, statistics, 488
 Foreign press, 436, 489; coöperation of, 718
 Fourth of July, 637, 667
 Franklin, Benjamin, 36, 224
- Free education, 662
 French immigration, 52; Canadians, 54; Huguenot, 62
- German, 128-131
 Goethals, 648
 Government policy, 427
 Greek immigration, 671
 Gulick's plan, 181
- Harvest hand situation, 562
 Head tax, 337, 340, 346, 348, 381
 Health inspection, 86
 Home education, 691
 Home stake, chance for, 629; need of, 630
 Home teachers, California, 228-229; legislation regarding, 454
 Hospital, immigrants', 305
 Housing Institute, 450
 Hungary, 54
 Hyphenated Americans, 646
- Illiteracy, 257, 503, 523; to reduce, 581
 Immorality, 387, 405
 Imperial conference, 123
 Indentured servants, 233
 Induced immigration, 157
 Industrial health, 716
 Industrial recreation, 716
 Industrial Workers of the World, 250, 651
 Industry, classes in, 492
 Information office for immigrants, 117-120
 Inspection at port of entry, 279
 Internationalization, danger of, 593
 Irish, in cities, 320; in politics, 320-321; exclusion, 309; illiterates, 309; emigration from Ireland, 353; Irish versus Italian paupers, 147; unemployment of skilled labor, 368; unskilled labor, 366; intensive colony life, 432
 Italians, differences between, 142; distribution of, 520; illiterates, 145; civic sense, 150; emigrants, inspection of, 89; unskilled labor, 146; mobility of labor, 145; average wage of, 144; regulation of, on steamships, 529

- Japanese, agricultural associations, 463; agricultural work of, 172; assimilation of, 184-188; conflict of economic standards, 171-178; land owners, 175; law regarding naturalization, 186; political disabilities of, 185; reclamation of raw land by, 176; restriction of, 171-182; shopkeepers, 176; tenant farmers, 173-176; women, 189
- Jewish immigration, Alliance Israelite Universelle, 138; antisemitic, 138; emigration, 136; international affiliations, 155; migration, 139; "May Law," 64; occupational distribution, 139; permanency of settlement, 139; physical fitness of, 306; skilled labor, 136-138; unskilled labor, 172
- Joint minimum wage boards, 253
- Jugo-Slavs, 622-625
- Knights of Columbus, 651
- Kulturpolitik*, 128-131
- Labor, camp inspection, 445; exchange, 448-540; migratory, 448
- Lafayette, 136
- "Land of promise," 40
- Land sales, 431, 501
- Land stake, 367
- Lane, Secretary, 734
- Law of nations, 27-28
- "Let alone" policy, 656
- Letters of immigrants, 72-73
- Lincoln, 278; his message, 331
- Literacy tests, 342; of industrial commission bill, 345; bill of 1907, 347; exemption from, 386
- Local correspondents, 473
- Los Angeles Survey, 445
- Loyalist settlers, 104
- Lumber camps, education in, 713
- Machine and foreign vote, 322-323
- Mandatory exclusion, 303
- Manon Lescant, 226
- McAndrews, William, 703
- Medical certificates, 303
- Mediterranean races, 232
- Melting pot, 132; larger problems of, 613; contributions to, 617; not a, 626
- Migration and dispersion, 517
- Mobility of labor, 527
- Money, transmission of, for immigrants, 477
- National Liberal Immigration League, 531
- Naturalization law, syllabus of, 682
- Negro, non-assimilation of, 231; forced immigration, 231
- New York Bureau of Industry and Immigration, 428; National Employment Exchange, 543
- Night citizenship classes, 598
- Night-school campaign, 456
- Non-citizenship schooling, 687
- Opportunity, the land of, 661
- Parallel neighborhoods, 632
- Part-time attendance, 597
- Patriotism, 21
- Paull, C. H., 728
- Pauper immigration, 47; paupers, 284
- Penn, William, 125
- Peruvian immigration, 28
- Physicians, 86
- Polish immigration, 54, 72, 159, 166
- Population, alien, 372; of the United States, 42
- Ports of embarkation, 82-90
- Portuguese immigration, 62
- Preparedness, economic, 650; military, 654; preparatives, 653
- Principles of Americanism, 649
- Private banks, 431
- Propaganda, Americanization, 625; steamship agents, 76-78; educational, judicial support of, 688
- Prostitutes, exclusion of, 346; no Italian, 150
- Prussian immigration, 72
- Public service, training for, 606
- Race assimilation, 621-623
- Race comparison in crises, 274-275
- Redfield, Secretary, 724
- Regulated immigration, 259-260
- Replacement by immigration stock, 237; by new arrivals, 239
- Residence, duration of, 515

- Restrictive legislation, 58, 299
 Revolutions, in Europe, 41; French, 38; Revolutionary War, 36
 Right of conquest, 28
 Roberts, Peter, 729
 Roman civilization, 55
 Roman Wars, 43
 Roumanian Hebrews, 72
 "Runners," 480
 Rural foreign-born, 712
 Russian immigration, 54, 64, 155-156

 San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and immigration education, 462
 Scandinavian immigration, 54, 91
 Schools, certificates of graduation, 685; day-time immigrant schools, 704; record cards, 683
 Seaman's Act, 555
 Seasonal industries, 656
 Sectarian bitterness, 646, 658
 Selective laws, 56, 60
 Selkirk's colonization, 102-104
 Serbian immigration, 155, 166
 Sicilian immigration, 73
 Slovaks, 166
 Slovenian immigration, 156, 166
 Social phenomena of immigration, 608
 Solicited immigration, 389
 South and foreign-born, 322
 Spanish immigration, 54
 Spanish-American War, 131
 Special inquiry boards, 401
 Special protection, 428, 474
 Standard of living, 714; economic level, 369
 State aid for evening schools, 572
 Statistics of immigration, 50, 65, 163
 Steerage ticket, 75
 Strike situation, 651; commission, 20
 Sunday, Citizenship, 686
 Suspended deportation, 404
 Swedish immigration, 62

 Talbot's colonization, 103
 Temperance, Irish and Italian, 147
 Towne, C. F., 701
 Trade-unions and immigration, 259
 Transient laborers, South European, 191
 Treaty of Paris, 95
 Turkish immigration, 71, 167

 United States, Bureau of Information, 505; distribution branches of the Department of Labor, 548; Bureau of Nationalization, 721; coöperation of schools, 672; survey of schools, 675; executive recognition, 677; nation-wide conferences, 679; Employment Survey, Division for Aged People, 560; Division for Women and Girls, 556; quarantine law, 81
 Unskilled labor and machinery, 248; and trade-unions, 249; debarring, 251

 Vote, of Italians, 154; and foreign language press, 323

 War Civics Committee, 706
 Washington, George, 36
 White slave traffic, 294; suppression of, 349
 Wilson, President, 665
 Wives of candidates for citizenship, 690
 Women's clubs, California, and immigration, 464
 Women, alien mothers, 227; classes for foreign-born, 457; Japanese, 189; economic injustice toward, 227; social injustice, 228; earnings, 248
 World War program, 439

 "Yellow peril," 497

 Zone reports, in industrial activities, 563
 Zone system of employment, 551

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APR 13 1988	APR 26 2002	
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